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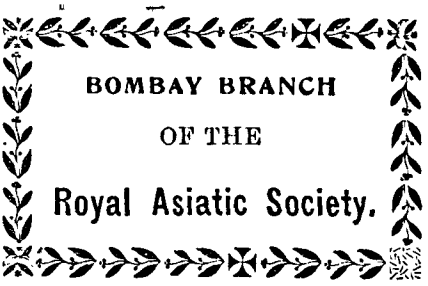

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THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY

EDITED BY

J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A.
S. A. COOK, LITT.D.
F. E. ADCOCK, M.A.

VOLUME III

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

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PREFACE

THE period of history described in volume II drew to a close amid widespread unrest. The Golden Ages of Egypt and of Babylonia, of Crete and Mycenae, and of the Hittites were past; all these great powers, nor less Mitanni and Assyria, were broken or weakened, and in Asia Minor and the Levant we dimly discern movements which show that everywhere changes are at hand. As though in a symbol the Dawn of the Iron Age marks an epoch in which the forces of destruction scattered the falling splendours of the preceding era; dislocation is more pronounced than settlement, and the peoples of the Nearer East seem to struggle with no certain end and purpose. The fuller records of a stirring and international age give place to the scantiest historical materials; and even when, in the present volume, we enter upon a later period, the evidence is often slight and always difficult to coordinate. But the foundations of a new order have been laid, of which perhaps the most striking sign is the gradual spread of alphabetic writing; and though we hardly know how the new order arose, we are brought, as the centuries pass, into a fuller light, until there is a record which continues unbroken to the present day.

At the head of this record there have always stood the Old Testament, Herodotus, and the multifarious and often romantic traditions of Greek origins, of Tyre and Carthage, of Etruscans, Scyths, Medes and Persians, of Semiramis, Dido, Gyges, Croesus, and other figures which live in mediaeval and modern literature. These figures now take their place against a new and ever clearer background, as excavation has brought to light contemporary records of every kind. The evaluation of the new facts and the revaluing of the old are still far from their final stage, but much has been achieved and on main questions agreement has been reached. Perhaps no more concrete illustration of the increase of evidence and of the fruitfulness of research could be furnished than the fact that what was originally planned as volume III has grown into volumes III and IV, and this in spite of an economical treatment of all the material available.

How our ideas of the main course of events have been changed is shown by a general view of the period covered by these two

volumes (*c.* 1000–478 B.C.). We now know that first Assyria holds the key position; her deliberate endeavour to become mistress of South-west Asia was a policy which centuries earlier had been pursued by Egypt, Babylonia and, to some extent at least, by the princes of Mitanni and by the Hittites. Destroying the minor states and groups that had arisen after the decay of the earlier empires, she succeeded, in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., in effecting political and social disintegration more profound than the storm-swept lands had ever before experienced. Then, amid far-reaching movements, Cimmerian and Scythian, sovereignty passed from Assyria to Babylonia, until, with the rise of Persia upon the heels of the Medes, we reach the climax in an interrelated world of east and west, a new internationalism of trade and trade-routes as well as of politics, which surpassed that of the Amarna age.

This is the story we have to tell. After a period which—in spite of Assyrian tablets—is singularly obscure we leave the records of accident and inference and approach the age of deliberate history. There is not merely a desire 'to rescue from oblivion the memory of former incidents,' there is a certain self-consciousness, a desire to know 'how we came to be here.' There is a new spirit which shows itself in the production and—what is more important for us—in the conscious preservation of literature; it finds its most powerful expression in ethical and religious movements which inaugurate new eras in history far and wide, even in countries like China and India, far outside the horizon of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. An old era—however introduced—is giving way to a new: age-long usages and conventions decay to make room for a new freedom, and it proves easier to follow the course of history from about the seventh century B.C. and onwards, than to bridge the gulf which divides it from the sixteenth, fifteenth and fourteenth centuries with their fuller and more interrelated records.

The reader is arriving at the point where he will find himself turning westwards. The thread of history is passing definitely away from South-west Asia and Egypt and will be taken up by Greece and Rome. To what extent the subjects which most interest students of the Bible and of the Ancient East have their proper place in the first part of a continuous history of the European peoples has, it is hoped, already been seen in the first two volumes, and the proof is completed in this. But the historical material from the East subsequently becomes much less extensive and, with certain exceptions, is of less importance for our

purpose. The exceptions are, of course, conspicuous, and they will not be neglected in later volumes. Thus volume IV will open with the rise of the Persian Empire which for more than fifty years cast its shadow across the Greek world. So, too, the inauguration of Judaism will be described in volume V, for Judaism was destined to have an influence, though a deferred influence, on the whole history of western civilization.

Assyria now has the place of honour and Mr Sidney Smith of the British Museum sketches the main outlines of her history down to her fall in 612 B.C., and describes and interprets the salient features of her civilization. The great accumulation of cuneiform tablets makes this achievement of a historical synthesis, within the limits of space which could be allotted, a work of unusual difficulty.

The obscure but fascinating problems of the Hittites are resumed by Dr Hogarth (cf. vol. II, ch. XI), who discusses the successors of the Hittites, and the history and art of the Neo-Hittite states of North Syria. The account of Urartu (Ararat) or Van, the later Armenia, which plays so important a part in the history of Assyria, has been entrusted to Dr Sayce, the pioneer in this as in other realms of ancient Oriental History. The Scythians and northern nomads, their share in the turmoil of the seventh century, and their civilization, are dealt with by Dr Minns. Dr Campbell Thompson writes on the short-lived, semi-antiquarian Chaldaean Neo-Babylonian empire which succeeded Assyria, only to fall before Persia. He also contributes a survey of the influence of Babylonia, rounding off the story of the Sumerian-Semitic power which, though it soon dropped out of the pages of history, has left many traces even in our modern civilization.

Egypt has lost its proud position, and, as is shown by Dr Hall, is of relatively little importance, until the Delta came into closer touch with the young Greek world. Then Saïte Egypt, with its strange antiquarianism and its active interest in lands over which it had once ruled, entered into international politics; its ambitions were destroyed by Babylonia, and ultimately it succumbed to Persia. Turning from political history Dr Hall completes his series of chapters upon the art of Egypt and the Near East (cf. vol. I, ch. XVI; vol. II, ch. XV). These chapters are one more proof of the services which the British Museum constantly renders to our knowledge of the ancient civilizations of the East.

The unique significance of Jerusalem justifies a chapter on its

topography, and the task had been assigned to the late Dr Buchanan Gray of Oxford, whose untimely death prevented him from completing this and other contributions (for vol. IV). Only a small part of his MS. was available in this volume (from the middle of p. 347 to the top of p. 349); and it has been incorporated in the chapter by Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister, whose work as an excavator in Palestine, and especially at the Palestine Exploration Fund's recent excavations at Ophel, has given him a first-hand knowledge of the subject. The Old Testament is the one source which, in its present form, presents a continuous story from the earliest times to the Persian age, and the reconstruction of Judaism in the fifth century stands in contrast to the antiquarianism and decay in Babylonia and Egypt. For this new life in the internal history of the land the influence of the great prophets is considered to be responsible, and Dr Cook, after dealing with the main historical outlines of Israel and the neighbouring states, discusses the internal development, the teaching of the prophets and the problems of the old conditions and the new.

We pass next to Anatolia, where Dr Hogarth (in continuation of vol. II, ch. XX) treats of Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia, between the old days of Hittite power and the events of the era when, entering again into Oriental political history, they ultimately became part of the vast realms of Persia.

The last five chapters of the volume are concerned with the history of Greece and have to leap many gulfs—which, owing to the defects of our knowledge, it is impossible to bridge—dividing the conditions of the Heroic Age (treated of in vol. II) from later Greek history. Mr Wade-Gery continues his account of the Dorians (vol. II, ch. XIX), who destroyed and replaced the older order; he tells of the kings and Tyrants in the Peloponnese, and sketches the history of the Spartan State which was to become one of the two chief forces in the history of Classical Greece. The growth, from small beginnings, of the other principal force, that of Athens, will be seen from ch. XXIII, in which Professor E. A. Gardner and Dr Cary deal with the dawn of its history, the union of Attica, and its early constitutional structure.

In the following chapter Dr Cary writes on Northern and Central Greece, the rise of the several states, the growth in importance of the Delphic oracle, and its part in shaping Greek society and religion (cf. vol. II, ch. XXII).

Marshalling an array of scattered data, Professor J. L. Myres reconstructs the story of Greek colonial expansion throughout

the length and breadth of the Mediterranean; he describes the competition of Greek traders and adventurers with their precursors and rivals, the Sea-raiders, Phoenicians and Etruscans, and prepares the way for the story of the struggle of the Greeks to hold what they had won. This last chapter completes a general picture of the Greek world and the historical interconnections of its various parts about the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Finally, Professor Adcock gives a reconstruction of the early development of the Greek city-state, the framework in which Greek political life was to be set during the classical period. The chapter thus forms a prelude to the history of the Greek world that faced Persia, which will be the main theme of the next volume.

It will be found that the same events are not infrequently recounted or referred to by different writers in different chapters. This is a striking reflection of the fact that events have begun to assume an international character such as we are accustomed to during the last several hundred years of modern history, when almost any leading event in the national history of one country has also considerable importance for other countries through its international relations. The Fall of Nineveh is a striking example. While its first and most obvious significance is that of an event in the national history of Assyria, it is also of capital importance in the histories of Babylonia, Egypt, the peoples of Palestine, the inhabitants by the shores of the Aegean, the wandering Cimmerians—and each national historian will see the same event from a different angle. Accordingly, instead of any attempt to give one definite and, as it were, official story to which all writers might refer, it has seemed better, at the cost of repetition, that each writer should be allowed to give his own account of the event, even at some sacrifice of strict uniformity. Slight variations in the chronology still persist, due partly to the character of the evidence, partly to different systems of year-reckoning, etc.

The division between volumes III and IV is not, and could not be, strictly chronological; readers will find in vol. IV much that they may miss in vol. III, *e.g.* about Persia, Carthage, the Etruscans, Early Classical Greece, legal reforms, literature, philosophy and art. The preparation of the two volumes has gone on simultaneously, and it is expected that vol. IV will be published early in 1926. The separate volume of plates to illustrate vols. I–IV is being prepared by Mr C. T. Seltman of Queens' College, and should follow shortly afterwards.

Dr Hall wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr H. M. Last, of St John's College, Oxford, who read pp. 299–315 in typescript. Mr Wade-Gery desires to make general acknowledgments to Dr J. K. Fotheringham (see also p. 762). Prof. Adcock wishes to thank Dr Giles, Prof. Halliday and Dr Cary; and Dr Cook has to thank Prof. Kennett and the Rev. W. A. L. Elmslie, B.D., for criticisms and suggestions in the preparation of his chapters.

The thanks of the Editors are due to the contributors for their ready co-operation throughout; were it not for the courteous help of these and other scholars the work of the Editors would have been far more difficult and more exposed to error. Special thanks are due to Mr Sidney Smith of the British Museum for assistance in Assyriological matters, and to Mr S. G. Campbell, University Lecturer in Epigraphy and Dialects, for the Greek columns in the Table of Alphabets and for the accompanying notes. In the preparation of Map 1 acknowledgments are due to the Royal Geographical Society, the General Staff of the War Office, and other sources indicated on the map. The Editors are also indebted to Dr Hogarth for Maps 2 and 9, Dr Sayce for Map 3, Dr Minns for Map 4, Mr Wade-Gery for Map 10, Dr Cary for Map 12, Prof. Myres for Maps 13, 14 and 15, Prof. Macalister for the plans of Jerusalem (p. 336 *sq.*), Messrs A. and C. Black for Maps 5, 6 and 8, Messrs Bartholomew for Map 7, and the Austrian Kartographisches Institut for Map 11. The general and biblical indexes have been made by the Rev. T. W. Manson, M.A., of Westminster College, former scholar of Christ's College. Finally, in a work of this sort inconsistencies and mistakes creep in only too easily, and thanks are due to the staff of the University Press for their care and accuracy.

The design on the outside cover represents the head of Ashurbanipal, from a bas-relief in the British Museum.

J. B. B.
S. A. C.
F. E. A.

August 1925.

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By E. A. Gardner, Litt.D., F.B.A.
Yates Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of London, and
M. Cary, D.Litt.
Reader in Ancient History in the University of London[1]

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¶ *The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes: bahr (lake), dêr (monastery), jebel (mountain), kala'at (castle), khirbet (ruin), nahr (river), tell (mound), tur (mount), wâdi (torrent-valley), etc., and the Arabic article el (ed-, etc.).*

B 4
, B 2
, *R.*, G 3
, C 2
uf, G 4
ar, D 2
, FG 4
, C 2
ndretta, C 2
D 1
a, F 2
us Mts., C 2
, H 5
E 2
an, B 5
on, BC 4
C 5
F 3
aiza, D 4
ebanon, C 4
ch, C 2
t Mt., FG 1
t, Lesser Mt., FG 1
di, CD 3
u, G 2
, F 1
(T. R'fad), C 2
kha (mod. Karkûk), G 3
, B 3
ina, G 3
od, B 5
, F 3
on, B 5
ek, C 4
on, G 4
lad, G 4
n, *R.*, D 2
arsip, D 2
, H 5
heba, B 5
tun (Baitun), H 3
r, B 4
eshan, B 4
k, C 2
, C 2
hri, D 3
Uni, D 2
akkuru, FG 4
amban, H 3
F 1
akin, H 5
ppa, G 4
C 4
, C 4
a, B 4
rea, B 1

Calah, F 2
Calneh (Kullani), near Arpad (p. 37), C 2
Calycadnus, *R.*, AB 2
Carchemish, D 2
Cilician Gates, B 2
Circesium, E 3
Citium, A 3
Comana, C 1, 2
Ctesiphon, G 4
Cuthah, G 4
Cyprus, B 3

Damascus, C 4
Dead Sea, B 5
Der ez-Zôr, E 3
Diarbekr, E 2
Dibon, C 5
Dibsi, D 3
Diyala, *R.*, G 3, 4
Dor, B 4
J. Druz, C 4
Dur Kurigalzu, G 4
Dur Sarrukin, F 2

Ecbatana, J 3
Edessa, D 2
Edom, B 5
Elam, HJ 4
Ellipi, H 3
Enzite, D 1
Erech, G 5
Eridu, H 5
Erzingan, D 1
Euphrates, *R.*, C–J 1–5
Ezerum, E 1

Famagusta, A 3
Ferakdin, B 1

Galilee, *L.*, B 4
Gambulu, H 4, 5
Gaza, B 5
el-Ghor, B 5
Gozan, E 2
Gurgum, C 2
Gutium, FG 3

Haifa, B 4
Halys, *R.*, AB 1
Hamadan, J 3
Hamath, C 3
Harra, D 5
Harran, D 2
Hatarika, C 3
Hatra, F 3
Hauran, BC 4
W. Hauran, E 4

J. Hazimiat, E 4
Hebron, B 5
Hermon, Mt., B 4
Hierapolis, C 2
Hindanu, E 3
Hit, F 4
Homs, C 3
el-Husn, C 3

Illubri, B 2
Ingira, B 2

Jaffa, B 4
el-Jauf, D 6
Jeihan Irmak, BC 2
Jerash, B 4
Jerusalem, B 5
Judi Dagh, F 2

Kadesh (1), C 3
Kadesh (2), B 5
Kammanu. *See* Comana
Kara Su, *R.*, B 1
Kara Su, *R.*, DE 1
Kariatain, C 3
Karkar, C 3
Karkhah (Uknu), *R.*, HJ 3–5
Kashiari Mts, E 2
Kashkai, BC 1
Kasr-Azrak, C 5
el-Kelb, Nahr, B 4
Kerak, B 5
Kerbela, G 4
Kermanshah, H 3
Khabur, *R.*, E 2, 3
Tell Khalaf, E 2
Kharput, D 1
Khilakku, B 1
Khorsabad, F 2
Khuzistan, J 5
Killis, C 2
Kirkuk, G 3
Kish, G 4
Kizil Irmak, *R.*, B–D 1
Kue, B 2
Kum(m)ukh, CD 2
Kut el-Amara, G 4

Lachish, B 5
Larnaka, A 3
Larsa, G 5
Latakia, B 3
Lebanon, B 4
el-Leja, C 4

Maan, B 5
Madeba (Medebah), B 5
Malatia, D 1
Mannai, GH 2
Marash, C 2
Mardin, E 2
Media, HJ 2
Megiddo, B 4
Melazgert, F 1
Melid, Melitene. *See* Malatia
Mervana, F 2
Meshetta, C 5
Meskeneh, D 2
J. Metaha, D 5
J. Misma, D 5
Moab, BC 5
Mosul, F 2
Murad Su, *R.*, D–F 1
Musasir, G 2
Mush, E 1

Nairi, EF 1
Namri, G 2, 3
Nasiriyeh, H 5
Nineveh, F 2
Nippur, G 4
Nisibis, E 2

Opis, G 3
Orontes, *R.*, BC 2, 3

Palmyra, D 3
Persian Gulf, J 6
Petra, B 5
Philistia, B 5
Pitru, D 2
Pukudu, H 5
Pyramus, *R.*, BC 2

Rabba, B 5
Rakka, D 3
Ramadi, F 4
Raphia, B 5
Rasappa, D 3
Rasappa (?), E 2
Ras el-Ain (Sakânu), E 2
Riblah, C 3
Rutba, E 4

Sagur, *R.*, C 2
Sairt, E 2
Sakânu. *See* Râs el-Ain
Sakjegeuzi, C 2
Salamis, A 3
Salkhad, C 4
es-Salt, B 4
Sam'âl, C 2
Samaria, B 4
Samarra, F 3
Samsat, D 2
Sarug, D 2
Seleucia, G 4
Shatt el-Hai, HG 4, 5
Shechem, B 4
Shupria, E 1
Shuruppak, G 5
Sidon, B 4
Simirra, B 3
J. Sinjar, E 2
Sippar (Abu Habbah), G 4
W. Sirhan, CD 5
Skaka, D 5
Sumer, H 4, 5
Susa, J 4

Tabal, C 1
Tabriz, H 1
Tadmor, D 3
Takrit, F 3
Tarsus, B 2
Tartar (Tharthar), *R.*, F 3
Taurus Mts, A–F 1, 2
Thapsacus, D 2
Tigris, *R.*, FG 2–5
Til Barsip, D 2
Tilgarimmu, C 1
Togarmah. *See above*
Tokhma, *R.*, C 1
Toprah Kaleh, F 1
Tripoli, B 3
Tushkhan, E 2
Tyre, B 4

Ur, G 5
Urartu, E–G 1, 2
Urfa, D 2
Urmia, G 2
Urmia, *L.*, G 1, 2
Usiana, B 1

Van, F 1
Van, *L.*, F 1

Werdi, E 3

Yamutbal, H 4

Zab, *R.*, Lower, FG 3
Zab, *R.*, Upper, FG 1, 2
Zamua, G 3
Zenjirli, C 2

MAP I

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
Scale
English Miles
Kilometres
KASKA
ALZI
ENZITE
TABAL
KHILAKKU
GURGUM
KUMMUKH
SHUPRIA
GOZAN
MANNAI
MEDIA
URMIA
NAMRI
ZAMUA
ARRAPKHA
GUTIUM
ELLIPI
BIT HAMBAN
ELAM
YAMUTBAL
GAMBULU
KHUZISTAN
SUMER
BIT YAKIN
BIT DAKKURU
AKKAD
BABYLON
CUTHAH
NIPPUR
PURUDU
ASHUR
ARBELA
ALEPPO
HADATU
DAMASCUS
HAURAN
AMMON
MOAB
EDOM
HARRA
W. SIRHAN
CYPRUS
KUE
PERSIAN GULF

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

THE last two centuries of the second millennium B.C. had witnessed in western Asia and the Levant ubiquitous disturbances which caused a new distribution of political power. The Egyptian empire had declined, the Hittite had collapsed. Troy had fallen, the days of Cnossus and of Mycenae were over. When things have settled down and the scene-shifting is complete, we find Assyria (which had relapsed into obscurity after a brief emergence) occupying the centre of the stage. Phrygia, and Lydia, and Greek Ionia become the important powers in western Asia Minor. In European Greece the Achaeans have ceased to be the principal power; they have been replaced by the Dorians. In Syria and Palestine we meet with a number of minor peoples and states—Phoenicia, Damascus, Israel, Judah, Moab, Edom, and others.

The might of Assyria is the characteristic feature of the new period which opens after the Iron Age has fully set in. She is a military state with a strong will and a deliberate policy, expanding in all directions, and forming one of the most remarkable empires of antiquity. Her imperial aims were doubtless not uninspired by the traditions of her Babylonian, Egyptian and Hittite predecessors. She welded together smaller states into one more or less manageable whole. When she fell—and she fell with astonishing rapidity—Egyptians, Babylonians or Chaldaeans, and Persians would seek to wear her mantle.

Under the common overlordship of Assyria, the lesser and less ambitious states were brought into closer contact with one another. When we reach the close of the period which is covered in this volume, the lands and nations of the Near East from Mesopotamia to Greece will be closely interconnected by intercourse both political and commercial, as they had been in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries.

After the fall of the Assyrian empire, followed by a very brief renascence in Egypt and Babylonia, the old oriental powers will each have had their reign (Sumerian, Egyptian, Semitic); and this portion of the world will pass under Indo-European supremacy, which will last for twelve hundred years, throughout the remaining centuries of the history which we term Ancient. In the pages of this volume we shall have to tell not only the story of Assyria but also the events which led gradually to the rise of the power of the Persians, and the advance of the Greeks to power and influence from the Euxine to the Tyrrhenian Sea.

I. THE RELAPSE OF ASSYRIA, 1100–900 B.C.: THE ARAMAEAN PRESSURE

The successful campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I and his victorious advance to the shores of the Mediterranean (vol. II, p. 250 *sq.*) were followed by defeat and disaster for Assyria. An obscure period follows. The Assyrian king-lists discovered in the ruins of the city of Ashur prove that the successor of Tiglath-pileser I was Ninurta-apal-ekur II, probably his son, who was succeeded in turn by Ashur-bel-kala, another son of Tiglath-pileser. The 'Synchronous History' states that Ashur-bel-kala maintained friendly relations with the Babylonian king Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, and married the daughter of Adad-apal-iddin, who became king of Babylon on the violent death of Marduk-shapik-zer-mati. An inscription of Ashur-bel-kala on the back of a mutilated statue of the naked goddess of Nineveh may be considered evidence that the capital of the kingdom in his reign was Nineveh, and the king-lists show that his reign was interrupted by the usurpation of Enlil-rabi about 1050 B.C. During this period Ashur-bel-kala took refuge at Sippar, and may have been restored to his throne by the help of Adad-apal-iddin. On his death the legitimate succession seems to have been interrupted, for at least one ruler intervened between Ashur-bel-kala and his brother, Shamshi-Adad IV, who restored the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh. It may be that the rather mysterious Eriba-Adad, whose inscriptions are much broken, was the ruler who intervened. At all events, from the death of Tiglath-pileser to the accession of Ashur-naṣir-pal I, his grandson, only about twenty years elapsed.

Ashur-naṣir-pal I (1038–1020), Ṣhulmanu-asharid (Shalmaneser II, 1019–1008) and Ashur-nirari IV (1007–1002) ruled Assyria in what were apparently times of great stress, and an interesting document from Ḳuyunjiḳ, which contains a prayer of Ashur-naṣir-pal I to Ishtar, referring to the sufferings of his country, may be here quoted as proof of this:

Unto the queen of the gods, into whose hands are committed the behests of the great gods, unto the Lady of Nineveh, the queen of the gods, the exalted one, unto the daughter of the Moon-god, the twin-sister of the Sun-god, unto her who ruleth all kingdoms, unto the Goddess of the world who determineth decrees, unto the Lady of heaven and earth who receiveth supplication, unto the merciful Goddess who hearkeneth unto entreaty, who receiveth prayer, who loveth righteousness, I make my prayer unto Ishtar to whom all confusion is a cause of grief. The sorrows which I see I lament before thee. Incline thine ear unto my words of lamentation and let thine

heart be opened unto my sorrowful speech. Turn thy face unto me, O Lady, so that by reason thereof the heart of thy servant may be made strong! I, Ashur-naṣir-pal, the sorrowful one, am thine humble servant; I, who am beloved by thee, make offerings unto thee and adore thy divinity.... I was born in the mountains which no man knoweth; I was without understanding and I prayed not to thy majesty. Moreover the people of Assyria did not recognize and did not accept thy divinity. But thou, O Ishtar, thou mighty queen of the gods, by the lifting up of thine eyes didst teach me, for thou didst desire my rule. Thou didst take me from the mountains, and didst call me to shepherdhood among the Peoples...and thou, O Ishtar, didst make great my name!...As concerning that for which thou art wroth with me, grant me forgiveness. Let thine anger be appeased, and let thine heart be mercifully inclined towards me.

From Ashur-rabi II to Ashur-nirari V the succession of Assyrian kings was probably unbroken, and so it is possible that Ashur-rabi II (ascended the throne 1001 B.C.) is to be regarded as the founder of this dynasty. Two facts are known concerning events in his reign, that he reached Mt Amanus and carved a relief of himself there, and that the Aramaeans took Pitru, the Pethor of the Old Testament. Ashur-resh-ishi II (died 957 B.C.), Tiglath-pileser II (956–934) and Ashur-dan II (933–912) are little more than names. These few records represent the history of two centuries, for Tiglath-pileser I probably died about 1060 (see otherwise, vol. II, p. 701, *n.* 5), and from the accession of Adad-nirari II, 911–889 B.C., the course of historical events is again known.

By a curious chance the *limmu*-lists which were found at Ashur enable us to be far more certain about the chronology of the period than about its history. These lists are series of names of officials called *limmu* who celebrated the New Year Festival in the capital city, taking the part of the god in the religious mime then enacted (see p. 93). This duty in Assyria fell in rotation to the king and his provincial governors, the precedence of the latter indicating the order of their importance. Documents were dated by the name of the *limmu*; in other words, the office had much in common with that of the 'archon eponymos' at Athens. Lists of these *limmu* found at Ḳuyunjiḳ settle the chronology of the period 892–667 B.C.[1]; and the new lists from Ashur settle the chronology of the kings from Ashur-naṣir-pal I onwards, with a possible error of perhaps ten years at most (see vol. I, p. 148 *sq.*).

An appreciation of what happened in Assyria during this long

[1] It should be noticed that all dates from 883 to 785 are one year later than those usually given; the evidence on which this later dating is based will be found set forth in Forrer's work on the chronology cited in the Bibliography, p. 707.

period of two hundred years depends upon a comparison of the conditions known to exist under Tiglath-pileser I with those recorded in the annals of monarchs of the ninth century (see vol. II, p. 248 *sqq.*). The greatest change which had taken place was in the lands to the west of Assyria. From about the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. the country known to the Assyrians as Amurru-land and Ḫatti (Khatti)-land had been infested with wandering Semitic tribes known collectively as the Akhlamū and Sukhū, who roved bedouin-fashion from the borders of Babylonia up to Carchemish and westward[1]. But Tiglath-pileser I had already found it necessary to deal with a new phase in this great movement of peoples when he sacked the Aramaean settlements at the foot of Mt Bishri. The invading tribes in his time began to evince a desire to settle in the rich lands of the middle Euphrates. During the period 1100–1000 B.C. it is probable that fresh hordes followed the earlier nomads, and by force of arms and numbers established their position in the most favourable lands they could conquer. For the most part these tribes were akin to the Akhlamū ('the companions'), that is, they were Aramaean, and were possessed of a common idiom, others were probably not, for inscriptions afford some material in the proper names for forming an opinion.

The invasion of Babylonia in this same period by the Chaldaeans, and the establishment of Aramaean settlements on its eastern, northern and western borders caused a dislocation of power in that country, clearly shown in the dynastic lists. The pressure on Assyria's western border must have been as great as on Babylon, and though it is possible that Ashur-bel-kala, Shamshi-Adad IV, and their successors contested every foot of ground, and admitted Aramaeans to settle in Assyria proper only as subjects, the important fact is clear that the caravan-route through the Khabur district was entirely in the hands of the tribesmen. Along the banks of the Euphrates to about the latitude of Aleppo, then westward and southward, the constant influx of Semites established a series of small states, mutually antagonistic, yet strong by reason of their constant reinforcement. Hanigalbat was reduced to a narrow strip of territory running east and south of Nisibis. Carchemish itself, strong enough to resist invasion, must still have suffered greatly. Aleppo and Damascus became Aramaean centres, and Phoenicia and Palestine were to experience

[1] The Sukhū are quite distinct from the Sutu of the Amarna letters, who settled in a land east of the Tigris, called, in classical times, Sittace (cf. vol. II, p. 235).

the new pressure. Such an invasion, irresistible because unceasing for a long period, must always bring ruin and devastation in its course. That the old centres of civilization in Mesopotamia were exhausted may be deduced from the confusion prevalent in Babylonia throughout the period. Assyria at this time must have been fighting at bay, and its survival is to be attributed to an elastic national organization. None the less its might was greatly reduced, and may not have extended at the period of greatest depression beyond the city of Ashur and the Lower Zāb to the south, and the river Tartar (Tharthar) to the west, for the Aramaean Utu'ate, Laḳi and Sukhū settled on these borders. The break in the legal succession shows that this distress led to civil upheavals.

Roughly, the second period, 1000–900 B.C., represents a time during which direct invasion by incoming hordes had ceased; the tribes were engaged in settling down, and in prosecuting commerce or fighting one another. The boundaries of the various states became precise, and the map of western Asia on which the subsequent movements of armies can be traced down to the time of Ashurbanipal may be drawn. West of Assyria lay a series of independent states, some populous and wealthy cities, some tribes, the Laḳi, for example, possessing a loose federal organization extending over a considerable area, others consisting of unions of fortified towns such as Bit-Khalupi, while remnants of older states still subsisted in less favoured districts. Though allied by race, these states were incapable of concerted action, and none was sufficiently strong to assert a complete supremacy over the rest. The position for Assyria was disastrous. The whole of the Euphrates valley, with the districts round the Khabur and Balikh, was now occupied by peoples who admitted no allegiance, probably not even allowing caravan rights across their territory; they themselves possessed a commercial instinct fully as keen as that of the Assyrians, and waxed rich on the proceeds of a trade with the west on which Assyria was dependent. From the third millennium onwards, the caravan trade through the Khabur district to the west and to the north had supported a large population in Assyria by a traffic in two essential products, metals and cloth stuffs. That trade was now stopped, and the suffering in such cities as Nineveh and Arbela must have been considerable. A continuance of such conditions would have reduced Assyria to a poverty and insignificance already experienced at the time when the kingdom of Mitanni flourished (see vol. II, p. 230).

Conquering campaigns such as those of Shalmaneser and Tiglath-pileser would not have been sufficient to deal with the

situation; for while these had only found the scattered resistance that the remnants of the Hittite empire could offer, or such as nomadic tribes were likely to give, each step towards the west now brought new and stronger opposition from young and vigorous kingdoms. The situation to the south and south-east must equally have affected the Assyrian trader, for Aramaean Utu'ate had settled on the banks of the Tigris near the mouth of the Adhem, and the march country about Dur-Kurigalzu (Aḳarḳuf) was similarly held by incomers, while on the eastern banks of the Tigris to the south were now established the strong and prosperous communities of the Li'tau, Khindaru, Puḳudu and Gambulu. In Karduniash itself the confusion caused by the Kaldu (Chaldaeans) must have led to much damage and loss in the down-river trade. In the tenth century, then, Assyria was probably free from any great military danger; but, reduced in territory, insecure in trade, exhausted by a long fight for existence, the country needed rulers of great qualities to regain the dominant position it once held.

Some knowledge of the Aramaean communities which constituted the most urgent danger to Assyria may be gained from the antiquities excavated at Tell Khalaf, called by the Assyrians (*mat*) *Guzana*, the biblical Gozan, a site on the Khabur. The stone reliefs, barbarous and inartistic compared with Hittite and Assyrian work, are considered early by the German excavators, but their date cannot be definitely fixed. The short cuneiform inscriptions on them give the name of Kapara, the son of Khadiani, presumably an independent ruler of the place, probably to be dated about 900 B.C. The small antiquities belong to various periods, but serve to show the general level of prosperity of these communities, and to explain how they were once able to do battle with Assyria on equal terms. (See further below, pp. 157 *sqq.*)

II. THE RESTORATION OF ASSYRIA

The new dynasty founded by Ashur-rabi about 1001 B.C. probably dealt with conditions that slowly improved, and was able to succeed in its first efforts to restore the country. About 966–934 B.C. Tiglath-pileser II ruled so effectively that a successor calls him *shar kishshati*, a title reserved for mighty monarchs (cf. vol. I, p. 369). A sign of the improved fortune of the country is the fact that Ashur-dan II began extensive architectural work on the 'gate of the metal-workers' at the city of Ashur. This was the main gate for western traffic, and a renewal of that traffic is

to be assumed from Ashur-dan's work upon it. From inscriptions of his son, Adad-nirari II, it is clear that great works of reconstruction were undertaken at the close of the tenth century. The means for these beneficent works was obtained in the only way possible, by the assertion of the reviving energy of Assyria by force of arms, and the consequent plundering of wealthy cities. The annals of Adad-nirari (911–889) tell the story of campaigns which for the first time in two hundred years faintly recalled the almost forgotten exploits of Tukulti-Ninurta I and Tiglath-pileser I; they also serve to show to what narrow limits Assyria itself had been restricted.

The first campaign was directed to the south-east, across the lands south of the lower Zāb and along the northern border of the modern province of Fars. In this region the state of affairs remained the same as in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, and Adad-nirari was able to traverse the country as victoriously as he. He even penetrated farther, for he reached the salt desert of modern Persia, and conquered the land of Bāzu, probably Ardistan, never reached again till the time of Esarhaddon. The next year, 910, was occupied by an inconsiderable campaign against the province of Kutmukh, which stretched from the Jūdī-Dāgh to the west bank of the Tigris. This particular district at all times caused trouble, for Sennacherib was obliged to send a punitive expedition there (see p. 70); yet the fact that Adad-nirari speaks of its annexation implies that the Assyrian border to the north was along the Tigris. In 909 it was necessary to deal with Babylonia. Shamash-mudammiḳ, a king of the Eighth Dynasty of Babylon, was trying to establish his authority over the tribes just south of the Jebel Ḥamrin. Adad-nirari met and defeated him by that great range of hills, and drove his army southwards down the bank of the Euphrates as far as Dēr. The most fruitful result of this campaign was the annexation of Arrapkha (Greek Ἀρραπαχῖτις, modern Kārkūk) and of Lubda, which had come to be regarded as Babylonian fortresses.

The greatest need of Assyria was to regain control of the country's old provinces west of the Tigris, up to Nisibis. These were occupied by a people the annalist calls the (*mat*) *Temannai*. The district itself was known to the Assyrians as *Ḥanigalbat*[1]. This land had been reduced to extremity by the Aramaean invasion of the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, and was now confined to a narrow strip of country which comprised only the

[1] Or *Ḥaligalbat*. Both readings are found: the name may also be read *Ḥaniṙabbat*.

north-eastern corner of its previous domains. The Temannai themselves must have been driven from the south-west by the Aramaeans, had seized on the Nisibis area, and were now ruled by kings to whom the annalist gives Semitic names. Such a people, in such a position, were likely to offer the stoutest resistance, and it was essential that they should not be supported by others if the Assyrians were to conquer. A typical example of Assyrian strategy is afforded by Adad-nirari's campaign of 908, aimed at isolating Hanigalbat. A hasty expedition through the southern spurs of the northern hills, skirting the southern border of Shupria as far as Alzi, won back for Assyria two long lost forts, which drove a wedge between the Temannai and the hill people. To the south, a punitive expedition against the Akhlamū and Sukhū, who lay about the mouth of the Khabur, exacted tribute from them and from Aramaean tribes, and rendered their interference unlikely for a few years. Finally Apku, a fortress to the west of the Tigris which had been sacked by some enemy, was refortified to serve as a base for future expeditions.

For five years, 907–3, the Assyrian army was now engaged in the task of reducing Hanigalbat. Steadily the army of the Temannai was pushed back from the Kashiari hills to Nisibis, from Nisibis to Khuzirina, and from there to the borders of the Aramaean states on the Khabur. Each year a fresh king of the Temannai took charge of the defence, but nothing could save the kingdom, while such assistance as certain Aramaean cities could offer did not avail; by 903 the remnants of the Temannai were carried off to Assyria, and were thereafter settled in the district south of Kalakh, to appear in subsequent history as *Temenu*. Adad-nirari had successfully regained the home provinces west of the Tigris, and had instilled a very salutary fear in the Aramaean tribesmen and townsfolk.

After two campaigns devoted to securing the Assyrian fortress of Kummu on the south-east border against certain rival townships, Adad-nirari in 900 marched through Hanigalbat to the Khabur, and then proceeded from Sakānu, the modern Rās el-'Ain, down the bank of that river, forcing towns and tribes to pay tribute. In the important city of Ḳatni he actually installed a nominee of his own as governor. Thence by way of the junction of the rivers he reached the right bank of the Euphrates, and secured tribute from the great Aramaean federations, the Laḳi and Khindanu.

Only one other exploit in this reign is recorded. In some year after 899 Adad-nirari met and defeated Nabu-shum-ishkun, the

king of Babylon who succeeded Shamash-mudammiḳ, and afterwards drew up a treaty with him settling the southern border; the Babylonians were forced to regard a line south of Dur-Kurigalzu (Aḳarḳuf) and Sippar (Abu Ḥabbah) as their northern limit[1]. So the achievement of Adad-nirari was rounded off: he had restored the natural boundaries of Assyria, and once again enabled his country to rank as an important military power. Even so, Assyria remained a small, though compact power; the task of restoring the supremacy once exercised north, south, east and west, still remained. Adad-nirari's boast that he had brought Urarṭu (the annalist calls it *Uratri*) to his feet can have had no foundation but that of a single victory over Urarṭian troops on ground naturally Assyrian. It is probable, though not yet certain, that the well-known 'Broken Obelisk' (now in the British Museum) should be attributed to Adad-nirari II. If this be so, two interesting deductions may be drawn: (*a*) The long inscription is devoted to an account of one of his predecessors, either Tukulti-Ninurta I or Tiglath-pileser I, and probably was intended to serve a political object—to rouse the Assyrians to a sense of their past glories. Further (*b*), it would show that the successes of Adad-nirari II enabled him to undertake very important works of restoration in and near the city of Ashur.

On the accession of Tukulti-Ninurta II, 889–884 B.C., Assyria, restored by the activity of his immediate predecessors, was powerful enough to send out armies to reconquer its ancient territories. The course of the almost yearly campaigns can be traced for over sixty years, and their importance is great; for in them is to be found the proof of a definite intention to establish permanent rule over the northern marches of Assyria and the western lands as far as the Mediterranean, and to exercise suzerainty over the kingdoms adjacent to the new borders; in other words the establishment of an Assyrian empire became the aim of royal policy. This policy was faithfully executed by a succession of monarchs, not always with immediate success, but with a persistence remarkable in the history of western Asia. The security of Assyria demanded the reduction of the eastern and northern hill-folk to a state of impotence by periodical invasion, and, where possible, by the establishment of garrisons at favourable points of vantage on the borders. Equally necessary for the prosperity of Assyria was the complete control of the route across the

[1] The strategic importance of these two places lies in the fact that from the first the lower reaches of the Tigris, from the second those of the Euphrates, can be controlled.

regions of the Khabur and Balīkh, northwards up to the Taurus and into Cappadocia, westwards to the sea. The experience of centuries had shown that such control could not be secured unless the country were systematically conquered, occupied and guarded by the Assyrians, and that in considerable force. The whole territory as far west as Carchemish must become an integral part of Assyria. This further entailed the imposition of a suzerainty over kingdoms on the new borders. The policy, then, led to direct annexation and government of subject-peoples, and not merely the imposition of tribute and allegiance, though that was in most cases an inevitable preliminary. The gradual extension of conquest during the reigns of Tukulti-Ninurta II, Ashur-naṣir-pal II and Shalmaneser III points to that assimilation of conquered peoples and steady increase of power on which previous Assyrian conquerors had been unwilling to wait. Indeed no previous power seems to have aimed at such an empire in western Asia; certainly none had pursued such an aim with perseverance and energy over a long course of years.

The first four years of Tukulti-Ninurta were occupied by campaigns undertaken against the Nairi country, which lay south-west of Lake Vān. In these campaigns the king generally set out from Nineveh, his capital. The summary account of these campaigns given in the royal inscription shows that in the fourth year the king marched up to the sources of the Tigris, over Mt Kashiari, broke the resistance of Amme-ba'ali, and then set him up as a tributary monarch, under the surveillance of Assyrian officers. The most important part of the tribute consisted in horses for Tukulti-Ninurta's body-guards, which is of some interest, since a force of light cavalry to be used with the chariotry seems first to have been introduced into the Assyrian army about this time. In the fall of the same year a punitive expedition was undertaken from the city of Ashur against Kirruri in the eastern hills, and from there Tukulti-Ninurta claims to have marched over ground fresh to the Assyrians, plundering and burning the towns of Ladanu and Lullu. Among the mountains of Ishrun, 'a place of devastation, the eagle of heaven in its flight therein (does not alight),' he continued the pursuit down to the valley of the Lower Zāb. The remnant of the pursued crossed the Lower Zāb, apparently to take refuge in Elamite territory. Thus the Assyrian army marched down the eastern border of Assyria, driving before them brigands who had proved dangerous in the hills, and established Assyrian rule in the district lying between the Upper and the Lower Zāb.

In the year 885 Tukulti-Ninurta undertook a triumphal march, the object of which was to make a demonstration on the southern and western borders, and to plunder the Aramaean tribes situated there. From the city of Ashur the king followed the course of the river Tartar, hunting by the way, then turned eastward to the Tigris, where he ravaged the villages of the Utu'ate, situated somewhere near the mouth of the Adhem. Thence by a trackless route he came to Dur-Kurigalzu, crossed the Patti-Bel canal, and camped at 'Sippar of Shamash.' The royal inscription continues to give an itinerary of the army's progress as it turned north along the eastern bank of the Euphrates. At Anat ('Anah), Ilu-ibni, the governor of the Sukhi, and at Kailite Amme-alaba of Khindanu paid tribute. Mudada and Khamatai (*i.e.* the Hamathite) of the Laḳi, Mudada of the Sirḳi, Kharanu of the Laḳi, who occupied the district up to the mouth of the Khabur, followed their example, as did the princelings along the Khabur, for the king marched along that river past the modern 'Arābān to Nisibis. Thence he turned to the north-west, and entered the territory of the Mushki, laying waste the country. The boast of the glorious might of Tukulti-Ninurta being established by his sun, the god Ashur, 'from Shubari to Gilzan,' that is along the whole northern border, was amply justified.

The military efforts of Tukulti-Ninurta were, then, of a twofold nature. The first aim was to subjugate the hill-folk of Nairi, the second to establish Assyrian prestige along the borders. In home affairs his policy was no less wise. By securing 2720 horses and a quantity of metal as tribute the king was not only obtaining supplies for his army but winning commercial prosperity for his country. Further than this, he built irrigation machines, cared for agriculture, and made the population of his land to multiply, presumably by forced settlements. Increased wealth enabled him to clear and rebuild a terrace-foundation which had not been touched since the time of Ashur-uballiṭ. In the distant north, at the entrance to the grotto where the Subnat (Sufan-dere) has its source, now called Bābil, he wrote his fame; '(The likeness of) Tukulti-Ninurta...the great king, the mighty king,...the king of hosts, the king of Assyria, the Sun of all the peoples, the great one who proceedeth by the aid (of Ninurta and Nergal), the gods who are his support,...who has made captive the high hills from east to west...the valiant, the pitiless, who marcheth by difficult paths, and passeth over valleys (and hill-tops) as doth (the wild goat).'

During the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta there was a notable ad-

vance in an art of which to-day but little remains. Many fragments of coloured and glazed bricks which have been found at Ḳal'at Sherḳāt, the ancient Ashur, constitute the best known examples of Assyrian painting. Enough of these bricks remain to show that the great output of artistic work in Assyria in the early part of the ninth century commenced in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta; the drawing of the figures, especially of the human figures, is extremely good, and the colour scheme, when it is remembered that the bricks formed the decoration of dimly-lighted rooms, must have been very effective.

III. THE EXPANSION OF ASSYRIA UNDER ASHUR-NAṢIR-PAL II

During the short reign of Tukulti-Ninurta the army had begun the work of conquest. To his son, Ashur-naṣir-pal II (884–859 B.C.), fell the harder task of completing the conquest and assimilating into the organization of the kingdom the tribal districts which adjoined the Assyrian border east, west and north. The story of how this task was accomplished is told in the dull and brutally frank annals of this king. Only a careful study of the geography of the campaigns reveals the greatness of Ashur-naṣir-pal's accomplishment; and only a chance remark enlightens us as to the organizing ability which firmly based Assyrian power in lands where it continued, though subjected to the rudest shocks, for over two centuries.

In the east, the task was twofold, to maintain the central authority in the provinces already established, and to exact some recognition of suzerainty from neighbouring tribes. To this end Ashur-naṣir-pal immediately on his accession marched into the hills. Though the fighting did not necessitate large numbers of troops, the difficult nature of the ground entailed great hardships and military difficulties; but the Assyrian army, organized in troops according to the nature of their weapons, had achieved a mobility not equalled by any other nation. The lands of Numme and Kirkhi were ravaged, and the governor of Nishtun, who offered the most stubborn resistance, was flayed alive at Arbela —a treatment invariably meted out by Ashur-naṣir-pal to any who caused him trouble. This ferocity had a salutary effect, for only one attempt at rebellion occurred during the reign, in 881, when Nur-Adad, a prince of Dagara, incited the people of Zamua to throw off the yoke of the Assyrian. The position was serious, for the rebels fortified the pass of Babite, the modern Derbend-i-

Bazian, and actually contemplated an invasion of Assyria. Four short campaigns, conducted by different columns, subdued Zamua, and the rebel princes were pursued far into the hills in 880. The eastern tribes hastened to pay tribute to the king while he was occupied in reorganizing the province of Zamua. The city Atlila, which had once been a fortress of the Babylonian king Sibir, was rebuilt and made the provincial capital, where men of strange speech, like the men of Sipirmena, 'who chirp like women,' were in future to render homage and pay taxes. The tribute exacted from Zamua shows the industrial prosperity of the country, and it is interesting to note that workmen from there were imported to Kalakh, obviously to help in the work of rebuilding that magnificent city.

The northernmost conquests of Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta I and Tiglath-pileser I had long fallen away from Assyria; even colonists, such as those planted at the fortress Lukha (also called Elukhat) refused to recognize the local governor in the provincial city of Damdamusa, probably placed there by Adad-nirari II. The districts outside the towns were in the hands of the Aramaeans, who joined the rebel colonists in 882 in an attack on Damdamusa. Ashur-naṣir-pal promptly marched north, only staying on the road to have a relief depicting himself carved on the rock beside those of Tiglath-pileser I and Tukulti-Ninurta II at the source of the Subnat. The fortress of Kinabu, in which the rebels concentrated, was taken by storm; 'three thousand captives I burned with fire, I left not a single one among them alive to serve as a hostage.' Other parts of Nairi were ravaged, and the king organized a new administration of the district from the city Tushkhan, the modern Karkh, where the Assyrian colonists were settled. Representatives from all Nairi and from the Aramaeans were received there, including Amme-ba'ali, the old opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta, henceforth a loyal tributary of Assyria. The march back was a triumphal progress; for while the king was receiving tribute and homage from Hanigalbat, in Nisibis, the land of Zalli (also called Azalli and Izalla) in the north-west, a province of the old Hittite empire, sent tribute.

The people of the northern hills, always opposed to the central authority, required yet another severe lesson in 879. Certain parts of the Kashiari hills, not yet visited by the Assyrian army, did not recognize the provincial governor who had been installed at Tushkhan; and the subjects of Amme-ba'ali, under anti-Assyrian influences (which possibly sprang from Urarṭu), rebelled and slew their prince. Amme-ba'ali was very thoroughly

revenged, and the disturbed parts of the province completely desolated—a task in which the pioneers were called upon to accomplish some very difficult work for the transport of the army; some sort of peace thereafter ruled in this restless land for nine years, when a punitive campaign was again necessary (see p. 16).

The greatest expansion of the kingdom took place in the west, where the steady assimilation of new provinces was at once most necessary and easiest. The Aramaean peoples made little attempt at combined resistance, and the northern powers at first hailed the reappearance of Assyrian armies in the west, since they relieved the pressure on their southern borders. Thus, when Ashur-naṣir-pal commenced his first western campaign from Kutmukh in 884–3, the distant Mushki sent him gifts, and so indicated their friendly disposition. The immediate pretext for the campaign was a good one; Khamatai, the governor of Suru, an Assyrian tributary, had been murdered by the anti-Assyrian party, and the whole district of Bit-Khalupi, along the Khabur river, was in revolt. The incitement to rebellion came from farther west, from the powerful state of Bit-Adini, and a pretender from there became the leader of the rebellion. Immediate action on the part of Ashur-naṣir-pal prevented serious consequences; he marched straight to Suru, which immediately capitulated, and the peoples on the western bank of the Euphrates, the Laḳi and Khindani, paid tribute. The new methods in the matter of collecting tribute were different from those of previous kings; tribal sheikhs no longer withheld their taxes until an Assyrian army appeared in the field, for in 883 the governor of Sukhi, the land which formed the north-western boundary of Babylonia, 'brought silver and gold as his tribute into my presence at Nineveh, although in the time of the kings my fathers no governor of Sukhi had come to Assyria.' So strict a régime must have been very unwelcome to the heads of the great tribes, and the Sukhū engaged in an intrigue with Nabu-apal-iddin, king of Babylon, to whom they might naturally turn, since previously they had always looked to the Babylonian kings as their overlords.

Nabu-apal-iddin, not strong enough to attack Assyria openly, nor to contest the treaty imposed on his predecessor by Adad-nirari II, sent a force of 3000 Kassite soldiery under his brother, Ṣabdanu, to assist Sukhi in an overt rebellion in 878. The whole force of the rebels then moved against Suru. The main Assyrian army executed a forced march from Kutmukh, along the Kharmis and the Khabur, thence down the Euphrates past Anat ('Anah), and engaged the enemy in an important battle which lasted two

days. The Aramaean forces were completely routed, and Ṣabdanu with his Kassites fell into Ashur-naṣir-pal's hands, even the soothsayer 'who marched in front of their soldiers' being captured. The rebellion was made an occasion for imposing even harsher terms upon the Aramaeans than before, though the king expressed a different view of the matter when he set up his inscription in Suru: 'Ashur-naṣir-pal, the king whose glory and might are enduring, whose countenance is set towards the desert, whose heart desireth to extend his protection.' So unwelcome was the protection that in the very next year (877) the Sukhū were joined by the Laḳi and Khindani in a last attempt to secure independence. Given timely warning by his intelligence officers, the king had no difficulty in re-asserting his authority, and reducing the tribes to complete submission. The brutality of the methods employed to secure future obedience left the Aramaeans incapable of any further resistance; and the risk of any attempt to secure an alliance with Bit-Adini, the great Aramaean power farther north-west, was obviated by a demonstration against the border fort of that state, and the construction of two Assyrian forts just above the junction of the Khabur with the Euphrates. Akhuni of Bit-Adini, and Khabini of Til-Abna, willing to secure immunity from attack for the time being, paid tribute, thus acknowledging Ashur-naṣir-pal's suzerainty.

In seven years Ashur-naṣir-pal had established himself very effectively as complete master of the Khabur and of the middle Tigris and Euphrates. A single demonstration proved sufficient to secure Assyrian prestige in the west. In a remarkable expedition to the Mediterranean in 876 the army marched through unconquered territories unopposed. Great as may have been the divisions in Syria, violent as jealousy between princelings of kindred race with restricted dominions always is, it is difficult to understand why Ashur-naṣir-pal was able without a blow to imitate so exactly the exploits of Tiglath-pileser in the west unless there was an Assyrian party working in his favour. In later times there is evidence that in certain districts Assyrian policy was satisfied to keep a native Assyrian party in power, and we know that in Bit-Zamani in the north Amme-ba'ali lost his life in the Assyrian cause. It is not fanciful then to compare Ashur-naṣir-pal's relations with Syria to those of Philip of Macedon with Greece. Setting out from Kalakh in the month Elul, the king marched to Carchemish, levying troops from Bit-Bakhiani and Azalli on the way. Akhuni and Khabini again paid tribute, and a contingent was levied from Bit-Adini. The Hittite Sangara, prince of Car-

chemish, paid a very heavy tribute, and again a contingent was levied. The route to the Lebanon led through the lands of Dibbarna (or Lubarna), king of Khattina[1], who offered a heavy tribute and paid homage as a subject. His forces once more increased, Ashur-naṣir-pal next crossed the Orontes, and went to the extreme south-west of Khattina, into Dibbarna's royal city Aribua, and foraged in the western land of Lukhuti, laying that country waste. At last he reached the Mediterranean, and the great Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, Tripolis and Arpad, sent gifts (p. 362). At Mt Amanus the Assyrian king copied his forbears by setting up a memorial and cutting timber to roof his buildings.

Only one further campaign of Ashur-naṣir-pal is recorded, and that after an interval of ten years, when the distant north was visited by a punitive expedition. Marching through Kumukh (Commagene) to Adani, the northernmost point the Assyrian reached was the land Mallanu, where an outpost station was established; turning east and then south, through the ranges of Arḳania and Amadani, he fell on Damdamusa, now in enemy hands, and slaughtered 600 men in storming the city, afterwards crucifying 3000 in Amedi (Amid). Southward in the hills of Mt Kashiari Ashur-naṣir-pal trod ground fresh to the Assyrians, taking with great slaughter Allabra the fortress of Laṭṭuri, a former tributary. This campaign secured the king control over the Upper Euphrates.

Ashur-naṣir-pal at the beginning of his reign decided to move his capital from Nineveh to Kalakh, and accordingly rebuilt the ruined city which had been the capital of Shalmaneser I. He appears to have taken up residence there in 880–879, so that the greater part of his building at Kalakh belongs to the first five years of his reign. The chief works he constructed there were a canal, partly subterranean, from the Upper Zāb, the city wall, and his palace, built of brick faced with stone. It is from the palace that the important series of reliefs depicting religious ceremonies, battle and hunting-scenes, were obtained. These low reliefs were originally coloured, and their whole design is pictorial; they form the earliest series of examples of Assyrian art extant.

Much of the technique of the masons is the same as that found on the earliest monuments of Babylonia; the heavy garments with fringes envelop the body so that the lines of the human figure are not shown, and there is the same inability to render

[1] This is now known to be the true reading of the name formerly read Patina.

the hand in a natural manner. The human figure is, in fact, a kind of marionette, in different positions it is true, but always the same figure. The general impression made by these Assyrian pictures, however, is very different from that given by Sumerian or Akkadian work, and they are the outcome of an independent development of art. It must be remembered that these reliefs represent the average work of the master-masons of the period, and that the skill shown in the minute details of ornament is considerable. The composition of the relief from the temple of Ninurta which depicts the conflict of a god with Tiamat is admirable. A glazed tile found in the palace shows that artistic decoration of other kinds beautified the king's residence. Further, the Assyrian masons were extremely successful in fashioning composite figures, part human, part animal, part bird, which represented for them the spirit-world, and the colossi which flanked the doors of the palace, with all their obvious absurdities, really manifest ideal qualities which impress even the modern beholder when seen in their original position. Especially successful, owing to its faithfulness to nature, is the lion from the temple of Ninurta, sculptured in high relief, snarling at the passer-by. The statue of Ashur-naṣir-pal betrays all the artistic timidity common in early periods, but the figure conveys an impression of force and dignity appropriate to the man Ashur-naṣir-pal. It is important to notice that many small objects in ivory and bronze of very different workmanship were found at Kalakh, some representing Egyptian scenes, some, the work of Phoenician artists, belonging to a later period; those which are undoubtedly Assyrian in design probably belong to this reign, though they are also attributed by some to the time of Sargon II. The taste and culture of this remarkable monarch seem to have been distinguished, and his wealth enabled him to set up works of art in many parts of his dominions (see p. 330). It is in keeping with the high estimation in which writing was held, and the constant desire of eastern monarchs to perpetuate their names, that he ordered his triumphal inscription to be cut across reliefs and statues without regard for their appearance.

In an estimation of the character and achievements of Ashur-naṣir-pal certain significant details must be allowed full weight. During the last fifteen years of his reign only one campaign was undertaken by the king personally, and yet the Assyrian army was a disciplined and powerful force when his son ascended the throne. Only a strong administration could have kept the conquered districts so thoroughly in check; only an able handling of

troops could have preserved their efficiency under peaceful conditions. It has sometimes been stated that Assyria was a predatory state which devastated conquered territories by fire and sword, and took tribute without attempting to govern them. The construction of 'royal cities' at various points of the dominions and this period of comparative peace lead to an exactly opposite conclusion for his time. Unfortunately no material in the shape of official correspondence is available to give information as to the conduct of his administration[1]. That he was quick to suppress rebellion or disorder in the territory of subject princes is proved by the incidents in Bit-Zamani. Another interesting fact is that the Aramaeans, on whom his ferocity was especially exercised, seem to have been designedly chosen for deportation to Kalakh. This shows sound judgment. The Aramaean people, whom industry and commercial activity made valuable subjects, could readily be absorbed by the Assyrian nation, while the king had hostages in his hands who might answer for the good behaviour of their native towns. Finally, no ambitious enterprise which was unlikely to be brought to a successful conclusion was undertaken in his reign. In the triumphal march to the Mediterranean, only those states seem to have been visited which would not offer resistance; Damascus, a strong and hostile power, was carefully avoided. Thus Ashur-naṣir-pal showed prudence in his undertakings, judgment in so extending his dominions as to form a compact power, and firmness in the exercise of his authority, once established. There can be no doubt that he was an efficient, if unamiable, 'shepherd' of his people.

IV. THE WORK OF SHALMANESER III

Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.), in following his father's policy of extension northward and westward, and of annexation of lands immediately adjoining Assyria on the trade routes, was faced by a series of problems. The first lay in Bit-Adini, for Akhuni was still sovereign in his own dominions, though tributary. Assyrian commercial progress demanded the complete subjugation and annexation of Bit-Adini, in order that the whole valley of the Euphrates thence as far as Babylonia might be administered by the central authority. Further, an ambitious and warlike prince,

[1] The official titles used by previous kings were employed by Ashur-naṣir-pal and his successors. The province was entrusted to a *shaknu*, divisions of the province to an *urasi*; tax collecting was especially the work of the *zabil kudurri*.

Adad-idri of Damascus would interfere with Assyrian designs in the rich lands of the west, and Shalmaneser's prestige demanded that he should be defeated and if possible subdued. To this end a number of consecutive campaigns in the west might have served; but for such campaigns the national levy was required, and no Assyrian king was able to secure that regularly over a number of years, for it would have entailed the impoverishment of the home country. Moreover, the peoples of Nairi and the lands east of the Tigris could not at this time safely be left unwatched for long. Also, the powerful kings of Urarṭu were pursuing a very active policy among the tribes bordering on Assyria, with the object of themselves controlling those hill-passes which the Assyrians rightly regarded as a military necessity for their own safety. (See further chap. VIII, The Kingdom of Vān [Urarṭu].)

The central point of the Urarṭian power was the ancient hill city on the eastern shore of Lake Vān on the site of which the modern Vān stands. As to the extent of the dominion of these kings no exact information is available, but the Assyrians came into contact with their armies towards the northern shore of Lake Vān from the west and in the hills between Lakes Vān and Urmia from the south. The Urarṭian people are first mentioned by Shalmaneser I, who conducted a campaign against them in the first year of his reign. He misnames the country Uruaṭri, as does also Adad-nirari II. Whence they came is not certainly known, but some features of their civilization are most easily accounted for by supposing that they migrated from a district of Asia Minor to the west of their new home. Their native language belongs to the group commonly called 'Caucasian,' and is believed by some to be akin to the tongue of the Mitanni people who disappeared from history in the thirteenth century B.C. Long before they migrated, the Urarṭians were familiar with the use of iron, and it was with iron tools that they fashioned their dwellings in the live rock of Urarṭu, the biblical Araraṭ. This type of house was as common in ancient times in Asia Minor as it is to-day, and was not unknown in Greece. In almost every other respect the remains of Urarṭian civilization as revealed by the excavations at Toprak Kaleh show very clearly the influence of the superior civilizations with which they came into contact. Among their gods, called 'Khaldi' gods—a term associated by some scholars with the Χαλδοί who lived on the Pontus—was Teisbas, the Hittite Teshub, and it is scarcely to be doubted that his cult was borrowed from the more ancient people. Similarly,

the fine metal work represented by a gold plaque with a relief, and the silver box woven over with silver threads, may aptly be compared with the fine and minute gold work found at Carchemish. See further, p. 183 *sqq.*

Naturally the principal cultural influence in Urarṭu was that of Assyria. The Assyrian form of cuneiform script was adopted, and Urarṭian kings recounted their exploits in the Assyrian as well as in the native language; and though few tablets have been found, their existence is sufficient proof of Assyrian influence (cf. p. 185). The huge jars, the lips of which were decorated with animal heads, resemble the huge pots which have been found in southern Babylonia; while the vases with a red slip which recall Cretan ware are interesting since Assyrian pottery also seems to have been under western influences during the Tell el-Amarna period (cf. vol. II, p. 426 *sqq.*). The borrowing was not all on the one side; the Assyrians themselves were influenced, especially perhaps in the matter of armour, by the Urarṭians, whose plumed helmet, recalling that of the Carians, was finally adopted for his army by Ashurbanipal. The new kingdom of Urarṭu, first mentioned by Ashur-naṣir-pal, became a formidable power in the time of Shalmaneser and completely altered the character of the opposition to be met in the north. There now commenced a struggle which lasted over a hundred years; during that period strong forces were always required on the northern border (p. 173 *sqq.*).

In addition to dealing with Damascus in the west and Urarṭu in the north, Shalmaneser found it necessary to quell the disorder caused by the Kaldu in Babylon. The variety of his aims is traceable in his campaigns, in which now one object, now another, is pursued. He had, in fact, to deal with greater difficulties than any previous monarch.

A campaign at the commencement of the accession year, 859, was directed against the tribes on the north-eastern border. After taking Khubushkia, the capital city of Kakia, who is reckoned as a king of Nairi, Shalmaneser took and sacked the city of Sugunia, a fortress of Arame, the Urarṭian, then marched to Lake Vān and celebrated the rite of 'washing the weapons.' On the return journey tribute was received from Gilzan, some 'two-humped camels' being taken as curiosities to Nineveh.

For three years the king devoted himself to the conquest of Bit-Adini. In 858 the cities of La'la'te and Bur-mar'ana were sacked, and after a pitched battle, Akhuni was temporarily confined to a single city. Khabini of Til-Abna, Ga'uni of Sarugi and Katazili of Kumukh paid tribute, and the Assyrians then crossed

the Euphrates, plundering as they went, and slaughtering 1300 fighting men of Bit-Adini. Shalmaneser advanced into Gurgum, where he received tribute, and then turned towards the valley of the river Saluara, where he had to meet the combined forces of Khaianu of Sam'āl, Sapalulme of Khattina, Akhuni of Bit-Adini and Sangara of Carchemish. A complete victory over the united forces of northern Syria led to an attack on the fortresses of Khattina, and another encounter with a mixed force in which the lands of Ḳue and Khilakku (Cilicia) were represented, as well as Sam'āl, Bit-Adini and Yasbuḳu. Upper Syria was ravaged, the usual timber-cutting was carried out in Mt Amanus, and on the return journey the cities on the Orontes were seized. In the next campaign, in 857, six fortresses of Akhuni were taken and 200 towns destroyed, Sangara of Carchemish was punished by the siege and capture of his wealthy city, and Khaianu of Khattina and other kings had a yearly tribute laid upon them. Shalmaneser had, however, been unable to take Til-Barsip (the modern Tell Aḥmar), where Akhuni still held out. In the next year, 856, Akhuni did not await a siege in Til-Barsip, but retreated across the Euphrates with the large army which still followed him. The Assyrians took complete control of Bit-Adini, colonizing and resettling the country, and thus restored their power in a district lost to them since the time of Ashur-rabi II.

Leaving Bit-Adini the army had to march north before finishing its work. Passing through Bit-Zamani, and ravaging the districts about the river Arzania, it met Arame of Urarṭu in Mt Adduri and inflicted a defeat on him, and pushed farther north. Shalmaneser afterwards returned by way of Lake Vān, Gilzan, Khubushkia and Kirruri.

In the year 855 occurred the last incident in the war with Akhuni. Shalmaneser besieged him in the mountain retreat of Shitamrat, hitherto unknown to the Assyrians. A sally made by Akhuni led to his final defeat and capture, and he and all with him, numbering 17,500, were deported to the city of Ashur, and settled there. The last desperate resistance of the Aramaeans of Naharain had failed. In the same year an expedition to Zamua quelled the hill folk of Nikdime and Nikdi'era.

Only a small punitive expedition was undertaken in the next year, which must have been occupied with preparations for a great campaign in the west. The events in northern Syria had led to an alliance between Irkhuleni of Hamath and Adad-idri[1] of

[1] To Adad-idri must correspond the Ben-Hadad of the biblical narrative, see p. 362.

Damascus, for neither of these princes could view with equanimity the loss already suffered in their northern trade nor the advance of Assyrian armies to their borders. The two kings were able to call upon twelve subject monarchs for contingents[1], from Ḳue in the north to Israel and Ammon in the south, and so to face Shalmaneser with the most considerable force that the rising power of Assyria had ever met. Setting out from Nineveh in 853, the Assyrian army found no opposition to its march on Hamath; indeed the pro-Assyrian party induced the people about the Balīkh to murder their sheikh and surrender without resistance, and all the subject lands paid tribute. Aleppo offered submission, and Shalmaneser proceeded to take three of Irkhuleni's cities; but after sacking Ḳarḳar he had to meet the allied forces, in round numbers about 63,000 infantry, 2000 light cavalry, 4000 chariots and 1000 camels. He inflicted a loss of 14,000 men on them, according to the most probable account[2]. That the Assyrian losses were also heavy is shown by the fact that the campaign was abandoned, and that in the next year Shalmaneser was satisfied with a mere demonstration, during which Til-Abna was destroyed, in consonance with the policy of annihilating the Aramaean states on the Euphrates; and the source of the Tigris was visited. The question of suppressing Damascus was temporarily put aside, in order to deal with disorders in Babylonia which affected Assyrian interests (cf. pp. 140, 262, 362 *sq.*).

At the beginning of Shalmaneser's reign Nabu-apal-iddin had concluded a treaty of peace with him, but Nabu-apal-iddin's death was followed by civil war. Marduk-bel-usate, the youngest son, rebelled against the rightful heir, Marduk-zakir-shum, who appealed to Shalmaneser in 851 for help. The king of Assyria seems to have conducted a small force down the east bank of the Tigris, and, after defeating an attempt to repel him, to have contented himself with desolating the neighbourhood of Gannanate, to which city Marduk-bel-usate was confined. In 850 he

[1] Their composition on Shalmaneser's Monolith, Col. II, ll. 90–95 is: 1200 chariots, 1200 cavalry, 20,000 infantry of Adad-idri of Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 infantry of Irkhuleni of Hamath; 2000 chariots, 10,000 infantry of Ahab of Israel; 500 infantry from Ḳue; 1000 infantry from Muṣri; 10 chariots, 10,000 infantry from Irḳanata; 200 infantry of Matinu-ba'ali of Arvad; 200 infantry of Usanati; 30 chariots, 10,000 infantry of Adunu-ba'li of Shiana, 1000 camels of the Arab Gindibu', 1000 infantry of Ba'sa, son of Rukhubi, of the Amanus (or, of Ammon?). See, on the names, p. 362.

[2] So the Monolith. The Obelisk gives the number as 20,500 and Bull No. 1 as 25,000.

again marched down the eastern bank, captured Gannanate and killed Marduk-bel-usate in battle. He then received a great welcome in Babylon, and performed the rites due to Marduk and Nabu. The cause of Marduk-zakir-shum was finally established by a punitive expedition to the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, in which were the Chaldean strongholds.

The war with Hamath and Damascus was again resumed. In 849 Carchemish suffered the fate of Til-Abna, so that the last tributary state which commanded the Euphrates was reduced to an Assyrian colony. The Assyrian army then marched northwards to the territory of Arame of Urarṭu, but Irkhuleni and Adad-idri created a diversion in Shalmaneser's rear. They were defeated but not pursued. Events followed much the same course in 848, the small towns which had been Sangara's dependents and 100 towns of Arame being sacked before an inconclusive battle was fought against the full force of the allies of Hamath and Damascus at Ashtamaku. It is reasonable to suppose that there was an understanding between Arame and Adad-idri to prevent the execution of any one definite object. The Assyrian therefore decided on a great effort. For two years only punitive enterprises in Syria are mentioned, and then in 845 Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates with a force of 120,000 men. He did not, however, succeed in crushing his enemies. The allies, though they gave ground, were not routed, and it was impossible to keep so large an army in the field. This was a serious check to Assyrian arms, and for a time the west was left in peace.

It was due to the efficiency of Shalmaneser's officers that he had so long been able to neglect the task of intimidating the people on the northern and eastern borders. In the three years' interval he found it necessary to let pass before again calling up the national levy, he marched to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates in 844, and in Namri on the eastern border in 843 he drove out the king Marduk-mudammiḳ, perhaps a Babylonian adventurer, and set up a native ruler.

Meanwhile the alliance which had offered such determined opposition had broken up. Hamath had borne the brunt of previous campaigns, and seems to have been exhausted. Adad-idri was dead, and Ahab of Israel also. Hazael was now ruling Damascus in place of his murdered master, and, without an ally, faced Shalmaneser in Mt Saniru (Hermon) in 841. Defeated in a pitched battle, in which he lost 16,000 men, Hazael held out in Damascus while the Assyrians sacked the towns around. The power of the Syrian prince, though not broken, was so weakened

that Jehu of Israel and the kings of Tyre and Sidon came to pay tribute to Shalmaneser while he was having his relief cut in the rocks by the Nahr el-Kelb (see p. 363). Probably at this time also Egypt, always interested in Syrian affairs, sent two-humped dromedaries, a hippopotamus and other animals unknown in Assyria as a present to the conqueror. Although Shalmaneser had not destroyed the power of Damascus, his main object, the establishment of Assyrian authority up to the Mediterranean, was achieved, as is shown by the summary accounts of his subsequent campaigns.

In 839 the army went north into the territory of Ḳue, with the object of securing the caravan route. In 837 four cities of Hazael were seized, and tribute received from Tyre, Sidon and Byblus (p. 373). The kings of Tabal (Tubal) submitted in 836, and Shalmaneser visited the mines of Cappadocia. Marching up the Euphrates in 835 he attacked a city of Lalla, king of Milid. In 834 he drove the ruler of Namri, east of the Tigris, out of his cities, and passing through Parsua eastward he devastated enemy-country, captured this fugitive prince, and brought him back to Assyria. In 833 and 832 Ḳue was again the object of attack, and was reduced to a tributary state, Tarsus opening its gates to the conqueror. So fell the first of the allies who had fought with Adad-idri and Irkhuleni. This, the last conquest of Shalmaneser in the west, was the logical conclusion of the military efforts of the Assyrians for sixty years. The whole caravan route from Cappadocia to the city of Ashur was in their hands; and the Mediterranean sea-coast from Byblus to Tarsus recognized their supremacy. Shalmaneser's administration of the newly-won dominions was no less firm than that of Ashur-naṣir-pal in his more restricted territories; for when Dibbarna of Khattina, long a faithful vassal of Assyria, was slain by rebellious subjects in 830, Daian-Ashur, the *turtan* or commander-in-chief, was despatched to punish the offenders. In the end the people of Khattina surrendered the chiefs of the rebels, and an Assyrian nominee was made king over them.

The last campaigns of the king were devoted to the north. That of 831 was conducted by Daian-Ashur against Sarduris I of Urarṭu, and was unsuccessful, though the Assyrians claimed a victory. In 829 the country of Kirkhi, south of Zamua, was ravaged. Advancing through Khubushkia in 828, the general pillaged the country of the Mannai to the south of Lake Urmia; and in 827 the subjection of Muṣaṣir was followed by an invasion of Parsua.

The close of the now aged king's reign was disturbed by rebellion and civil war in the centre of Assyria. Ashur-danin-apal, a son of Shalmaneser, secured an important following in an attempt to obtain the succession, and raised a rebellion in 827; and Shalmaneser seems to have died while the important cities of Nineveh, Ashur, Arbela, and old and new provinces such as Amid in the north, Hamath and Til-Abna in the west, the Khindanu in the south, and Zaban in the east, were united against the heir of his choice, Shamshi-Adad. These last days did not, however, obscure the glory of this vigorous monarch in the eyes of his successors; and his achievements must still be considered the basis of Assyrian imperial power. In the south he had established order in Babylonia; in the west he had reduced to absolute subjection the whole of northern Syria; in the east he had deposed and set up kings in such a manner as to establish an Assyrian sphere of influence. In the north he had perceived that Assyrian control of the pass districts could not be secured until Urarṭu had been attacked and defeated; and though his campaigns in the southern districts of Urarṭu did not achieve this object, it is clear that trouble among the hill tribes was much less to be feared in his time than in that of his immediate predecessors. Though in his dealings with Aramaean peoples he displayed the same ferocity as his father, it is pleasing to note that the treatment accorded to his bravest enemy, Akhuni of Bit-Adini, was more lenient than that Akhuni would have received at the hands of Ashur-naṣir-pal or of such a king as Ashurbanipal.

Of Shalmaneser's buildings only those in the city of Ashur are as yet known, but the remains of these are important, for they disclose a method of fortification apparently new to Mesopotamia, but always followed in later times. Along the line of the city moat a very thick wall with towers at intervals of 100 feet was built; at the metal-workers' gate, decorated with enamelled bricks, the wall was so constructed that the gate formed a strong point for defence. At a distance of 65 feet an inner wall, 23 feet thick, with towers, probably commanded the outer wall. The ancient shrine of Anu and Adad, situated near the wall, was rebuilt in a different style, and Andrae's restoration of this temple must be the basis of any judgment of Assyrian architecture.

Two of the finest Assyrian works of art extant belong to the time of Shalmaneser, the 'Black Obelisk' and the bronze bands which were found at Balāwāt. The bronze bands belong to four gates, and on them, in *repoussé* work, are scenes from Shalmaneser's principal campaigns. In spite of an inevitable appearance

of monotony in the treatment, there is much real variety of detail obtained by the attempt to depict local scenery, as in the curious picture of the sources of the Tigris, and by a careful rendering of national peculiarities, as in the feathered head-dress of the warriors of Urarṭu, or in the demonstrative despair of the captives from Hamath. The dromedaries and cattle brought to the king as tribute from Gilzan are well rendered. The metal-workers of this period in Assyria produced a highly-finished work of art, and it may justly be inferred that they had been trained in a rigorous school. The twenty small reliefs on the Black Obelisk are very similar in character to the bronze reliefs, but there is a general stiffness in both human and animal figures, due possibly to the mason working on an unusually small surface.

V. THE STRUGGLE WITH URARṬU

Shamshi-Adad V succeeded to the throne in 824, but he had represented his father before that year in the struggle with the twenty-seven cities which supported the cause of the rebel Ashur-danin-apal. That struggle lasted till 822, and in the third year after his accession, in 821, Shamshi-Adad appears to have secured a final victory, owing, apparently, to assistance obtained from Marduk-nadin-shum, the Babylonian king, whose overlordship Shamshi-Adad was compelled to admit in a formal treaty. In the campaigns he subsequently directed to the north, east and south there is proof of a remarkable change of policy; the districts bordering the Mediterranean were only twice visited, and then only at the beginning and at the end of campaigns. The Assyrian colonists and garrisons seem to have secured the newly-won dominions, so that there was no need for the presence of the army.

The first expedition of the king marks the objects he had in view. 'I overwhelmed the land of Nairi as with a net,' he says, and then recounts his march to the Euphrates, opposite Carchemish, and thence down the river to Sukhi where he crossed to the east bank of the Tigris and advanced to the borders of Akkad. The second expedition, led by the officer called Rab-shake, who first marched to the Mediterranean, was directed against the fortresses of Nairi. Shamshi-Adad himself commanded in the third campaign, when he marched up the east bank of the Tigris to Nairi, and overthrew the chiefs of the tribes about Lake Urmia. In Media he destroyed 1200 towns, and received tribute from many princelings of lands otherwise unknown to us. He concluded the campaign by marching to the Mediterranean.

In 818 Shamshi-Adad began a war with Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi king of Babylon, which lasted intermittently for eight years. It is possible that the cause of dispute was the territory of Gannanate, for the Assyrians followed the eastern bank of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of this city, taking Me-Turnat, Di'bina, Date-ebir, and Isduya by assault. The inhabitants of the district took refuge in a fortress which withstood only a short siege. Shamshi-Adad fell upon Dur-Papsukal, an island city which was defended by Bau-akh-iddin. The capture of this city brought immense loot, but Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi had gathered considerable forces to face the invader, and had been joined by contingents from Chaldaea, Elam and Namri, as well as by the Aramaean tribes on the east bank of the Tigris. A battle was fought beneath the walls of Dur-Papsukal, and resulted in the rout of the Babylonian forces with a loss of 5000 killed and 2000 prisoners. Of the campaigns conducted in 812 and 811 the notices in the Eponym Canon (see vol. I, p. 149), 'against Chaldaea' and 'against Babylon,' supply the only record, but it is to be presumed that Shamshi-Adad entered the enemy's capital in the latter year, for the 'Synchronous History' speaks of his offering sacrifices in Babylon, Cuthah and Borsippa.

The extension, then, of the Assyrian borders continued during the thirteen years of Shamshi-Adad's reign, to the east and south-east; it is clear that Adad-nirari III succeeded in 811 to an authority unimpaired by the civil strife which had marked the last years of Shalmaneser. The government of Assyria from 811 to 808 was actually conducted by the queen-mother, Sammu-ramat, and inscriptions show that she occupied an exceptional position in history. On a stele found in a corner of the wall of the city of Ashur, where stood two rows of slabs recording the names of monarchs and royal officials, her name is recorded as the wife of Shamshi-Adad, the mother of Adad-nirari, the daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser. In the ruins of the temple of Ninurta at Kalakh two statues of the god Nabu were discovered in a mutilated condition; but the inscriptions on them show that they were dedicated by the city-governor, Bel-tarṣi-iluma, with a petition for the preservation of the king Adad-nirari, the queen Sammu-ramat, and himself, and a later inscription of Adad-nirari shows that the first three years were not reckoned part of his reign. It is, with reason, believed that the name Sammu-ramat is the original of the Semiramis of Greek legend, and in the exaggerated accounts of the achievements of Semiramis and Ninus there may be an echo of the times of the regency of Sammu-ramat and of the reign of her son.

In Urarṭu, about this time, Menuas, at first associated with his father Ishpuinis on the throne, conducted plundering campaigns in Muṣaṣir, Gilzan and Kirruri, territories south of Urmia, and reached the upper valley of the Lower Zāb (see p. 174 *sq.*). To the west he crossed the Nairi country, and exacted tribute from Milid (Malatiah). Among the Mannai he followed the Assyrian policy of planting colonies. His power extended far to the north, for his monuments have been discovered near Erzerum. His conquests must be approximately dated within the times of Adad-nirari, and reveal the great danger which called the Assyrian king so constantly to the north-east. The main struggle took place in Media, where no less than eight campaigns were fought between 810 and 787, while six were devoted by Adad-nirari to Khubushkia, and two were directed against the Mannai. The issue of this arduous war is not clear. Perhaps the passes in the hill-country were alternately held by Urarṭu and Assyria, and the power which Adad-nirari exercised over the lands 'up to the sea of the rising of the sun,' that is, the Caspian, was temporary. Certainly Urarṭu was not invariably successful on the north and north-eastern borders, but its undisputed gains in the north-west were a serious loss to Assyria, for from Milid Urarṭu would shortly advance to the south.

In Syria, Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael of Damascus, had been recognized for a time, towards the end of his days, as king of Aram. He had also secured allies who had previously fought under Adad-idri, in a new confederacy which aimed at restoring Aramaean power in the west. The Bar-Agusi, the people of 'Amḳ or Unḳi, Ḳue, Gurgum and Sam'āl joined in an attack on Hamath, which opposed the new movement. This resistance of Hamath must have been due to a powerful pro-Assyrian party in that city, and throws some light on the effects of Shalmaneser's policy. Zakir of Hamath could not, however, have withstood the superior forces of Damascus had not the Assyrians supported him, and it is possible that the campaigns recorded in the years 805–802 were conducted with this object (see also p. 375 *sq.*). In 805 and 804 Adad-nirari's attacks on Arpad, a state which seems to have sprung into prominence after the fall of Bit-Adini, and on Khazaz ('Azaz), once a city of Khattina, must have served to cut communications between Damascus and the northern allies, and in 802 the Assyrians marched against Damascus. The death of Bar-Hadad about this time left his son Mari to defend the strong city which had always resisted attack, but that prince surrendered. Adad-nirari entered Damascus in triumph to receive a tribute

befitting the richest city in Syria. The subjection of Tyre, Sidon, Omri-land (Israel), Edom and Philistia, which Adad-nirari claimed to have accomplished, need only imply that representatives of those states paid him homage in Damascus as their new over-lord; but by this great success in the west he carried the Assyrian arms farther south than any Assyrian king had previously done. Only once again was it necessary to visit the west, in 796, when the expedition was directed against Manṣuate, a town in the Orontes valley.

Adad-nirari concluded a treaty with Babylon which fixed the boundaries between the two states, and the document known as the 'Synchronous History' is the text of an agreement which settled a dispute of old standing along historical lines. The boundaries once named are now missing on the tablet, but it may justly be inferred from the language used of Adad-nirari's actions that he also, like Shalmaneser, considered himself as a protector rather than as a conqueror of Babylon. The new arrangement must have given the Assyrians complete control of the march lands as arranged by Adad-nirari II, for the years 790, 783 and 782 were passed in the land of the Itu'a or Utu'ate on the western bank of the Tigris opposite the mouth of the Adhem. Doubtless this people were harried and transported in the usual manner as a preliminary to a re-settling of the country. Adad-nirari had a special pride in his power over Babylonia, for his bricks are inscribed 'Adad-nirari, Bel's governor, the king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, Bel's governor.' Nabu is accorded the greatest honour in the inscriptions on the statues previously mentioned, future generations being urged to 'trust in Nabu, trust in no other god'; and that this honour was paid to the god of Borsippa by the king's wish is evident from the fact that he himself built at Kalakh a replica of the god's temple Ezida at Borsippa. Adad-nirari was, then, not only one of the great generals in a dynasty which produced many such, but also the promoter of religion and culture in his own land by the introduction of those Babylonian influences on which the scribes and priests of Assyria were afterwards dependent.

When Shalmaneser IV (782–772) succeeded his father, a new and vigorous ruler in Urarṭu, Argistis I, who had already conducted victorious expeditions in the north of his kingdom, at once engaged in a great struggle for the districts immediately to the west and south of his borders (p. 175). From 781 to 774 the Assyrian campaigns were directed against Urarṭu, with respites in the years 777 and 775, when the land of the Itu'a and the

Amanus were visited. Shalmaneser's attempt to drive the Urartians out of Milid (Malatiah) definitely failed, and Argistis was able to boast that the armies and cities of Assyria had been presented to him by the gods of the Khaldi. Malatiah was always a region difficult of access to the Assyrian kings; but Argistis proceeded to drive them from the mountain passes on the southern border of the Nairi country, and then, turning to the east of Lake Urmia, subdued Parsua and the districts of Mannai not previously held by Urartu. Shalmaneser's last campaign against Urartu was fought in 774 on the borders of Namri, and was as unsuccessful as the rest. Assyria had lost many points of vantage in the territories most necessary to her military security. There were, however, still Assyrian governors of such important places as Zamua to the south-east and Tushkhan to the north, and of the district of Kirruri to the east, who had been able to hold out against the storm, though the open country was in the hands of Argistis. The foundations of Assyrian power had indeed been well laid by Ashur-nasir-pal, since hold on these provinces was not entirely lost.

The Assyrian defeats in the north were naturally followed by fresh trouble in the west; and in 773 and 772 Khatarika in northern Syria (the Hadrach of the Old Testament), and Damascus were subjected to punitive campaigns. Ashur-dan III (772–754), whose long reign was a series of disasters, attacked Khatarika in 765 and 755, and Arpad in 754. These states during this period seem to have become adherents of Urartu. In the time of Sarduris II, the successor of Argistis, Kue, Gurgum, Sam'al, Unki and Carchemish became subject to Urartu, which thus controlled the traffic in metal. Assyria was once again menaced with the ruin which was the invariable result of the closing of communications with the west and with Cappadocia. The consequent misery of the industrial population very probably led to the revolts in the cities of Ashur (763–762), Arbakha (Arrapkha) (761–760), and Guzana (the biblical Gozan) (759), which Ashur-dan was unable to subdue until 758. The king was unable to maintain order even on his southern border after the earlier years of his reign, when he twice conducted campaigns against Gannanate (771, 767) and once against Itu'a (769). A vain effort was indeed made in Media in 766 to withstand the chief enemy, Urartu; but Ashur-dan left Assyria an impoverished and disordered land with borders almost as restricted as in the time of Ashur-rabi. Ashur-nirari V (754–746), the last of a long line, was reduced to impotence. Mati'-ilu of Bit-Agusi concluded a

treaty with him only to renounce it almost immediately. Two campaigns in Namri seem to have reflected little credit on his arms, for in 746 even the capital city, Kalakh, rose in revolt, and Ashur-nirari himself perished, perhaps with every member of the royal family.

The weakness of Assyria during the years 782 to 746 should properly be attributed to the increasing debility of the representatives of the royal house rather than to a collapse of the military power. Great defeats had been inflicted by three successive kings of Urarṭu, namely Menuas, Argistis I and Sarduris II; but these kings found it difficult to control the hill-folk about Lake Urmia, and the lands of Asia Minor required a series of expeditions on their part of which abler Assyrian kings would have known well how to take advantage. The loss of control in Syria, the great disaster of the period, is a symptom of the inability of Adad-nirari and Ashur-nirari to deal with the situation, for Urarṭu could not defend the west against a well-planned attack. The conquests of Ashur-naṣir-pal and his successors were, however, not all in vain, for the Assyrian colonies they had planted, and the administration they had introduced, remained in the lands they had definitely annexed to Assyria, and an able ruler would have no insuperable difficulty in driving back the armies of Urarṭu.

Meanwhile, the Assyrian governors seem to have devoted themselves with considerable energy to securing the prosperity of the lands under their control, and to have assumed an independence justified by the passivity of their sovereign. Thus Shamash-resh-uṣur, the governor of Mari and the land of Sukhi, suppressed the Tu'manu tribe, which attacked his capital Ribanish, and he set up a monument to record his exploits. It is notable that he dates the record by the year of his own reign, as if he were an independent monarch. He speaks with pride of the introduction of bee-culture into his province—'They (the bees) collect honey and wax. I understand the preparation of honey and wax, and the gardeners understand it.'

CHAPTER II

THE SUPREMACY OF ASSYRIA

I. THE WORK OF TIGLATH-PILESER III: 745–727 B.C.

THE real strength of Assyria at all times lay in the character of the population, and that population remained unimpaired in number and vigour. Under a king who could re-unite the people in a personal allegiance to the 'priest of Ashur,' Assyria would rapidly recover from the blows delivered by the unstable power of Urarṭu. Tiglath-pileser III, who took his seat on the vacant throne in 745, was to restore, and more than restore to the Assyrians, the dominions held by Shalmaneser III and Adad-nirari III.

The revolt in Kalakh which caused Ashur-nirari's death resulted in the accession of Tiglath-pileser III[1] to the throne, but further knowledge of events in Assyria is not obtainable from the historical records of the time. It is indeed remarkable that Tiglath-pileser never refers to the circumstances of his accession, and it has always been justly thought that this shows that he had no right to the throne other than that given by force. Certain other interesting facts have led to plausible explanations; thus it is certain from the Babylonian dynastic lists that Tiglath-pileser and Pul are the same person, and that Pulu was the name used by the Assyrian when he 'took the hands' of Bel-Marduk. Some authorities have concluded that Tiglath-pileser was an Assyrian general named Pul, who assumed the name used by him in Assyria as preserving a memory of the great rulers of the dynasty he had overthrown (cf. p. 46). This may or may not be the truth, for two other cases are known where Assyrian kings used different names in the two countries, namely Shalmaneser V and Esarhaddon. It has further been noted that the annals of Tiglath-pileser's reign were mutilated by Esarhaddon, and there can be little doubt that the Sargonid dynasty must have held Tiglath-pileser in peculiar hatred to commit a desecration apparently rare

[1] The Assyrian king-lists from Ashur, dealt with by Weidner (see the Bibliography, p. 708), show that the assumption that there were four Tiglath-pilesers was erroneous.

in their land. Esarhaddon claimed for his family a remote connection with an early ruler of Assyria, and quite possibly the hatred felt for Tiglath-pileser represents the last phase of a struggle between two powerful families. Finally, the Babylonian scribes who compiled the king's list which gives the names of Tiglath-pileser and his successor Shalmaneser as Pulu and Ululai, note against the latter name that this was the dynasty of Ashur[1]. It would therefore appear that Ashur was the political capital, but it is quite clear that Kalakh remained the kingly residence during these reigns.

The order of campaigns given in the eponym-lists for the reign of Tiglath-pileser (745–727 B.C.) once more shows the purpose and persistence marked in the campaigns of Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser III. The military tasks before him were three: the establishment of order in Babylonia in such manner as to secure the southern border, the restoration of Assyrian control over Syria, and the guarding of the northern border of the kingdom against Urarṭu. To the south the situation had become increasingly dangerous to Assyria owing to the collapse of any organized control by the city of Babylon. In the marshes about the mouth of the Tigris the Kaldu recognized no authority but that of the heads of the three great tribes, the Bit Yakin, Bit Dakkuri and Bit Amukkani, and the Aramaean tribes settled on the eastern bank of the Tigris were equally unrestrained by the central authority. As a consequence of this the Aramaean tribes settled about Cuthah and Sippar, and the Itu'a, in territory now recognized as Assyrian, seem to have aimed at a similar freedom. The first campaign was therefore directed against the Aramaean tribes in Babylonia, apparently one after the other, before concerted resistance could be offered. The extant records of the reign offer a very confused account of the expedition, and the following order of events can be considered only provisional.

The first attack fell upon the Aramaean tribes on the Assyrian border, and then the army turned east from Sippar and crossed the Tigris on rafts. The Ra'ṣani, a tribe which appears to have occupied the district known to Arab geographers as Rādhān, intimidated by the treatment of their Aramaean neighbours, surrendered and did homage to Tiglath-pileser. While he was in this district, the king was visited by priests representing the chief temples of Babylon, and probably some sort of ceremony was

[1] It is hard to reconcile this with the fact that Shalmaneser oppressed the city of Ashur by imposing taxes and forced labour from which it had been exempt, see p. 45 *sq.*

performed to signify that the gods of Babylon, Bel, Nabu and Nergal, welcomed their deliverer. The king then pushed on down the eastern bank of the Tigris, while a detached force of his army subdued the central districts about Nippur. The march was not stayed until the river Uknu, the modern Karkhah, was reached. The main effort of the king throughout was directed towards establishing an effective control over these disordered lands. To control the Aramaean Damunu, Ru'a, Li'tau and other tribes the army was set to build a fortress, named Kar-Ashur, the land was annexed to Assyria and officers appointed for its administration. The Puḳudu (the biblical Peḳod), whose land was more to the north-east, were assigned to the province of Arrapkha. Finally Tiglath-pileser, determined to extend his power according to the sound principles of Ashur-naṣir-pal, transported people from these districts to provinces administered by his chief officers: 'I reckoned them with the people of Assyria.' Though no direct mention of the reigning king in Babylon, Nabu-naṣir (Nabonassar), is to be found in the annals, the facts show that Tiglath-pileser left him in authority over Karduniash proper, and was able to rely on the good faith of the Babylonian monarch until his death in 734. The first campaign was a striking success; the Assyrian army could now safely engage in the task of recovering lost ground to east and west without danger threatening on the southern border.

In the year 744 Tiglath-pileser commenced a series of campaigns which disclose a well-planned scheme for driving back the forces of Urarṭu to their own borders. The intention appears to have been to deal decisive blows to east and west, in districts where the enemy would be far from their base and so at a disadvantage, should Sarduris attempt to meet the Assyrians. These were to be followed by a direct onslaught on Urarṭu. This plan, so far as circumstances permitted, was executed with all the ability the king had already shown in Babylonia. In Namri no Urarṭian force was met, and the king, after thoroughly pillaging the lands east of the Tigris and south of Lake Urmia as far as the northern borders of Elam, constituted a new Assyrian province on his own borders and laid heavy tribute on the chief cities. Certain places actually occupied by Median tribes seem to have been fortified to preserve order, and officers appointed to obtain a regular payment of tribute. The general Ashur-danani was sent against the Medes farther east, and apparently led a column towards the Caspian, skirting the western edge of the great desert.

In the next year the king was able to throw the whole force

of Assyria against the west; perhaps his object was to draw Sarduris into Syria, for that king could not well allow the princes who had allied themselves with him to be attacked without marching to their assistance. The ground was chosen by the Assyrian, and the battle was fought between Khalpi and Kishtan (the modern Khalfati and Kushtan), districts of Kumukh, the classical Commagene. The forces of Sarduris were augmented by those of the independent princes of northern Syria, Mati'-ilu of Agusi, Sulumal of Melid, Tarkhulara of Gurgum and Kushtashpi of Kumukh, but the Assyrians routed their united forces, and pursued Sarduris as far as 'the bridge of the Euphrates, the border of his land.' After this defeat Sarduris ceased to exert influence in Syria; not only had he failed to gain the victory under the most favourable circumstances possible for himself, but he must have become an object of ridicule owing to his flight on a mare when his camp-lines were seized by the Assyrians. At this point the campaign seems to have concluded abruptly; very possibly the year was advanced and Tiglath-pileser, realizing that his immediate task must be a thorough reduction of northern Syria, was anxious to avoid the difficulty of keeping the Assyrian levy in the field (cf. p. 176 *sq.*).

The years 742–740 were devoted by Tiglath-pileser to this task. The resistance offered by Arpad must have been as stout as that formerly offered by Bit-Adini, for the siege of the city lasted three years. The reward of final victory was the submission of the lands which had fought against the Assyrians—Damascus, Tyre, Kumukh, Kue, Carchemish and Gurgum sending their kings to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser in Arpad itself. Assyrian authority was at least temporarily re-established, and attention could now be paid to the northern border.

The first object in the north was to regain the control of the mountain passes of the Nairi country, and this seems to have been achieved in the campaign of 739. The lands of Ulluba (round Bitlis) and the northern Kirkhu were annexed, and a new fortress called Ashur-iḳisha was made the centre of administration. From this period of the reign little certainty is possible on many details, and the course of events in Syria and the west is still a subject of dispute. It is generally agreed that the absence of the Assyrian army was seized upon as an occasion for the formation of some sort of confederacy to oppose Tiglath-pileser, and that the leader of the confederacy was a certain Azriau of Yaudi. As to the identity of this person there are two views. According to one, Azriau is the Azariah or Uzziah king of

Judah whose reign is recorded in 2 Kings xv. The Aramaic inscriptions found at Zenjirli, however, which record certain events in Sam'āl at this time, show that there was a small independent kingdom of Y'di (pronunciation unknown) which at one time was ruled by the same king as Sam'āl, and the second view mentioned is that Azriau was concerned in certain events in this neighbourhood, and that Y'di is the Yaudi mentioned. The historical facts given by the Zenjirli inscription are important for an understanding of the policy of Assyria, and are therefore summarily given here (see also pp. 144, 378).

The dynasty of Y'di was apparently founded in the first half of the eighth century by Ḳ-r-l, who was succeeded by Panammu I, who has left us an inscription to his god Hadad. The important facts under discussion are given on two monuments, one of which was erected in the year after the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser III, that is 731, by a descendant of Ḳ-r-l, Bar-rekub, king of Sam'āl, over the grave of his father, Panammu II, king of Sam'āl. The inscription states that in the time of Bar-Ṣur, king of Y'di, a palace revolution broke out, in which Bar-Ṣur with seventy members of the royal family perished. Panammu alone escaped, the remainder of the royal family being left to die in prison. The conspiracy brought evil days to the land, and a general anarchy caused a rise in the price of food. Tiglath-pileser set Panammu on the throne of his fathers, removed the 'stone of destruction' from the house of his father, and freed the prisoners in Y'di. Since Panammu was a faithful vassal, who in his wisdom and righteousness trusted in his lord, the king of Assyria, Tiglath-pileser made the governor of Y'di subordinate (?) to Panammu, showed the latter greater favour than other vassals, and increased his land by adding part of the territories of Gurgum to it[1].

Mention of Panammu in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser himself makes it certain that the restoration of Panammu to the kingdom of his father should be dated in the year 738, so that the revolution in Y'di occurred in all probability in 739, while the Assyrian army was engaged in Nairi. Those who believe that Y'di and Sam'āl are really the Yaudi of which Azriau was king conclude that Azriau caused the revolution in which Bar-Ṣur perished, and proceeded to enlist the aid of other states to support him.

[1] In another inscription, Bar-rekub refers to his improvement of his father's palace and to his loyalty: 'I ran at the wheel of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst of mighty kings, possessors of silver and possessors of gold.'

These troubles in Syria, however they be explained, diverted Tiglath-pileser's efforts from the north to the west once more. The eponym-list names as the chief objective of the campaign the city Kullāni, which must be the biblical Calneh or Calno, the modern Kullanhu, 6 miles from Arpad. According to the Annals, the first attack fell on Tutammu of Unḳi, who 'forgot my covenant,' but is not named as being allied with Azriau. The capital city of Tutammu was captured, and turned into the headquarters of the Assyrian governor who was appointed over the land of Unḳi, now to be treated as a province of Assyria. The army was next turned against Azriau, and in the course of the march certain unknown kings paid tribute. Azriau and his allies deserted the open country, which the Assyrians plundered, and fortified a position not now known owing to the mutilation of the inscription. There is every reason to suppose that the hill-district in the Lebanon, now called Jebel Makhmel, was the scene of a conflict, in which the Assyrians gained a complete victory. The whole land as far south as the nineteen districts of Hamath, particularly distinguished for their rebellious support of Azriau, fell into Tiglath-pileser's hands, and yet another province was formed out of districts which had formerly been dependencies or, at most, spheres of influence. With Tiglath-pileser such an annexation generally entailed the sending of an expedition to overawe immediate neighbours, and it is probable that a demonstration at least was made against Damascus and Israel, for the writer of 2 Kings xv, 19 states that Pul, king of Assyria 'came against the land,' and that Menahem gave him a thousand talents of silver to secure his kingdom. The tribute list given by the Assyrian scribe is a very long one, and includes, besides Raṣun (Rezon) of Damascus and Miniḥim (Menahem) of Samirina (Samaria), every prince of importance from Ḳue in the north to the Phoenician cities in the south and the Arab queen Zabibi. The policy of transplantation was applied very thoroughly in the conquered provinces, no less than 30,300 inhabitants being removed from the Hamath district, some to the distant land of Ulluba in Nairi. The words of Barrekub's inscriptions show that the government imposed on Syria by Tiglath-pileser was firm, and salutary for that disordered land; and the Assyrian army was now free to attack Urarṭu as its leader might dispose.

It will be seen from the facts stated above that there is not sufficient evidence to prove the identity of Azriau of Yaudi. There are difficulties to be found in either of the views given, and plausible hypotheses to justify them are not wanting. In

Shalmaneser III's time Y'di seems to have been known to the Assyrians as Yaeti, which militates against the identification of Yaudi and Y'di. The question must be considered an open one until more documentary evidence is available.

Before Tiglath-pileser undertook his campaign against Urarṭu he found it necessary to repeat in part the blows already struck to prevent the restless peoples in Media and Nairi creating a diversion. In 737 therefore he traversed a wide stretch of territory from the borders of Elam up to Lake Urmia, and in 736 added to the province he had formed in the Nairi country. This was followed by the main attack on Urarṭu, but the extant accounts of this are very scanty. Sarduris was besieged in his capital city of Vān, called Ṭurushpa by the Assyrians, after a defeat in the field; but the strong citadel was not taken, presumably because its position rendered the use of the usual siege machines impossible, and the garrison obtained supplies by water. An Assyrian column marched northwards through Urarṭu, but no substantial success can have been achieved. Consequently Tiglath-pileser set up a monument before the gates of Vān, and retired. Urarṭu had not been conquered, but had suffered a severe blow from which the country did not recover for some years.

Although Syria was now under his control, the events of 738 must have shown Tiglath-pileser that further measures were necessary for the protection of the new provinces. Damascus and Samaria were now acting together as allies, and the growth of Rezon's power would inevitably lead to further troubles in the Hamath district. The Assyrian seems to have decided already on a reduction of Damascus which should be even more complete than that by Adad-nirari, but his first blow was indirect. Urarṭu had not been assisted by allies in 735, because they had previously been attacked and put under restraint. Similarly Philistia was the objective of the campaign in 734, to ensure a position in that southern land which would make it impossible for Rezon to look in that direction for aid. The route open to the Assyrian army without the prospect of resistance by the way lay through Phoenicia, and during his march the king appointed officers to represent him in Phoenician towns. The attack upon Gaza was the principal event in the campaign. Ḥanunu (Hanno), the ruler of Gaza, fled to Muṣri (Egypt), to return at a later date. The city was plundered, but the district was not turned into an Assyrian province.

The presence of an Assyrian army in Philistia had an immediate effect on the politics of Israel and Judah. Peḳaḥ of Israel and his ally Rezon of Damascus had joined in an attack on the

youthful Ahaz of Judah, and though they gained no great victory, Ahaz eagerly turned to the Assyrian king for an alliance which should save him from kings who possessed greater resources than he. The aid lent was very prompt; in 733 Samaria and Damascus were in turn reduced. Peḳah fled from Samaria, without any following, so that the city was spared a siege. The narrative in 2 Kings xv, 29 tells of the reduction of various strong points, and Israel must have been unable to offer any further opposition. The bold policy of attack from the south was fully justified; Rezon had to meet the Assyrian without an ally, and was defeated and besieged in Damascus. The eponym-list shows that the city did not fall till 732, when the punishment administered to the whole district was severe. No less than 591 townships were levelled to the ground, and 800 inhabitants were deported to Assyria. Samsi, an Arabian queen, was also reduced to submission in this year, and the desert tribes hastened to pay tribute and homage to a king whose power seemed to encircle them. One Arabian prince, Idibi'-ilu[1], was given special powers, for he was made the Assyrian representative who should be responsible for the safety of the Egyptian border. (See p. 380 *sqq.*)

While Tiglath-pileser was engaged in the further reduction of Syria, events to the south and to the north all served to make him completely master of the west. Peḳah appears to have returned to Samaria; later, he was murdered, and the new king Ausi' (Hoshea) recognized the overlordship of Assyria by the payment of tribute. Mitinti of Aṣḳalon, who had refused to pay tribute, on hearing of the defeat of Rezon, went mad, and his son Rukibtu hastened to submit as a vassal. Metenna of Tyre, who had also refused to pay tribute, submitted on the appearance of an Assyrian officer. In Tabal in the north, an Assyrian officer appears to have deposed the king U-ashshur-me and set an Assyrian nominee on the throne. Tiglath-pileser finished the long struggle which Shalmaneser had begun with Damascus, for that city never again appears as an independent power.

The good order in Babylonia established by the campaign of 745 was disturbed by the death of Nabu-naṣir (Nabonassar) in 734. His son Nabu-nadin-zer was murdered in a revolt, and finally Nabu-mukin-zer, called by the Assyrians Ukin-zer, the chief of the Kaldu tribe of Bit-Amukkani, seized the throne. This meant again general confusion, and the Assyrian king in 731

[1] This was also the name of a tribe, and it is thought by some that the charge was laid on the tribe, but this view is not favoured by the language of the original.

marched against the usurper, and besieged him in Sapia, the capital city of Bit-Amukkani, without success. Neighbouring tribes were treated with the utmost severity. From Bit-Shilani 55,000 people, and from Bit-Sa'alli 50,400 were deported, and the capital cities of these tribes were reduced to ruins. The two most powerful princes of the Kaldu, Balasu of Bit-Dakkuri and Merodach-baladan of Bit-Yakin, came to pay homage and a rich tribute to Tiglath-pileser as he sat before Sapia. The submission of Merodach-baladan was especially significant, for he was 'the king of the sea-land, of whom none in the time of the kings my fathers had come into the presence, they had not kissed their feet.' Assyrian officers were appointed in the devastated lands, and the king returned to Assyria from his last campaign. The year 730 passed without event; but Babylon could not be left without a king, and in 729 and 728 Tiglath-pileser himself 'took the hands of Bel,' and thus became king of Babylon in name as well as in deed. He was the first Assyrian monarch to hold the title since Tukulti-Ninurta I (vol. II, p. 242). An insurrection broke out in 728, but the name of the district has been broken away on the tablet. Shortly afterwards Tiglath-pileser died, and was succeeded by Shalmaneser V (727–722 B.C.).

Of the artistic work of Tiglath-pileser's time little is known. The few slabs on which his inscriptions are to be found depict the usual war scenes, and are of little interest. A very brief account of building operations at Kalakh, however, shows that important experiments were conducted by the architects of the period. In order to enlarge the site of his palace, ground was obtained by constructing stone foundations in the river bed itself, which skirted the palace grounds. The entrance to the palace also was entirely rebuilt, and a Hittite style imitated by the introduction of a colonnade. The Amorites had long been familiar with these colonnades or gateways with portals, which they called '*bit-khilani*,' but there seems no reasonable doubt that the style had originated in the distant north, in the home-land of the Hittites (cf. p. 159). Tiglath-pileser's palace must have been the most magnificent abode any Mesopotamian king had yet built, and it received later the tribute of imitation from the greatest of Assyrian builders, Sennacherib, when he rebuilt the palace at Nineveh.

When it is remembered that the achievements of Tiglath-pileser were all crowded into the short space of eighteen years, and that by the year 728 he was able to say that he 'ruled the lands and exercised kingship from the salt waters of Bit-Yakin to Mt Bikni (Demavend) in the east, from the western sea as far as

Egypt, from the horizon of heaven to its zenith,' he may justly be considered the most remarkable figure in Assyrian history. Certain salient facts, however, must be noted in order that the continuity and growth of Assyrian power from the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal may be appreciated. The reduction of northern Syria in three years was only possible because the basis of Assyrian power there had been firmly laid by his predecessors. The provinces of Ḳue and Tabal fell into his hands without a struggle because Shalmaneser had very thoroughly reduced them in five campaigns. His recognition in Babylon itself should be attributed to his adherence to the policy of Shalmaneser III and Adad-nirari III in aiding the central authority in Babylon against the unruly Aramaeans and Kaldu. His assumption of sovereignty and the performance of its duties in Babylon, caused by the necessities of the situation, seems to have been an unwilling departure from that policy. The greatest advance made by Tiglath-pileser was undoubtedly in the west, and there he followed faithfully the methods of his predecessors. On the other hand, his perception of the fact that Syria could only be held by a power which had full control over the Phoenician cities and Palestine caused him to extend Assyrian territories in a manner which was to dictate the policy of future kings. Suzerainty over Phoenicia and Israel as a protection for the Syrian provinces would shortly be turned into direct control of those states. In short, Tiglath-pileser, in fulfilling the aims of Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser, adopted a course which could only lead to the campaigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

Modern writers have expressed varying views on the system of wholesale deportation as practised by this monarch. While some have considered that it was the only means by which the Assyrians could govern lands to which they were entitled by force alone, others have seen the seed of future weakness in the disruption of the ties of patriotism and religion. However this may be, it should be noted that these sudden transferences of population would not appear so strange in the ancient east, where tribes would of their own free-will leave their lands to seek fresh homes[1], and also that Tiglath-pileser, who merely extended the practice of his predecessors, was guided by a political object of some importance for the administration of the new territories. The Aramaean inhabitants of Damascus were settled amongst

[1] Compare the incident of the rebellion of certain cities from Shubbiluliuma's father, when numbers of people migrated across the border into Tushratta's territory (*c.* 1400 B.C.).

the Aramaean tribes on the borders of Elam, the Kaldu were deported to the Orontes valley, the Israelites to Assyria, so that in no case would the new inhabitants differ entirely in speech and customs from the peoples amongst whom they were planted. The local governors were thus spared the difficulties that would have arisen from the presence of foreigners amongst their own people, while being enabled to supply an appreciably larger contingent for forced labour and military service. Whether the empire gained by a greater uniformity of speech and a freer commercial intercourse there is no evidence to show.

A monument of a high court-official of Tiglath-pileser gives further interesting information as to the results of these deportations. The palace official in question, Bel-kharran-bel-uṣur, in words which echo those of royal inscriptions, speaks of his foundation of a city in the desert, that is, probably, in the district between the Euphrates and Tadmur, and his construction of a temple there. It seems safe to infer that the population of this city would consist of deported prisoners; and such reclaiming of waste land may well have been a feature of the administration of the period. It is well known that in all this portion of the desert there are to be seen numerous *tells* which prove that a settled population once dwelt there; and many of these ancient cities must have been founded at this epoch.

Of the short reign of Shalmaneser V no historical record is extant. The Babylonian king-lists show that he followed Tiglath-pileser's example in ruling Babylonia personally under the name of Ululai, and the fact that the two kings are called the dynasty of Tinu seems to point to a blood relationship. The chief events of his reign were connected with Palestine. Hoshea after paying tribute as a dutiful vassal of Assyria engaged, as 2 Kings xvii relates, in an intrigue with Egypt, and rebelled against his overlord (see pp. 274 *sq.*, 383). The Assyrian king attacked him and besieged him in Samaria for three years. The chronology of the reign of Hoshea is perplexing, and the figures given in 2 Kings xviii, 9–11 must be corrupt. The Babylonian chronicle states that Shalmaneser sacked Shabara'in, which is probably the biblical Sibraim (Ez. xlvii, 16), and this event may possibly belong to the period of the siege. Josephus, on the authority of Menander of Tyre, speaks of a siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser and of his overrunning the whole of Phoenicia. It is clear that Shalmaneser died before Samaria actually fell, so that the siege commenced in 724. The king died in the month of Ṭebet, 722, and a new dynasty came to the throne.

II. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER SARGON II

With the accession of Sargon II to the throne, the interest of Assyrian history begins to change in character. The material available for the outline of the social and political developments of the time must be considered in addition to the chronological lists and military records on which reliance has to be placed for previous reigns. But the fact that the period from about 720 B.C. until 640 B.C. is as well documented as any period of ancient history should not of itself be allowed to differentiate the days of the 'Sargonid' dynasty from those of the preceding kings; the change in interest really arises from another cause. Up to this point, the history of Assyria has been the story of a tribal people welded into a state which, to be secure and prosperous, must be a dominant military power. The obscure movements of peoples in the eleventh century had led to the collapse of an effort to establish rapidly a dominion over too wide a territory. From the ninth century to the end of the eighth, the slow process of recovery from that collapse, and the establishment of an imperial system has been traced. In Tiglath-pileser III the long line of Assyrian conquerors and rulers was succeeded by an administrator of great abilities, who cemented the Assyrian state as firmly as would seem humanly possible.

A perusal of the annals of the kings shows that from the time of Sargon II onwards the position of affairs in Assyria changed not a little. The Assyrian kingdom faced and overcame in every direction independent kingdoms similar to itself. The Assyrian empire to which Sargon succeeded was to come into collision with nations and powers of a might equal to its own. To the east of the Tigris, the newly-immigrated Iranian tribes were to present a more powerful opposition and finally a more united front than the original tribes living in Media had been able to do, so that Assyrian governors on the eastern borders were in constant danger of being overwhelmed by mere numbers. To the north the old, well understood danger from the Urartu district was to turn, quite suddenly, into the terror of barbarian hordes on the move. In the north-west, new states and new peoples appear in the historical records which show that Cilicia, the province on which Assyria principally depended for the all-important metal trade, was coveted by other peoples, not inferior in military ability to the Assyrians themselves. In the west, conflict with Egyptian interests in Palestine was inevitably leading to armed invasion of

or by Egypt. And to the south the growing ascendancy of the Chaldaean tribes in Babylonia, directed by princes whose subtle policy aimed at uniting Elam in the south-east with the peoples of Palestine in the south-west in resistance to Assyrian rule, resulted in fiercer battles than the Assyrian army had ever been called upon to fight. In reality, every campaign fought by Assyria during the last century of her dominion in western Asia (say, 720–620 B.C.) was a defensive effort, even though the immediate intention might be aggressive. The position is in some respects curiously parallel to that of Rome from the time of Tiberius onwards, and in not a few cases the same purposes and policies may be deduced from the acts of a Sennacherib or Ashurbanipal as were announced by Caesars.

It has been usual in considering the decline and fall of Assyria to remark on the rapidity with which the empire fell, and to point to causes of inherent weakness in the apparently magnificent structure. Such criticism is just, but does not convey the whole truth. Assyria was engaged in a political effort which, so far as our present knowledge extends, was unprecedented. It has already been pointed out that the system of annexation and provincial government so thoroughly carried out over western Asia distinguishes the Assyrian dominion in its character from any previously exercised by Babylonians, Hittites, or Egyptians. It is a testimony to the political ability of the Assyrian people that this dominion, attacked from several different quarters, by powerful enemies within the sphere of influence and by strange nations on the move, endured for a century, not only unimpaired, but actually further extended than ever; and that in the last thirty years of its existence enemy after enemy was beaten off, until Assyria fell, and then fell before a nation which had gained most of its knowledge of war and politics from Assyria itself. From Assyria sprang directly one of the most widespread and most enduring forms of polity known, the Oriental Monarchy; and many of the general objections urged against Oriental Monarchy can be used against the Assyrian government with equal force. It is, however, more useful to discover in early works of art the promise of future development than to point out their obvious faults; similarly, it will be more fruitful to note the qualities in the Assyrian régime which gave it a strength and stability no power had previously possessed, than to inquire into the causes of the decay of an empire in lands where empires have throughout history quickly passed away.

Of the origin of Sargon, the founder of the dynasty which

ruled Assyria until its fall, nothing certain is known. For various reasons he is supposed to have been a usurper, but this does not preclude the possibility of his belonging to a family descended from kings, as Esarhaddon actually claims. Indeed, the king-list itself may be said to point unmistakably to such a view; for it is certain that the Assyrian people were more faithful to their royal house than any other people in ancient times. The constant revolts against and usurpations of the Babylonian monarchy by men of low birth rarely occurred in the northern kingdom. The fact, then, that there were two cases of irregular succession in so short a space as that intervening between the accession of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II may well point to a return to power of a junior branch of the royal family, whose genealogy rested on very remote ancestors. A fanciful genealogy of the Sargonid house dating from the reign of Sennacherib, in which the gods themselves appear as the royal ancestors, need not be thought to discredit Esarhaddon's statements, for on the divine origin of the royal blood was based the monarchical principle (cf. vol. I, p. 214 *sq.*). A strong argument for believing Sargon to have had a legitimate claim to the throne is the apparent unanimity with which he was accepted on Shalmaneser's death. Civil war, such as sometimes occurred in Assyria, there was none, though such might be expected were Sargon the representative of one great party in the state as against the other.

It is necessary to dwell upon this point, because a statement in a historical inscription has been employed to construct a theory as to the political parties in Assyria which is at once plausible and easily applied to explain other events. Sargon states that Shalmaneser imposed taxes and forced labour on the city of Ashur, which had from time immemorial been free of impost; and that the word of the gods deposed him for that reason, and called Sargon to the throne. From this it has been argued that Sargon's accession represents the successful rebellion of a priestly party against the military party which had prevailed under Tiglath-pileser III and continued to rule under Shalmaneser. This theory is merely speculation, and must be accepted or rejected on the ground of its inherent probability. To the present writer, at least, it is extremely doubtful, for instance, whether the opposition of 'military' and 'priestly' offices is at all established; it is certain that priests accompanied the armies, and that high military officers had religious functions, as when they acted as *limmu*. That, even if 'priestly' and 'military' classes had quite different interests, there was a distinct, conscious conflict between the two seems

improbable. It is much more natural to see in the taxation of the city of Ashur a definite attempt by Shalmaneser (who reigned, as we have seen [p. 33], at that city) to oppress the ancient capital, perhaps as a punishment for recalcitrancy[1]; whereas Sargon always showed a preference for that city. The cause, then, of Sargon's accession to the throne is unknown.

The name 'Sargon,' *i.e.* 'the true king,' may well have been chosen by the newly-made king on his accession, just as, perhaps, Tiglath-pileser III may have altered his name; otherwise it is curious that two men who succeeded to the throne, presumably as usurpers, should have recalled by their names two of the most successful and renowned among the Assyrian kings. Tiglath-pileser, we may suppose, had named himself after the great conqueror who lived at the end of the twelfth century; Sargon named himself after a king Sharru-kin who ruled Assyria in the twentieth century. A typical characteristic of the period is pointed to by this deliberate reminder of ancient times, namely, the growth of an intelligent study of, and interest in, history. That Sargon was recognized as 'Sargon the Second' is certain from an inscription, and is the more remarkable since he is the only monarch known to have been thus distinguished; 'Sargon the First' is probably the early Assyrian king of that name, though it has usually been supposed that the reference was to Sargon of Agade (vol. I, p. 403). Curiously enough, it would appear that 'Sargon the Second' finally became known merely as 'the Second,' so that he is called in Ptolemy's Canon (see vol. I, p. 149) Ἀρκέανος, a Graecized form of *arkū*, 'Second.' If the name was chosen for an omen, Sargon's intention on his accession was to conquer far and wide.

Although his succession in Assyria itself was not disputed, difficulties in various provinces immediately confronted him; and throughout his reign so many campaigns were conducted in various parts of the empire, some simultaneously, that it is best to deal with them geographically.

It has already been stated that the opposition which Assyria had to meet from this time on arose from four quarters: (*a*) from a union of Chaldaea and Elam in the south, (*b*) from a medley of peoples in the north and north-east, (*c*) from the rising power of Phrygia in the north-west, and (*d*) from Syria, Palestine and Egypt in the south-west. In this order the events of Sargon's reign will be considered.

[1] Ashur-nirari V seems to have been forced to abandon the city of Ashur at the beginning of his reign.

(*a*) The severe treatment of the Chaldaeans of Bit Sa'alli and Bit Shilani by Tiglath-pileser III was imitated by Shalmaneser V, for an Aramaean letter discovered in the excavation of Ashur speaks of the plundering of Bit-Adini by Ululai (cf. p. 42). The Assyrians, however, had never met with a serious reverse at the hands of the Chaldaeans, and may well have come to consider the suppression of revolt in Babylonia as among the easiest of their tasks. The tribal divisions of the Chaldaeans assisted an enemy. They were divided into five main clans, Bit Dakkuri, Bit Sa'alli, Bit Shilani, Bit Amukkani and Bit Yakin, each clan having its own sheikh; of these clans Bit Dakkuri and Bit Amukkani were far larger than the others. Within these large clans were smaller divisions; thus Bit Adini was a sub-tribe of Bit Dakkuri. Again, individual towns, especially old Sumerian cities, maintained their own civic existence within the boundaries of these tribes, so that such a city as Larak was governed by an independent princeling. The geographical positions of these tribes are now fairly accurately known. The territory of Bit Dakkuri lay immediately south of Borsippa, and stretched along the bank of the Euphrates, where it bordered on the small and compact Bit Sa'alli. Bit Shilani, to the south again, had at the time of Sargon been absorbed by Bit Amukkani; this latter tribe stretched right across the southern portion of the country, and its chief occupied much the position of the old-time King of the Sea Lands. On the bank of the Tigris, bordered to the north and east by Aramaean tribes, lay Bit-Yakin, in which small district there can scarcely have been, originally, more than three towns of any size. Before the time of Sargon, there was no cohesion among these various tribes; indeed, when Tiglath-pileser III was engaged in his punitive expedition against Ukin-zer of Bit Amukkani, the young Marduk-apal-iddinna (Merodach-baladan) of Bit Yakin submitted to the Assyrian king with such haste that he would seem to have rejoiced in the downfall of his own countryman. Merodach-baladan, who claimed royal descent from Eriba-Marduk, a king of the VIIIth Babylonian Dynasty, himself drew the right conclusions from the events of 731. The first necessity for any Chaldaean prince whose ambition aimed at rule in Babylon itself was that all the Chaldaeans should be firmly united in his support. To this end he must therefore have devoted himself in the interval before the accession of Sargon, with complete success; for many years, in victory and in defeat, Merodach-baladan represented the Chaldaean people, and was as supreme in Bit Dakkuri as in Bit Yakin. By what means he achieved this wonderful result

is not known; the mere fact is a signal proof of the subtle genius of the man. His next step was perhaps the easiest and least fruitful in his policy. Just as southern Babylonia consisted of the tribal Chaldee districts, with certain ancient independent cities isolated in their midst, so northern Babylonia consisted of Aramaean tribes, and great civic communities. Merodach-baladan secured the united support of all the Aramaean tribes without difficulty; but the value of their support in the military sense was not great, while the threat to their independence roused the hostility of the civic communities. In this way Merodach-baladan was likely, it is true, to be the most powerful man in Babylonia, but he would still be no match for the Assyrian; and in looking for a strong ally he seems to have laid down the lines of all future Chaldaean policy, a policy which had a remarkable influence in history.

For centuries Babylonia and Elam had scarcely come into contact with one another, despite the close ties which had once brought the two lands into continual conflict. On the reason for the cessation of the attempts at conquest and reconquest which fill the early pages of Babylonian history it would be idle to speculate; many causes must have been at work. By the eighth century the Elamite army had become an almost forgotten bogey; but Merodach-baladan was aware that it was the one army in western Asia at the time likely to be able to fight with the Assyrians on equal terms. Using, as did the Urarṭians, an equipment not at all inferior in deadly effect to that of the Assyrians, the Elamites were reinforced by the tribes moving into their territory from north and east, while this same movement of peoples handicapped and weakened the Urarṭians. Trained in the hard school of mountain warfare, yet experienced in fighting in mass, the Elamite soldier was a very different opponent from the Chaldee or Aramaean tribesman of Babylonia. It was the supreme accomplishment of Merodach-baladan to secure an alliance with Elam for a war against Assyria and thus show how an apparently irresistible power might best be met. In the confidence his alliance with Khumbanigash of Elam gave him, Merodach-baladan threw off the Assyrian yoke immediately on Sargon's accession, entered Babylon, and 'took the hands of Bel' at the New Year Festival of 721.

The Assyrian army took the field under Sargon in 720, to meet the Elamites outside the city of Dēr. The Elamites themselves expected to be joined there by the Babylonian forces under Merodach-baladan; but that very able diplomatist throughout his long life proved a wretched soldier, and now at the outset of

his adventures made the greatest mistake of all. He failed to arrive in time, and the battle was fought out between the Elamites and the Assyrians. In view of the conflicting accounts of the battle from the Assyrian and Babylonian sources, it seems probable that neither side had gained an advantage, when the Assyrians retreated to avoid facing a new onslaught by the fresh Babylonian troops. The Elamites, indeed, had won the Babylonian throne for their ally. It was many years before Sargon was again able to turn to the south, for he was busily engaged elsewhere; and the Elamite army, after ravaging the southern borders of Assyria, returned home.

Left in peace to rule in Babylon, the Chaldaean monarch was probably able to subvert completely the social life of the country. Naturally the pro-Assyrian party lost their lands and their goods to Chaldaeans; and naturally the tribes, which had been allied to him, expected to gain plunder from the towns. Otherwise, the change can scarcely have been noticeable; for the Chaldaeans had, so far as is at present known, always worshipped Marduk and Nabu just as the Babylonians did, and their tongue and civilization differed as little as their religion. It is, however, fairly certain that the great cities suffered considerably from oppression at his hands during his twelve years of power, and that to this cause may be traced their enthusiasm for Sargon of Assyria, whose interest it was to foster trade rather than to plunder. In any case, Merodach-baladan's reign did not strengthen his position as against the Assyrians.

In Elam events led to a temporary neglect of affairs in Babylonia. In 717 Khumbanigash died and was succeeded by Shutur-Nakhkhunte, or Shutur-Nakhundu as the Assyrians pronounced his name. It is very probable that internal disorders in his own kingdom occupied the new ruler's energies, for when Sargon at last devoted his attention to the south, he was allowed to pursue his plans without interference from Elam. The Assyrian plan was a sound one. The Aramaean tribes to the east of the Tigris held the shortest road between Assyria and Bit-Yakin, and at the same time formed the means of communication between Susa and Babylon. Sargon accordingly directed a twofold attack on these tribes, the one expedition having as its objective the Aramaean tribes lying along the northern border of Elam, and the other those in the district lying between Susa and the mouth of the Tigris. In these campaigns Elamite towns were captured and Elamite soldiery was involved in the fighting; but Shutur-Nakhundu made no move.

When, then, Sargon prepared in 710 to deliver his grand attack on the rebel, Merodach-baladan had good cause for alarm. His effort to rouse the Elamite king by a great bribe was a complete failure, and the Chaldaean army which had marched to the Tigris to join the Elamites retreated south towards their own territory. This was a signal for a general surrender of the northern towns to Sargon. That monarch, after a forced march from Elam, had quartered his tired troops in Dur-Ladinna, a fortress of Bit Dakkuri, not far from Babylon; and thither the civil envoys of Babylon went to hail the conqueror. In Babylon, Sargon followed the example of his immediate predecessors, with a slight variation. He 'took the hands of Bel' with due ceremony, but did not adopt the title of 'King of Babylon,' preferring to use the older 'Shakkanaku.' It is highly probable that he acted thus merely to avoid the necessity of being present year after year on New Year's Day in Babylon. The same year Merodach-baladan's principal fortress in his own territory of Bit Yakin fell into the hands of the Assyrian army. Unfortunately the annals at this point are badly broken, but it would seem that the Chaldaean prince achieved a most remarkable personal ascendancy over the Assyrian king, for he was forgiven for the breach of the oaths of fidelity he must have taken to Tiglath-pileser III, and actually reinstated in his princedom of Bit-Yakin. That an enemy, and especially a Chaldaean, should receive such mercy from an Assyrian monarch is surprising; and it may be that Sargon by a clement policy hoped to secure the allegiance of the Chaldee tribesmen to the Assyrian domination. In any case, the ability which secured so fortunate a result for Merodach-baladan must be remembered in the consideration of subsequent events in Babylonia.

There was no further trouble in the south during the life of Sargon. His policy had been wise and successful: recoiling before an unexpectedly powerful enemy, without being routed, he had waited until the alliance between Chaldaea and Elam had broken down, then, in a cleverly conceived campaign, he had reduced Chaldaea to subjection, thus gaining Babylon for a prize, and had surrounded the Elamite territory to north and west with Assyrian garrisons and provinces.

III. CAMPAIGNS IN URARṬU AND SYRIA

(*b*) The problem of the north-eastern and eastern borders remained throughout Sargon's reign the most important military question. Urarṭu was governed by an energetic prince, Rusas,

son of Sarduris, from the year 733 onwards, and he had, probably in the early years of his reign, extended his suzerainty much farther to the north and east than former kings had done. The force of events in the district south of Lake Urmia compelled Rusas to adopt a somewhat different policy there. The tribes in these districts had changed: a new and hardier folk, the Medes, continually pushing westward, could not be harried and subdued in a single campaign, as had the former inhabitants. Rusas therefore developed extensive intrigues against Assyria with tribal chiefs, and Sargon's principal task was the maintenance of the Assyrian domination in this region. (See p. 177 *sqq.*)

In the year 719, the third year after his accession, trouble arose in the district of Mannai, which lay to the south-east of Lake Urmia. The king of the Mannai, Iranzu, was a loyal tributary of Assyria, whose policy had led to discontent among the governors of the eastern provinces of his kingdom, the leaders of the anti-Assyrian party being Mitatti of Zikirtu, and Bagdatti of Uishdish. Both had probably revolted before the year 719; and two of Iranzu's fortresses surrendered to Mitatti in that year. Sargon promptly sent Assyrian troops to reduce the rebel cities, and three other cities actually in negotiation with Urarṭu were captured and the inhabitants transplanted to the west. Two years later, Aza, the son and successor of Iranzu, was threatened by an even more serious danger. Rusas of Urarṭu, Bagdatti of Uishdish and Mitatti of Zikirtu defeated the troops of Aza at the foot of Mt Uaush immediately east of Lake Urmia, and left the corpse of Aza unburied there. Sargon's vengeance was as prompt as his help had previously been. He marched straight to Mt Uaush, and flayed Bagdatti alive there. Aza's brother, Ullusunu, had set himself on the throne of the Mannai, and on Sargon's approach he appears to have marched north to join forces with Rusas of Urarṭu, inducing Ashur-li' of Karallu and Itti of Allabria to join the revolt. Sargon turned back from Uishdish against the Mannai and reduced the country once more to subjection. Towards Ullusunu he showed as remarkable a clemency as he adopted later towards Merodach-baladan, for he accepted him as the legal king; the other rebels, Ashur-li' and Itti, received a more summary treatment. Sargon's object then would seem to have been the personal conciliation of Ullusunu, in which he was successful, for in 715 Rusas developed a conspiracy against Ullusunu with the aid of Daiukku[1], a high official of the Mannai. As the result of

[1] The name appears to represent the same Median name as the Deioces of Herodotus (I, 96), but the two men can hardly be the same.

a direct attack, the army of Urarṭu took twenty-two fortified cities from Ullusunu, but Sargon's prompt aid once again saved the situation. Daiukku was transported with all his family to Hamath, districts bordering on Urarṭu were plundered and sacked, and tribute exacted from chiefs of surrounding cities, including the 'yanzu' of Nairi. The Assyrians then appear to have attacked the southern provinces of Urarṭu, and so prepared for the great onslaught of the next year.

Few campaigns in ancient history have been more fully described than that conducted by Sargon in 714 B.C. The record is still extant in the form of a large clay tablet, containing the text of a letter, addressed as follows:

To Ashur, the father of the gods, the great lord who dwelleth in Ekharsagkurkurra, his great temple, very heartily peace!

To the gods of destinies, to the goddesses who dwell in Ekharsagkurkurra, their great temple, very heartily peace!

To the gods of destinies, to the goddesses who dwell in the city of Ashur, their great temple, very heartily peace!

To the town and to its people, peace! To the palace that is therein, peace!

With Sargon, the holy priest, the slave who adoreth thy great divinity, and with his camp all goes well, exceedingly well.

Ullusunu came to meet Sargon in Surikash, a southern province of the Mannai, whence the Assyrian marched to Parsua(sh), at the south-western extremity of Lake Urmia, and then to Ullusunu's fortress in Mannai itself, where Sargon pledged himself to overthrow Urarṭu. The first assault fell upon Zikirtu, a district east of Lake Urmia, but news arrived that Rusas had arrived in Uishdish, the district between Mt Sahend and the lake, and that Mitatti of Zikirtu had joined him there; thereupon Sargon made a forced march with his cavalry to the west and fell upon his enemy with unexpected rapidity. The Urarṭians were completely routed, and the Assyrians followed them northwards, along the route from Tabriz to Vān, thus entering Urarṭu from the east. Turning north, without attacking the capital city, Ṭurushpa, Sargon marched round the north of Lake Vān, then turned south past Bitlis, to the Nairi hills, and received the tribute of the 'yanzu' of Nairi at Khubushkia. From here the cavalry, chariotry and camp followers were sent back to Assyria, while Sargon led the infantry and a thousand horse against the king of Muṣaṣir, Urzana. Muṣaṣir lay south-east of the Upper Zāb, and was a mountainous district; the king, Urzana, escaped, but rich booty and many prisoners fell into Assyrian hands. So concluded a campaign conducted with remarkable

rapidity through most difficult country, which secured the political object in view. A severe defeat had been inflicted on Rusas; and those who were allied with him in the districts reckoned as Assyrian dependencies had been severely punished.

When the letter of Sargon to the city of Ashur, written perhaps from Muṣaṣir, was composed, it was already known that Rusas was sick. At a later date, the scribe who composed the annals records that Rusas committed suicide when the fall of Muṣaṣir was reported to him. This, however, does not agree with the facts recorded in an inscription of Rusas found near Topsaneh, in which that king claims to have marched against Assyria and restored Muṣaṣir (see p. 181). It is quite clear that Rusas died shortly after sending Urzana back to Muṣaṣir, and was succeeded by his son Argistis. It is also probable that in the main Sargon's settlement of these districts remained in force during the rest of his reign. Only one minor campaign was subsequently conducted in the eastern country, that of 707, which affected the dependent princedom of Ellipi, a land that bordered on Elamite territory. Dalta of Ellipi, who had been reduced in the campaign of 715 to a tributary, died, and in the struggle for the succession one son, Nibe, appealed to the Elamites, while the other, Ishpabara, had recourse to Sargon. The Assyrian army, sent to help Ishpabara, duly captured the capital city Marubishti, and took Nibe prisoner.

The collection of letters preserved in Ashurbanipal's library serves to inform us of events in the years 707–706 which are of great interest. From a report of the Assyrian officer Ashurriṣua we learn that Argistis was engaged in 708 in collecting a considerable army, which it was supposed he intended to use against Assyria. The next spring, however, saw him otherwise engaged. The people called *Gimirrai* by the Assyrians, Κιμμέριοι by the Greeks, the biblical Gomer, were beginning to move into Asia Minor, and to meet their attack Argistis marched northward. All that we know is that Argistis suffered a great defeat in battle, apparently delivered in territory acknowledged to belong to the Cimmerians; but he seems to have been able to preserve his own borders, for Urarṭu continued under his rule for many years. The barbarian horde continued its march westward. So much may be gathered from the letters sent by the crown-prince Sennacherib to his father, with a summary of the information gained from the intelligence officers.

In these letters may be found a partial explanation of the supremacy of Assyria at this period. From the earliest times

Oriental monarchs had been surrounded by officials—priestly, military and civil; but the Assyrian kings, at any rate of the Sargonid period, secured men of such energy, intelligence and efficiency for important provincial governorships, that the characteristic evils of eastern officialdom, lethargy and incompetence, must have been almost unknown. The Assyrians had a natural gift for accuracy in detail, which appears in many ways—in the meticulous care and neatness of the scribes, the patient accumulation of phenomena in long series of omens, the taste for elaborate decoration in the friezes—and such a gift is invaluable in administration. Add to this the fact that each of these governors could depend on the support of a strong central government, which would send him sufficient troops to reinforce his own detachment when danger really threatened, and the contrast the letters of this period present to those written by the governors in Palestine to Amenhotep IV in the fourteenth century will not appear surprising. (Cf. vol. II, pp. 298, 324 *sq.*, 336 *sqq.*)

(*c*) In the north-west the lands about the Gulf of Issus occupied much of Sargon's attention. It seems probable from the events of Sargon's reign that Shalmaneser V had conquered Tabal and Khilakku (Cilicia), and constituted them Assyrian dependencies. At the beginning of Sargon's reign Khilakku had no governor, and it was assigned to Ambaris, the son of Khulli. On the western border of the province of Khilakku lived the Mushki, the Assyrian appellation, in these later records, of the Phrygians; and it was perhaps at the instigation of the Mushki that Kiakki of Shinukhtu, a district which lay south of Khilakku, in the Taurus, stopped the payment of tribute in 718. Once again a dependent prince was enriched, for Shinukhtu was given to Matti of Atuna (the Tynna of Ptolemy), a state which bordered on Khilakku. By these additions to the territories of tributaries a series of 'buffer' states was brought into existence which should be strong enough, with Assyrian aid, to resist any encroachment of the Mushki. The position was not, however, satisfactory, for to the east of these states Gurgum, Kumukh and Carchemish held a semi-independent position. Pisiri(s) of Carchemish actually formed an alliance with Mita (Midas), chief of the Mushki, and revolted in 717, which led to the reduction of the ancient city and the formation of a new province. In 715 a demonstration against Mita of Mushki was undertaken from the province of Ḳue, constituted perhaps in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. Mita had captured long ago twenty-two cities which once belonged to Ḳue, and these

Sargon recaptured and reincorporated in the sea-coast provinces. Then came an unexpected revolt. Ambaris, the son of Khulli, owed much to the Assyrians. His father had been set upon the throne of Tabal by Tiglath-pileser's general in 733, when he was sent to crush the revolt of U-ashshur-me; Ambaris himself had been given the province of Khilakku, and had married Sargon's daughter, Akhat-abishu. All these attempts to secure his loyalty were, however, vain. He allied himself with Mita of Mushki and Rusas of Urarṭu, which led to a campaign in 713 against Tabal. Sargon now abandoned the effort to maintain tributary princes, and converted this important district into an Assyrian province (cf. pp. 145, 179 *sqq.*).

Khilakku was bordered on the north and east by the lands of the Kashkai; to the east of Tabal lay Melid. Dadilu of the Kashkai, and Sulumal of Melid had recognized the suzerainty of Tiglath-pileser III by paying tribute. Dadilu was succeeded by Gunzinanu of Kammanu (*i.e.* Comana), as the southern portion of the land of the Kashkai was named, and Sulumal by Tarkhunazi of Melid. In the early years of his reign, perhaps in 718, Sargon had cause to expel Gunzinanu from Kammanu, probably because he refused tribute, and, in pursuance of his earlier policy of maintaining tributary princes, handed Kammanu over to Tarkhunazi of Meliddu. This prince followed exactly the same line of conduct as Ambaris of Tabal, and in the campaign of 712 his capital city, Melid, and the fortress of Tilgarimmu (the biblical Togarmah), the modern Gorün, was captured. Kammanu was constituted an Assyrian province, with Tilgarimmu as capital, while Meliddu was entrusted to Muttallu of Kumukh. It was after this campaign that a series of fortresses was built on the eastern boundary of Kammanu against Urarṭu, on the northern boundary of Kammanu and Khilakku against the Kashkai, and on the western border of Khilakku against the Mushki.

In 711 internal trouble arose in the tributary princedom of Gurgum. The prince Tarkhulara was murdered by his son Muttallu. This opportunity for interference was eagerly seized by Assyria; the country was invaded, the inhabitants deported and an Assyrian governor installed in Marḳasi, the modern Mar'ash. It was perhaps in consequence of these constant troubles in the north-west that Sargon decided on active measures against the Mushki, to whose intrigues he obviously assigned the cause. In 709 he ordered the governor of the province of Ḳue to march against Mita, and a very successful campaign resulted. The general marched up the Calycadnus, and into Mita's land past

Isaüra, to the fortresses on Lake Karalis. After defeating Mita's army, he marched through three of the provinces of the Mushki, and carried back 2400 prisoners. Mita recognized Sargon as his suzerain by paying tribute, and the border provinces might now be considered secure. The seven kings of Cyprus also sent tribute, thus acknowledging a dependence on Assyria by no means illusory. All the ports through which they conducted a prosperous trade with the mainland were now under Assyrian rule, and it is even possible that Assyrian troops were quartered in the island. The stele of Sargon found at Citium is an interesting reminder of this Assyrian supremacy.

In 708 the last of the tributary princes fell. Muttallu of Kumukh, encouraged by Argistis, son of Rusas, of Urarṭu, refused to pay tribute. His capital was besieged and captured, but he himself escaped. Kumukh was turned into a province, and the '*turtan* of the left' was appointed governor, in command of a rather considerable force, numbering 150 chariots, 1500 cavalry, 20,000 bowmen, 10,000 infantry. Whether the new province included both Kumukh and Melid, is not known; the two were in any case divided at a later date, each having a governor, so that it is most probable that the division was reinstituted on the fall of Muttallu.

The principal interest in these affairs of the north-west provinces is the complete change in Sargon's policy which has been noted, dating from 713, and almost certainly caused by the defection of Ambaris. The policy of maintaining tributary princelings on the borders has always played a large part in Oriental diplomacy, most often with indifferent results. Throughout Assyrian history it was a complete failure, but nowhere more so than in these districts in which the rebel princes might well count on the support of the Mushki or the Urarṭians. Sargon's apprehension of this failure, and his persistent efforts after 713 to reduce all the independent princes, show the importance he attached to these districts; and the fact that neither Mita of Mushki nor Argistis of Urarṭu actually despatched armies to aid the rebels, shows the military ascendancy of Assyria in lands where the army was operating at a great distance from its base. As to the reason of this supremacy there can be little doubt. The important campaign of 709 was certainly conducted by the governor of Ḳue; and most probably some other campaigns ascribed to the king by the scribes were actually conducted by the district governors. Here, then, as on the Urarṭian border, Assyria was well served by its officials.

(*d*) In Syria and Palestine an event of the first importance

immediately followed Sargon's accession. Shalmaneser V died before the siege of Samaria was brought to a successful conclusion in 722. Whether a deportation of the inhabitants and the settlement of captives of various nationalities, including Arabs, in Samaria, took place in 722–1 or subsequently, is not definitely known. This procedure, the preliminary to the establishment of Samaria as an Assyrian province, may not have been enforced until after the remnant of Israel joined in a remarkable coalition directed against Sargon in 720. The instigator of this coalition was the king of Hamath, Iaubi'di (also called Ilu-iau-bi'di)[1]. It will be remembered that Hamath had succumbed to Shalmaneser III, and it seems to have remained a tributary princedom from that time onwards. It may be that Iaubi'di was led to hope for success by the example of Merodach-baladan; or it may even be that Merodach-baladan had intrigued with him to secure this rising in the west, a policy which we know he subsequently pursued. The coalition formed by Iaubi'di was of a peculiar kind; besides himself, there was only one other tributary prince, Ḥanunu (Hanno) of Gaza. The other members were Assyrian provinces, Arpad, Ṣimirra, Damascus, and Samirina. The inscriptions give us no information as to the circumstances under which these provinces joined in the rebellion; but if the Assyrian governors had actually been guilty of conspiracy, their summary punishment would almost certainly have been recorded, so that it is natural to suppose that the rebellion was confined to the subject population, and that risings occurred in all the places implicated. This was certainly the origin of the trouble of Hamath, for Iaubi'di either murdered or otherwise removed Eni-el, the ruling prince of Hamath, and then raised the standard of revolt. He was able with his allies to place a considerable army in the field, and met Sargon's army at Ḳarḳar. An overwhelming Assyrian victory led to the capture of Iaubi'di and the subjection of Hamath, which was turned into a province, greatly to the advantage of Assyria, since by this means the only remaining land in Syria with an independent prince was now included in the solid block of western provinces.

Sargon then marched on to meet Ḥanunu, whose army had for some reason been delayed, possibly because it awaited reinforcements from Egypt. The prince of Gaza had maintained a close relationship with Egypt, to which country he had fled from Tiglath-pileser III, and at this crisis Sib'e, 'the *turtan* of Egypt,'

[1] The name means 'God (*ilu*) uttereth my...,' and the element *iau* cannot be connected with the divine name Yahweh.

came to his assistance. Concerning this Sib'e there has been much discussion. Many have identified him with the king of Egypt, Seve (So, 2 Kings xvii, 4) and consequently with Sabaka, the first Pharaoh of the XXVth Dynasty. It is, however, quite clear from the Assyrian account that Sib'e was not the Pharaoh, and the identifications are doubtful; the matter can only be settled by a consideration of the Egyptian evidence (see p. 274 *sqq.*). Sargon met the allies at Rapikhu (Raphia), and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, capturing Ḫanunu and driving Sib'e from the field in a hasty flight to Egypt (cf. p. 383).

This presage of a collision between Assyria and Egypt was followed by other events in the reign, which show that a final struggle was inevitable. In 715 Sargon dealt with certain tribes of the Arabian peninsula which refused tribute. Most probably the real object of the expedition was to restore order along the great trade-route which must have led to Yemen and Hadramaut. The tribes named are the Khaiapa, the Tamud, the Ibadidi and the Marsimani; of these the Tamud were to remain a great tribal organization until Roman times, and mention is made of them in the Ḳur'ān. The effect of the demonstration was curious. Not only did Samsi, the queen of the Aribi of the northern desert, who had long been tributary, send gifts, but so also did It'amar of Saba, in the far distant south, and, most strangely, the Pharaoh of Egypt. The exact object of such a friendly, and almost humiliating, act at this time it is not easy to see, unless it was intended to secure freedom of trade in Arabia, possibly threatened by Assyria; at all events the desire to remain, at least in appearance, on good terms with Sargon is obvious.

Sargon's conquests over the Arabs did not, however, prevent the Egyptians from carrying on intrigues in southern Palestine, especially with Ashdod. The ruling prince in that city was Akhimiti, who had been placed on the throne by Sargon because his brother Azuri, the former prince, had refused tribute. A man of Cyprian origin who came to Ashdod headed a rebellion in which Akhi-miti was murdered. It would appear that an ambitious plan was conceived, at the instigation of Egyptian agents, in which the Philistines, Moab, Edom and Judah were to join Ashdod in a simultaneous attack on the Assyrians; but before the plan could mature the Assyrian army had entered Ashdod, Gath and Ashdudimmu (the port of Ashdod?) and no further attempt was made by the plotters (see p. 388 *sq.*). Egypt was indeed a 'broken reed'; the princes of Palestine could not rely on its support in face of the prompt action of the Assyrian governors.

Sargon, then, had little trouble in the west, as compared with what he experienced on his troublesome northern and eastern borders; nor was the holding of Syria and Palestine ever to cause his successors much effort. The collisions with Egypt were, however, significant, and the constant effort to deal with the source of opposition rather than its manifestations, so often apparent in the actions of Assyrian kings, was to lead to serious developments in this direction.

Sargon's last campaign was fought in the north-west, and its conception and issue give us his measure as a statesman and a soldier. The great defeat suffered by Argistis of Urarṭu in 707 (p. 53) warned the Assyrian king of the danger of the hordes of Cimmerians on his northern border. He decided to face the barbarians immediately at the point of his borders towards which they were pressing. In 706 he marched to Tabal, and met them in 705 under a leader called Eshpai. (Another view is that Eshpai of Kullum was a prince of a tribe in the eastern hills.) Though he himself fell in the battle, his policy was more than justified by the result, for we hear of no important aggression of the Cimmerians during the reign of Sennacherib. It is not easy to overestimate the value of Sargon's action. Certainly Syria, possibly all western Asia, owed their immunity from invasion at this time to the campaign in which he lost his life. For many years to come the Cimmerians were forgotten, left to wander in the unknown lands of the interior of Asia Minor. The body of the king was recovered and sent back to Assyria.

By his policy in the east and north Sargon's ability may best be judged. Quick to support his own governors, and dependent princes, he was able to defeat Urarṭu, but was not misled into an attempt unduly to extend his power; providing for an efficient protection of his northern frontier, he at once met the principal danger which threatened his empire with sufficient force to avert it. Clement and cruel by turn, his reign left Assyria more secure in the north than it had ever been.

From this account of Sargon's reign in the various regions of his empire, it will be seen that we have ample evidence of his energy and ability; yet it would seem that he made a great mistake in his choice of a capital. At the beginning of his reign he commenced the building of a new city, north of Nineveh, on a small stream which runs into the Tigris from the east, the city called Dur-Sharrukin in his honour, and now known as Khorsabad. It is not surprising that his successors abandoned the site and that it remained in use only as a fortress; but it is interesting to note

that the cause of Sargon's choice is most probably to be found in his absorption in the problems of his northern and eastern frontiers. From Dur-Sharrukin he could more easily collect information and send orders to his governors on those frontiers. The magnificence of Dur-Sharrukin, the first site from which modern explorers learnt of the Sargonid period, was, however, a waste of effort, and, in this respect, may be compared to Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. Both sites, chosen to please an individual whim, were abandoned as royal residences on the death of their builders. Shalmaneser III and Sennacherib had a surer sense of realities, since they expended their labours and treasure on the cities of Ashur, Kalakh and Nineveh, the natural capitals of the kingdom.

The sculptures dating from Sargon's reign are distinguished by breadth and majesty of treatment, especially in dealing with the human figure. There is, however, no great advance to be noted in art; and in literature the knowledge that Sargon collected texts serves rather to arouse our curiosity than to supply information as to the developments that occurred during the period. It is possible that the king himself directed the edition of various texts concerned with the exploits of Sargon of Agade, and that the attention devoted in them to geographical details was actually due to the later Sargon's personal interest in military routes. However this may be, Sargon was not only a great king but an enlightened man, and in him is to be found the same taste for artistic and literary effort that distinguishes his successors.

CHAPTER III

SENNACHERIB AND ESARHADDON

I. THE BABYLONIAN POLICY OF SENNACHERIB

SENNACHERIB was a tried soldier and governor when he succeeded his father in 705. His letters, dealing with affairs on the northern borders (see p. 53), show that his duties as crown-prince entailed a share in the cares of government; and various indications would seem to prove that in the main he adopted the lines of policy followed by his father. It is fortunate that a nearly complete series of the cylinders inscribed with the annals of his reign in different editions are extant, and that the campaigns which were waged over the wide dominions of Assyria can be followed in the vivid language of the Assyrians themselves; fortunate especially because the cause of error, where error there is in these documents, is shown to be neither deliberate falsification nor complete ignorance, but a desire to secure a maximum of brevity while preserving the actual language of the original text. Such a compression in the text has led to the unfortunate misconception that Sennacherib's accession was the signal for rebellion in the provinces. In truth, the Assyrian army rested from its almost unceasing labours for two years, while Sennacherib was engaged on his most magnificent achievement, the rebuilding of Nineveh. Such a period of peace shows how well the foundations of the Assyrian empire were laid, and how stable the administration under Sargon had become.

This period of two years is, however, still more significant in another respect. Sargon had been the *shakkanaku* of Babylon, the king in all save name, by virtue of having 'taken the hands of Bel' in 709. To secure that same position Sennacherib had but to march to Babylon in 705–704, and none could have prevented him. He did not do so. The position resulting in Babylon itself was a curious one, as is shown by the two different treatments of this period by the Babylonian annalists. The Babylonian king-list gives Sennacherib as king of Babylon for the years 705–703; and doubtless he was, in the sense that the administrative officials in the city still regarded the king of Assyria as their suzerain.

But legally Sennacherib can have had no st[illegible]or he had not 'taken the hands of Bel.' Ptolem[illegible]rdingly, marks the years 705–703 as 'kingless'; [illegible]terregnum the period is best considered. The motiv[illegible]actuated Sennacherib to so unusual a course will be c[illegible]when all his dealings with Babylonia have been recounted.

Sargon had left Merodach-baladan of Bit Yakin at the head of his clan when he expelled him from Babylon; and in return for this clemency the Chaldaean prince remained faithful to his Assyrian liege during the remainder of his reign. He does not, however, seem to have considered himself under any obligation to Sennacherib, for he commenced the greatest intrigue of his life immediately after the death of Sargon. Merodach-baladan's position was indeed quite as strong, if not stronger in 705 than it was in 721, when he had successfully seated himself on the throne in Babylon in despite of Sargon. He could now reckon on the complete support of all the Chaldee clans, and also of the Aramaeans. The Aramaeans east of the Tigris had indeed in 710 been reduced to a province by Sargon; but a small Assyrian garrison would cause no difficulty, once the tribesmen were secure of support in their revolt. The old Sumerian cities, Ur, Erech, Nippur, would perforce open their gates to the rebels and join in the revolt. In the north, Kish, Cuthah and Borsippa would almost certainly favour the side on which the Aramaean tribesmen ranged themselves; in Babylon alone, where bitter memories of Merodach-baladan's reign appear to have lingered, was opposition to be expected. In addition, the time was especially favourable for arranging alliances with foreign powers which would be able to lend invaluable military support. The most important of these was of course Elam, still ruled by Shutur-Nakhundu, who had not failed to note the results of his peaceful policy in 710. The increasing strength of Assyria in districts adjoining Elamite lands, and in some cases, as in Ellipi, Assyrian interference in princedoms the kings of Susa regarded as tributary, must have been extremely distasteful to Shutur-Nakhundu and he would probably have joined Merodach-baladan in his fresh effort even without the large bribe the latter was able to give him. Thus assured of a military strength which had been sufficient to bring success in 721, Merodach-baladan might well have thought it reasonable to march to Babylon in 704, but he appears to have waited, in an attempt to secure further help.

Sargon had exercised a more drastic control over the Arabs than was agreeable to the nomad tribes of the desert. The northern

Aribi were now ruled by a queen, Iati'e, who presumably succeeded the queen Samsi who had paid tribute to Sargon. Though the military importance of any contingent they might send was small, the Aribi were important allies, and Merodach-baladan succeeded in gaining their adherence to his cause. Under the safe conduct of the Aribi, along caravan-routes unwatched by Assyrian soldiers, there travelled an embassy from Babylon of which there is no mention in the cuneiform records. Fortunately we know from biblical references (2 Kings xx, 12–19; Isaiah xxxix) that Merodach-baladan sent envoys to Hezekiah, king of Judah; and their proposal, obviously of an attack on Assyria by the princes of Palestine, was received with such favour that Isaiah, who, with a rare sagacity, never counselled opposition to Assyria, was moved to anger with his sovereign. It is scarcely to be supposed that Hezekiah was the only prince visited by these envoys; several others must have been approached, and it seems most probable that the war which followed in the west was really intended to begin when Merodach-baladan marched to Babylon (see p. 71).

That the plan was a failure in this respect seems to have been due to events in Babylon. Aware possibly of the intention of the Chaldee prince again to seize the throne, the Babylonians, to forestall his attempt, appointed one of their own number, a certain Marduk-zakir-shum, as king, and he probably officiated in that office at the New Year's festival of Nisan, 703. A prompt reply to this was necessary. Merodach-baladan raised his troops, possibly long before the date originally intended, and, disposing of Marduk-zakir-shum after a reign of one month, once again ruled in the capital city, making Borsippa his residence, while military dispositions were prepared to meet the attack which Sennacherib might be expected to make. For these military dispositions little credit can be given to Merodach-baladan himself, for it is fairly obvious that they were actually ordered by Imbappa, the commander-in-chief of the large Elamite army sent by Shutur-Nakhundu. The dispositions themselves were interesting; the cavalry and light-armed troops were sent to Cuthah, and placed under Elamite officers, while the main body stayed in quarters at Kish, under the command of Tannanu, an Elamite general. The Assyrians, if they intended to attack Babylon, must necessarily take Cuthah first, since such a considerable body of light troops could not safely be left in the rear; and the attack of the main allied army on the Assyrians while they were engaged in siege operations would have every chance of success.

Curiously enough, the account which Sennacherib's scribes compiled of these events in Babylon makes no mention of Marduk-zakir-shum, but concentrates on the 'evil villain,' Merodach-baladan; and it was not until the latter's intentions were known to be deliberately hostile, that Sennacherib, 'in wrath of heart,' set out from the city of Ashur on the 20th of Shebaṭ, the eleventh month of the year (February). It would appear that information had been obtained of the enemy's dispositions, for while the main body of the Assyrian army marched on Cuthah, a strong advance guard was sent on to Kish, to keep the allied army there in check. On this advance guard much depended, for if it failed to hold the enemy for a sufficient time, the Assyrians would be in difficulties; but it fulfilled its object. When night fell on the first day of the battle the advance guard still held its ground, though it was sore pressed, and couriers were despatched to Sennacherib at Cuthah for reinforcements. Pressed for time, the Assyrians delivered a direct assault on Cuthah the next morning, and took the place at the first onslaught, a remarkable feat of arms. Hurrying on to the field of battle at Kish, the Assyrian army for the second time met the Elamite army on Babylonian ground. The contingents of the allied army other than the Elamites proved of little account. The Arab levies commanded by the brother of queen Iati'e were taken prisoners, as also was the body commanded by Merodach-baladan's step-son. Merodach-baladan himself fled to the nearest Chaldee district. We read, however, of no Elamite prisoners; indeed the Elamites, situated as they were, could do nothing but stand and fight, and being hampered by the loss of their cavalry and bowmen, who had been sent to Cuthah, they must have been at a considerable disadvantage.

The Assyrian victory was decisive. Sennacherib hurried on to Babylon, where, it is to be noted, his reception was friendly. The inhabitants did not suffer at all, the only booty that was taken was from Merodach-baladan's palace; so that it is obvious that no blame was attached to the citizens for recent events. The Assyrian then proceeded to reduce Chaldaea more thoroughly than any of his predecessors had done. In all eighty-eight fortified towns belonging to the Chaldaean clans were captured; in addition to these all the great cities of Babylonia, save Ur of the Chaldees, were besieged and taken. It is unfortunate that there are variant accounts of Sennacherib's arrangements for the government of the country at the conclusion of the campaign in Chaldaea. Undoubtedly the earlier account states that Sennacherib set up a Babylonian, Bel-ibni, who had been educated at the Assyrian

court, as king of Sumer and Akkad. The variant account says that he made Bel-ibni king of Akkad and set his own officers as governors over the Chaldaean districts. It is, of course, possible that the two accounts are not so opposed as they seem; perhaps Sennacherib left his own officers in Chaldaea to serve under the new Babylonian king. However this may be, Bel-ibni, set on the throne of Babylon in the most favourable circumstances, was left in complete and independent control of Babylonia; Sennacherib might well expect him to be as good an ally as Nabon-assar had been to Tiglath-pileser III.

The campaign concluded with a raid on the Aramaean tribes east of the Tigris, but no attempt was made to reconstitute the province of Gambulu founded by Sargon. Marching round the western and north-western borders of Elam, obviously as a demonstration, Sennacherib exacted tribute from the people of Khararati and Khirimme, two districts which had been won for Assyria over a century and a half before by Ashur-naṣir-pal. Khararati was left under its own princeling, but Khirimme was reorganized as an Assyrian province. Sennacherib's army returned to Assyria loaded with booty, after an expedition which revealed the military abilities of the king, although resulting in a definite contraction of the imperial territory. Unfortunately for the peace of Babylonia, Merodach-baladan had escaped and was now lurking in the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, ready to return to Bit Yakin so soon as might be possible.

Bel-ibni, left to govern Babylonia for three years, proved an incompetent monarch, entirely incapable of maintaining the order the Assyrian army established. Merodach-baladan returned once again to Bit Yakin and was still in negotiation with Elam; southern Babylonia would most naturally turn to the old King of the Sea Lands, and probably Bel-ibni's edicts were treated with scant attention. Even outside the gates of Borsippa, the head of the tribe Bit-Dakkuri, named Marduk-ushezib, maintained an entirely independent attitude. There would seem to have been no effort at concerted rebellion; lax government alone produced an intolerable disturbance of which Sennacherib was bound to take notice. A campaign in 700 was not commanded by the king; it was indeed a minor operation, probably conducted by Ashur-nadin-shum, a younger son of the king. Marching rapidly through Akkad and plundering by the way, the army first turned towards Bit-Dakkuri, and routed Marduk-ushezib at Bittutu, without, however, capturing that prince. Pushing on to Bit Yakin, the Assyrians found that land, even to the shores of the Persian Gulf,

at their mercy, for Merodach-baladan had prepared no resistance, but had fled across the Gulf into Elamite territory at Nagite-raḳḳi. Wholesale deportation of the inhabitants of Bit Yakin was resorted to, and a demonstration made against the nearest Elamite border. At the close of the campaign a new order was introduced in Babylon. By Sennacherib's command Bel-ibni was carried away to Assyria, and Ashur-nadin-shum was installed in his place. Thus one more effort was made to preserve for Babylon an independent and effective kingship; for Ashur-nadin-shum was not the heir to the Assyrian throne, and his proved ability and his birth might perhaps unite Babylonia under a rule which should ensure peace with Assyria.

Ashur-nadin-shum does actually appear as the most successful ruler, during this disturbed period, in a country torn by tribal faction, and weakened by the tortuous diplomacy long practised by Merodach-baladan. The essential weakness of his position lay in the character of the Babylonian nobles themselves. Unable themselves to maintain supremacy over the Chaldaean and Aramaean tribesmen, they were unwilling faithfully to support in the kingship one who was not of their own number. The position was further complicated by the attitude of Elam; the refugees from Bit Yakin were still safe under Elamite protection, and it was clear that a decisive struggle must ensue. The most natural method of provoking this struggle was by attacking the Chaldaean refugees, a difficult operation which Sennacherib, possibly at his son's request, carried out in 694. Ships were brought across from the Mediterranean, and the expedition safely went down the Tigris to Opis, crossed to the Euphrates, proceeded to the mud banks at the head of the Gulf, and there overpowered the remnants of Bit Yakin and also the adjoining districts of Elam.

Though Merodach-baladan was dead, the campaign in this difficult country lasted a long time, while events of importance were taking place in Babylon. Khallushu had succeeded to the throne of Elam by deposing his brother Shutur-Nakhundu in 699. Directly the Assyrian army had passed down the Tigris he made a raid on the city of Sippar, where, apparently, he took Ashur-nadin-shum by surprise, and carried him away to Elam, to meet the usual fate. In his place Khallushu set Nergal-ushezib, probably a Babylonian noble by birth, and then returned to his own country, leaving Nergal-ushezib a difficult task. The only cities in which he was established were Babylon, including probably Borsippa, and Sippar. After executing some Assyrian officers, he

attacked Nippur, and effected a junction with some fresh Elamite troops; but the Assyrian army was returning, and after entering Erech, from which city they carried away the gods and some captives, advanced to meet the combined force of Nergal-ushezib and the Elamites. In a preliminary skirmish the Assyrians lost the baggage lines; but a battle was fought outside Nippur, and the Assyrians were completely victorious, carrying Nergal-ushezib off to Assyria. Nergal-ushezib's reign lasted eighteen months, so that the battle of Nippur must have been fought about the middle of 693. The long campaign had apparently exhausted the Assyrian army, for no attempt was made to restore order in Babylon. A certain Mushezib-Marduk made himself ruler, with whom Sennacherib's governors were left to deal.

Elam was a land of constant internal strife, generally conducted by junior members of a royal family infected apparently by hereditary disease and insanity. Khallushu, who had deposed his brother in 699, was himself deposed by his subjects in 693, the deposition, of course, involving death. Kutir-Nakhkhunte, called by the Babylonians Kudurru, became king in his stead. His accession was the opportunity for Sennacherib to deliver a direct attack on Rāshi (the Arab Rāhshān, a village subsequently included in Kāzirūn) and Bit Purnaki (see p. 81). Territories which the Elamites had conquered centuries before were restored to Assyria and added to the province of Dēr, and thirty-four Elamite cities were sacked. Weather of extreme severity drove the Assyrian army back before it met the Elamites in set battle in their own country. On this account the campaign can scarcely be reckoned a success, but it seems to have led to a rebellion in Elam, which ended in the assassination of Kutir-Nakhkhunte after a reign of ten months, and the accession of Umman-Menanu, called by the Babylonians Menanu. The direct result of the rebellion was the immediate undertaking of an offensive against Assyria, a peculiarly favourable moment in view of events in Babylon.

Mushezib-Marduk had pursued a pro-Chaldaean policy in Babylon, and had succeeded in obtaining unity in that city of divided counsels. The violent vituperation of Mushezib-Marduk in the annals of Sennacherib testifies to the extreme hatred felt for him, a hatred even greater than that shown for Merodach-baladan; and it may well be that this hatred was due to a wholesale massacre of the pro-Assyrian party in Babylon. It is difficult otherwise to explain the sudden change in the sympathies of the Babylonian populace. Overt acts of hostility against the Assyrian

district governors were indulged in, and apparently the gates were shut against Assyrian traders. In reply the Assyrian governors resorted to a blockade of the city, for in this year (692 B.C.) not enough troops were available for an assault. Mushezib-Marduk escaped through the blockade to Elam, and there arranged with Menanu for the organization of a general rising in Akkad and those Assyrian provinces which were known to be discontented, and for support by Elamite troops. On his return to Babylon he was acclaimed as king at the New Year's Festival of 691 and raised an army in Babylonia with which he joined the Elamites under Umman-Menanu. The allied forces included contingents from Assyria's eastern provinces, Parsua and Ellipi, from all the dependent princedoms of Elam, such as Anzan, from the Aramaeans east of the Tigris, and from all the Chaldaean clans, even from the remnant of Bit-Yakin now ruled by Merodach-baladan's son Sam'una. The Chaldaean Mushezib-Marduk had in fact displayed much of his predecessor's talent in raising a powerful combination.

The Assyrian army met these forces at Khalule, which is thought to be on the left bank of the river Diyala; there the bloodiest battle of the reign was fought. Though claimed as a victory for both sides, it is fairly clear that the struggle was indecisive. In the vivid account of the battle in Sennacherib's annals, the dramatic intervention of the now ageing king in the *mêlée* would seem to show that the Assyrians at one point wavered, but finally succeeded in maintaining their ground. Their losses, however, were so great that no advance could be undertaken, and the war was allowed to languish throughout the year 690. Events in Elam in the early part of 689, however, gave the Assyrians their opportunity. Umman-Menanu, characterized by the Assyrian scribe as 'witless,' shared to the full the physical debility of his house, and was smitten by paralysis. In the subsequent confusion in Elam, foreign affairs were temporarily forgotten, and Mushezib-Marduk was left without his most valuable ally. Not attempting to face the Assyrians in the field, the Chaldaean defied his enemies from behind the walls of Babylon; but the siege was so rigorously conducted that famine and pestilence broke out, and in the ninth month of the same year, 689, Sennacherib's army entered the city to loot and sack it. Mushezib-Marduk was carried away into captivity in Assyria, and Sennacherib for the first time assumed the title of 'King of Sumer and Akkad.' Ptolemy's Canon again records this period as an interregnum, for Sennacherib did not 'take the hands of Bel,' but removed the image of Bel-Marduk

from Babylon to Assyria. The veneration in which Marduk was always held by the Assyrians forbids the thought that on this occasion he was treated as a captive-god, in the way Ashurbanipal subsequently treated the gods of Elam. It is better to suppose that the great sanctuary of Esagila had been defiled during the siege, and damaged during the sack of the city, and that for this reason the god was conducted to the city of Ashur.

The sack of Babylon marks a turning point in Sennacherib's policy. For some sixteen years he had endeavoured to refound a separate kingdom in Babylonia, and his endeavours had ended in complete failure. The capital city itself, always previously well disposed to Assyria, had finally become a stronghold of the Chaldaean party. The force of circumstances alone was sufficient to cause any man of ability to take severe measures. The sack of Babylon was inevitable, and should not, properly, be considered a mere act of barbarism so much as a cruel revenge. The folk who were slaughtered had themselves probably slaughtered the pro-Assyrian party shortly before. The damage to the city during the siege and the sack was reparable, and it is known that Sennacherib himself commenced the work of rebuilding the city. The new policy was justified from the Assyrian point of view by results. For eight years there was no trouble in Babylonia. Elam remained passive under the rule of Khummakhaldash, who had succeeded Menanu in 689. It was during these eight years that Sennacherib gave his son Esarhaddon the supreme authority over the southern provinces which he had himself once exercised in the north; and Esarhaddon's mother, the queen Naḳi'a, was probably installed in Babylon at this time too, to guide her son, and to act as his representative in his absence. From these facts some have inferred that Naḳi'a was herself of Babylonian birth. This act, which probably took place at the end of the reign, was, in fact, a recognition of Esarhaddon as Sennacherib's successor; and since Esarhaddon was a younger son, as is implied by his name ('Ashur hath given a brother'), his older brother may naturally have become desperate (see p. 79). The event was solemnized by a ceremony in Babylon, and Esarhaddon was renamed Ashur-eṭil-ilani-mukin-apli ('Ashur, the hero of the gods, who hath established the son').

What were the motives which led Sennacherib at the beginning of his reign definitely to abstain from assuming kingship in Babylonia, and induced him to persevere in that abstention for so long a period? The answer to such a query in our present state of knowledge must necessarily be speculative; yet it is hard to resist

the conclusion that it was definitely his desire to restrict the commitments of Assyria. His experience of the northern frontiers, and his knowledge of the great danger in meeting which Sargon had lost his life, may well have caused him to believe that an independent Babylonian kingdom, friendly to Assyria, would save Assyria from waste of effort, and indeed actually strengthen it in time of need. Tiglath-pileser III had established relations of this kind with Nabonassar; and such a policy had much to be said for it. The Assyrians had only one object in the south; to repress and keep in subjection their avowed enemies, the Chaldaeans. Sennacherib's mistake lay in overestimating the strength of the city of Babylon, a city as effete and rotten with intrigue as Baghdad in the days of the later Abbasids. When the change in his policy came the northern danger had passed away, and faded from memory. But it is important to remember this feature of Sennacherib's early policy—the definite contraction of the limits of the immediate territories of the Assyrian king—since it serves to explain his actions elsewhere.

II. SENNACHERIB IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The eastern and northern frontiers gave little cause for anxiety during Sennacherib's long reign, a fact which testifies to the ability of the provincial governors of the time, as well as to the complete ascendancy established in these regions by Sargon. Immediately after the Babylonian campaign of 703–702 Sennacherib led his army into the land of the Iasubigallai and the Kashshu, the folk who had once held Babylonia subject. The cities which were captured were added to the province of Arrapkha, which had been constituted by Tiglath-pileser III. Marching farther east he entered Ellipi, conquered the district of Bit-Barrua and renamed the city Elenzash *Kar-Sin-akhkhe-eriba*, *i.e.* the fortress of Sennacherib. The object of the expedition was clearly to strengthen the provinces on the Elamite border; and that the expedition was successful in this respect is certain from the fact that the Elamites never attacked these provinces. In 698 or 697 the hill country, now known as the Jūdī Dāgh, called by the Assyrians Nipur, to the east of the Tigris, was attacked, and several towns perched on the hillside sacked. No attempt whatever was made to intervene in the districts immediately south and south-west of Lake Vān, and the letters seem to show that the princes of Shupria were actually independent during this reign. Here again it is best to assume that Sennacherib definitely

withdrew from the Assyrian borders, in accordance with his cautious policy.

It was in 696 that the first occasion for a campaign in the north-west arose. Kirua, the Assyrian governor of Illubri, a city near the Cilician Gates, revolted, and raised his standard in Cilicia. The citizens of Ingira (possibly the Greek Anchiale) and Tarsus joined him. The governor of the province of Ḳue, reinforced by troops from the regular army, successfully dealt with Kirua, who was captured after the siege of Illubri, and sent to Assyria to meet with a rebel's fate. Ingira and Tarsus were taken and resettled. It is certain from Greek sources that the main body of Kirua's adherents were Ionians, already settled in the district in great numbers: it is the only known occasion on which the Assyrians during the days of their independent power met the Greeks. That there must have been many such incidents in which the governors of the north-western provinces came into contact with the western peoples is highly probable. Another province won by Sargon in the north-west was definitely lost in 695. A remnant, possibly, of the horde which had fought Sargon in 706 seized the important town Tilgarimmu in the province of Tabal in that year. An Assyrian general carried the place by assault, but seems to have reported that the district could not be held, for, after sacking the city, the Assyrians withdrew.

As regards the west-lands, the disorder which arose in the Assyrian provinces in Palestine early in Sennacherib's reign was probably instigated by the embassy of Merodach-baladan (p. 63 above). The most powerful monarch in Palestine on Sennacherib's accession was Hezekiah of Judah, who had embarked on a bold and independent though hazardous attempt to improve his military position. After defeating the Philistines and making himself in some sort their suzerain (2 Kings xviii, 8; see p. 391), he had made Jerusalem more easily defensible by constructing an underground conduit which secured the water-supply in case of siege. Probably the fact that Merodach-baladan was forced to anticipate events in Babylonia, and was decisively defeated, prevented an open attack on the Assyrians by Hezekiah, but he nevertheless was implicated in acts of rebellion in other states, owing to an intrigue with Egypt. This intrigue (alluded to in Is. xxx, 1–5) must belong to the year 702–701, when the failure of the Chaldaean rising was known. The Egyptians concerned were Delta kings who acted with the consent of Shabaka, the reigning Pharaoh of the time. The new plot, in which most of the cities of southern Palestine were implicated, was adhered to by

Tyre and Sidon, the two principal Phoenician cities. For the first time the kings of Phoenicia engaged in direct resistance to Assyria, deserting the former habit of acknowledging any power which happened to be supreme. The reason for this new attitude is not known, but it may be assumed that the Assyrian provincial governors were exercising their powers at the expense of Phoenician trade and traders. It is clear, however, from the account of the Assyrian campaign that Hezekiah and Luli (Elulaios), 'king of Sidon,' were equally afraid of the enterprise on which they were engaged, and the Egyptian plot was destined to fail almost before Sennacherib appeared.

The rebellion commenced with the ejection of kings and princes appointed by the Assyrians in the southern cities. The king of Askalon, Sharruludari, who had succeeded Rukibtu, appointed by Sargon, was driven out by a certain Ṣidḳa. In Ashdod, Mitinti ejected the Assyrian provincial governor. In Amḳaruna (Ekron) a popular rising overthrew Padi, who remained faithful to his Assyrian overlord, and he was handed over to Hezekiah of Judah in chains. This act, perhaps inspired by the desire to implicate the wavering Hezekiah openly, brought Sennacherib into the field early in 700. He first marched, through the territory of Tyre, against Sidon. Luli did not await his attack, but fled to an island in the Mediterranean, and Sennacherib appointed Tuba'lu (Ithobaal) in his place as a tributary, giving several important cities, including Akku (Acre), into his charge. The appearance of the Assyrian army led several members of the confederacy to submit immediately, and a body of princes came to pay tribute at Lachish, including Menahem of Samsimurun, Abdilli'ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Byblus, Mitinti of Asdudu (Ashdod), Pudu-il of Beth-Ammon, Kammusu-nadbi of Moab and Ai-rammu of Edom. Ṣidḳa of Askalon was besieged and captured and the fortresses about Askalon quickly reduced before Sennacherib marched towards Ekron. The speed with which the campaign had been conducted had rendered the arrangements of the rebels futile; Hezekiah was completely unprepared, the Egyptians were too late to reach Ekron. The princes of the Delta had secured reinforcements from Nubia, sent by the Pharaoh, but even so they cannot have been in a position to face the Assyrians without their allies, as they were forced to do at Altaḳu (Elteḳeh). The battle was neither long nor fierce; large numbers of the Egyptians surrendered, including the leader of the Egyptian chariotry, some of the Egyptian princelings, and the commander of Shabaka's chariotry. Sennacherib then proceeded to capture

Ekron, punished the leaders of the rebellion there with severity, and strengthened the position of the pro-Assyrian party, reappointing Padi, who was soon afterwards released from Jerusalem. He then turned against Judah.

The long account of Hezekiah's relations with Sennacherib given in 2 Kings xviii *sq.* (=Is. xxxvi *sq.*) seems to have been compiled from three different sources. There is no reason, however, to doubt the historical truth of the facts stated, though it is necessary to distinguish between the two different campaigns which are confused in the narrative. The following seems to be the most probable course of events. While Sennacherib was at Lachish he sent his chief officers, the *turtan*, or commander-in-chief, the *rab saris* (in Assyrian *rab shutrish*), and the *rab shāḳē* with a detachment of the army to Jerusalem to secure the submission of that city, hoping, no doubt, that Hezekiah would submit as other members of the confederacy submitted to him there. Hezekiah sent three of his own officials out to parley with the Assyrians, who employed the Hebrew language, and spoke so loudly that the garrison could hear. The *rab shāḳē*'s message was to the point. Hezekiah had rebelled against Sennacherib in the hope of receiving support from Egypt; that hope was vain, and Hezekiah's forces were insufficient to meet Sennacherib. The Hebrew envoys requested that the parley might be continued in Aramaic, so that their soldiery might not understand, but the *rab shāḳē*, evidently convinced that Hezekiah did not intend to submit, devoted himself to an effort to arouse disaffection in the garrison, an effort which proved futile. There was no Assyrian party in Jerusalem. The method of the *rab shāḳē* must have been often practised with success in the case of other cities. The officers then departed to rejoin Sennacherib, and during this respite the Assyrian annals state that Hezekiah hired mercenaries, chiefly Arabs, to reinforce the troops in the city. That the king of Judah felt uneasy is shown by his recourse to Isaiah, who remained calm in the confidence that the city would not be captured, while denouncing the policy which was to bring destruction on the countryside. Hezekiah received yet a further summons from Sennacherib to submit, just before the battle of Altaḳu, and he again had recourse to Isaiah, whose firmness was unshaken. And so when Sennacherib at last arrived in Judah he found Hezekiah prepared to stand a siege in Jerusalem, while abandoning the remainder of his land to the enemy.

The Assyrian army captured forty-six fortified cities, and in all 200,150 people surrendered to Sennacherib. The cities were

divided between Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron and Ṣil-bel of Gaza. As the biblical version says, 'Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them.' Jerusalem itself was too strong to be carried by assault, and the Assyrian king—for some reason—wished to return with all speed to Nineveh. He accordingly invested and blockaded Jerusalem, and left a detachment of his army there to reduce the city. The prospect of a long siege caused Hezekiah to submit, and he sent his ambassadors with his formal surrender to Sennacherib, then in camp at Lachish. The Assyrian appointed the tribute which Judah was to pay, and this was subsequently sent, as the annals record, to Nineveh itself. The campaign had been absolutely successful, and Palestine remained at peace and faithful to Assyria for the remainder of Sennacherib's reign.

It has generally been concluded from 2 Kings xix, 19–35, and a story told by Herodotus (ii, 141), that Sennacherib in his later years fought a campaign against Tirhakah. Certainly it is impossible to reconcile the two stories, which are narratives of a pest befalling Sennacherib's army at Libnah or Pelusium, if historical, with the Assyrian account of the campaign of 700. A second and unsuccessful Assyrian campaign is thus assumed to have taken place at the end of Sennacherib's reign. There is, however, no mention of another western campaign in the Assyrian records, Herodotus' story requires many corrections in detail, and the mention of Tirhakah in 2 Kings seems to show great confusion in the narrative. It seems possible that Esarhaddon's unsuccessful campaign of 675 (see p. 85) was confused in 2 Kings xix with Sennacherib's successful campaign in 700, and that subsequent authors repeated the error. Herodotus' story of the mice, which may refer to a pestilence, would also be explained by the campaign of 675. As to whether there was or was not a campaign in Sennacherib's last years, there is no evidence available. In any case the Assyrian army did not reach Pelusium. See also pp. 277 *sq.*, 390 *sq.*

The Assyrian suzerainty, though it imposed heavy burdens, must have been in certain respects a great benefit to the people of Judah. We may infer from the prophecies of Isaiah that Edom and Moab, the two kingdoms on Judah's eastern border, had been specially active in raids on the fair settled lands of the Hebrews, and Hezekiah seems to have been unable to restrain them effectively. Now, Esarhaddon records a campaign through Aribi and Adumu conducted in his father's time, probably in the year 690. The district of Adumu is almost certainly the biblical

Edom, though some identify it with the classical Dumaetha, the modern Dummat el-Jandal. A reference in the Talmud (*Berakh. f.* 28*a*) to the captivity of the Ammonites and Moabites under Sennacherib shows that the Assyrian treatment of these plundering peoples was severe, and they remained tributary to Assyria in Esarhaddon's time. Their subjection must have been a great benefit to the farmers of Judah. Khazailu (Ḥazael) of the Aribi also suffered a severe defeat in the same campaign.

III. INTERNAL CONDITIONS

Everywhere outside Babylonia Sennacherib's government was successful. Quick to suppress rebellion and exact tribute, powerful enough to overcome foreign interference, whether in Tabal or Palestine, the king held nearly all that his predecessors had won, an achievement quite as difficult as theirs. The fact that rebellion was rare is very remarkable; the Assyrian provinces enjoyed a protracted period of peace rare in the history of the East at this time, and there can be little doubt that the prosperity of Syria and the adjoining lands was very considerable at this period. Unquestionably this security in the empire was due to the extreme caution of Sennacherib, a quality in which he would seem to have equalled Ashur-naṣir-pal himself. Nowhere did he attempt to win new provinces, nor did the weakness of his enemies lead him to undertake campaigns which, though bringing military glory, would surely exhaust his army and his treasury. This caution cannot fairly be ascribed to lack of wit, for where ingenuity and resource were required, as in the campaign across the Persian Gulf, Sennacherib showed that he possessed them. The curious temperament of the man is further exemplified by the neglect of religious duties which there is reason to ascribe to him. Owing to the peculiarly impersonal nature of the Assyrian annals and other documents, it is unlikely that Sennacherib's personality will ever be clearly understood. Nevertheless, enough facts are available to allow of a statement of his real interests.

The Assyrian kings had always devoted a great part of their energies to the restoration and the building of their cities. But Sennacherib had, in addition to this passion for building, an interest in engineering new in Assyria. On a celebrated frieze in the British Museum he is depicted as superintending the carriage of one of the great stone colossi which adorned the gateways of his palace; and the inscriptions themselves show that this was characteristic. Probably the real reason for the apparent inertia

of Sennacherib during the years 705–703 was the fact that he was absorbed then in the greatest task of his life, the reconstruction of Nineveh. While his father still lived, he had chosen the ancient city as his future capital, and immediately on his accession commenced the great work which was to change the aspect of the place entirely. The site, standing as it did at the junction of the rivers Khusur and Tebiltu with the Tigris, presented many difficulties, in the overcoming of which the king showed considerable pride. The Tebiltu was dammed, its course directed outside the city as newly planned, and a considerable area recovered from the marshlands covered by the Khusur. On this a platform was raised to the level of the palace foundations, and a great palace, 'the incomparable,' erected, the description of which shows that the architecture of the period was far more advanced than was once thought. Light-holes were provided in the roof, and the supporting pillars were covered with bands of silver and copper, the better to light the dark recesses of the halls. A more careful examination of the hills was undertaken with a view to discovering fresh supplies of stone, with welcome success. Alabaster was found in Mt Amnana, breccia in the district of Til-Barsip (Tell-Aḥmar), and white limestone in great quantities at Balaṭai, seven leagues from Nineveh, later known as Eski Mosul; and great slabs and colossi cut from these new quarries were transported to complete the new buildings. Above all, the art of the metal worker was represented in the new palace by a masterpiece. Twelve lions and twelve bulls of a colossal size were cast in copper; the achievement appears to have consisted in the great size of these works of art, for casting had long been practised. Sennacherib compares the casting of these bulls with the casting of half-shekel pieces, a comparison which shows that a regular issue of weights used as currency was at this time well known in Assyria[1].

The supply of water from the wells was also made easier by the introduction of a better method of irrigation and drainage; a metal and wood construction replaced the old well-head. A park, including an orchard, was planted beside the new palace. The area of the city itself was more than doubled, the foundations of the outer wall being actually laid in the river bed, and large open spaces added to its crowded streets. A new supply of water for

[1] The late Dr Johns pointed out that there is reason to believe that these weights used for exchange in the markets had devices, such as Ishtar-heads, wild asses, and so forth; lead roundels with such devices (about 1300 B.C.) were found by Andrae at Ashur, in two Ishtar temples.

the city, found in some springs in the eastern hills, was led by canals to Nineveh, and this supply was of use in irrigating the cultivated lands round the city in cold weather. A great plantation was formed to the north of the city, and allotted to the citizens of Nineveh; in it were introduced many novelties, including the cotton plant[1]. Few Oriental monarchs have displayed more interest in the welfare of their citizens than Sennacherib, as testified by his reconstruction of Nineveh.

A mere enumeration of Sennacherib's buildings would be tedious. It must suffice to mention the well-appointed stables and armoury called the *bit kutalli*, 'the house in the rear,' which now lies below the mound called Nabi Yūnis, and the metal gates put up at Tarbiṣi with an elaborate design representing a divine being setting forth to overcome a demon. There is no reason to doubt Sennacherib's claim that the directing intelligence in the restoration of Nineveh was his own. Above all, the glory of the city was due, not merely to riches gained by conquest and plunder, but to a wise investigation and employment of natural resources, such as would not be instigated by any but an exceptionally gifted mind.

It is a misfortune that the friezes of Sennacherib's time which have been recovered are badly damaged, but it is still possible to see in the artistic work of the period that the stone-masons had already acquired the exquisite command of detail and the ability in composition best studied in later work. The finest examples of these pictures in stone—for so they may most properly be considered—are the scenes showing Sennacherib's camp at Lachish, and the removal of the stone colossi. The effect of the vigour of the individual figures and of the naturalness of their depiction is still lessened, as in the Ashur-naṣir-pal sculptures, by a tendency to endless repetition of attitudes, and an inability to distinguish individuals save by the most obvious means, but in their original setting, with the aid of colour, which they once had, these slabs represent a very highly advanced art —an art which was entirely indigenous, and had developed without noticeable influence from foreign sources. It is indeed curious that at this period foreign influence should not be more marked in Assyria. In architecture the porch or colonnade was admittedly introduced into Assyria from the west; and perhaps many another detail was borrowed from *mat Khatti*, the land of the Hittites. In

[1] This introduction of the cotton plant led to the foundation of a prosperous industry which lasted many centuries. The geographer Mustawfi (about 1340 A.D.) mentions the good crops of cotton in the district round Irbil.

the minor arts there is evidence of Egyptian influence at this period; a glass vase which bears the name of Sargon, and an aragonite pot with an inscription of Sennacherib are both of a shape common in Egypt at the time. The Assyrian frieze was, however, and remained, purely Assyrian; and to the time of Sennacherib the beginning of the best period of the art must be ascribed.

One other feature of the time must be mentioned, the development of the language. Terse as is the account of the royal campaigns given in the so-called 'Taylor' cylinder, that document contains the most vivid description of a battle in the 'Akkadian' language. Recent discoveries have shown that this cylinder contains a mere *résumé* of original accounts of individual campaigns; but this need not be taken into account here. The description of the battle of Khalule is in itself arresting; it shows a mastery of the use of words and a style not paralleled in the earlier inscriptions. In addition, the language employed seems to have been allusive; it is difficult to resist the conclusion that there was a definite intention to remind the reader of the well-known account of Marduk's (or Ashur's) fight with Tiamat, in the Creation Epic. Other inscriptions bear out the conclusion to be drawn from this: the best period of literary work in Assyria began in the reign of Sennacherib. It would perhaps be bold, and yet it is not altogether improbable, to ascribe the improvement in ease and style to the study of languages. Aramaic inscriptions on tablets show that that language was commonly used in Assyria at this time, not unnaturally, in view of the close relationship with Syria, and of the fact that Ashur-naṣir-pal introduced a great number of Aramaeans into Assyria. The biblical sources show that the *rab shāḳē* could speak Hebrew. In Sennacherib's reign, too, the study of the ancient Sumerian language was prosecuted with great zeal; to this interest the Sumerian names given to the palace and the gates of Nineveh testify. Sennacherib himself was probably intensely interested in the art of which his scribes have provided the best example, the art called *ṭupsharruti*, the knowledge of tablet-writing.

The facts which partially reveal the real interests of Sennacherib have now been recounted. That he was an unusual and striking personality is probable, but not susceptible of proof. Were it not for the calamitous end of his reign, in, apparently, a palace intrigue of the usual Oriental kind, his achievements in holding his predecessors' conquests abroad, and especially his administration at home, would rank him first in the dynasty to

which he belonged. Until further evidence is forthcoming, he must be accounted as able a general as his father, a cautious ruler, the best administrator that the Assyrian records tell of, and a man who evinced an interest in art and literature only equalled by that of his grandson, Ashurbanipal.

IV. ESARHADDON'S POLICY OF EXPANSION

The end of Sennacherib, like that of his great predecessors Tukulti-Ninurta I and Shalmaneser III, was a dismal one. On the 20th Ṭebet (January), 681, his son, according to the Chronicle, murdered Sennacherib. From the annals of Ashurbanipal it is certain that Babylonians were implicated in the conspiracy, which probably represents an attempt by an elder son to win the throne already promised to Esarhaddon. The murder occurred in Nineveh, and the biblical account (2 Kings xix, 37) states that Sennacherib was slain in the house of Nisroch, his god, by Adram-melech and Sharezer, his sons, after he returned to Nineveh from the campaign against Judah. The names given cannot be satisfactorily identified with any of the known sons of Sennacherib, and 'Nisroch' is a corruption, perhaps, of Ninurta. However this may be, the murder was the signal for an outbreak of civil war in Assyria itself, where the murderer placed himself at the head of a part of the Assyrian army.

Esarhaddon had no difficulty in quelling the rebellion. At the beginning of Shebaṭ (February) he set out from an unknown locality, for Nineveh, and met the rebels in Hanigalbat. The parricide was routed with loss, but the biblical account states that the two sons escaped to Ararat, that is, Urarṭu. The civil war in Assyria ceased in Adar (the twelfth month, March) of 681, and 680 is reckoned as the first year of Esarhaddon.

The situation in Babylonia was curious. The Chaldaean tribes had acted for many years with remarkable accord; but their cohesion now temporarily ceased. From the nature of the case, however, it was likely that two tribes, Bit Dakkuri and Bit Yakin, would cause the new Assyrian king trouble. Bit Dakkuri, the tribe whose domain proper lay immediately south of Borsippa, had profited very considerably at the expense of the Babylonians, most probably in the time of Mushezib-Marduk. The Assyrians were now repatriating the Babylonians, and there was some difficulty in expelling Bit Dakkuri from the estates claimed by their lawful owners. Bit Yakin on the other hand, or rather the remnant of that tribe under Nabu-zer-kinu-lishir, a son of

Merodach-baladan, was once again seeking domination in the great southern cities. The situation was also complicated by the fact that Khummakhaldash I had died in 681 as the result of a sunstroke, and been succeeded by Khummakhaldash II; neither Chaldaeans nor Assyrians knew what policy the Elamite king would adopt. Esarhaddon's officers in Babylonia marched south in 680 to deal with Nabu-zer-kinu-lishir, who had camped round the important city of Ur, but on their approach the sheikh of Bit Yakin fled with his family to Elam, trusting, no doubt, in his hereditary connections with that country for a favourable reception. Ḫhummakhaldash II, however, broke away completely from the policy of his predecessors, and Nabu-zer-kinu-lishir was murdered by his orders, while his brother, Na'id-Marduk, fled from Elam to throw himself at Esarhaddon's feet. The Assyrian king accepted his homage, and made him supreme in 'the Sea Land,' that is the district round the head of the Persian Gulf, an act of mercy which had unusually good results. Na'id-Marduk remained a faithful vassal throughout the reign, and came to Nineveh every year to render homage and pay tribute; this loyalty must have caused acute dissensions between the Chaldaeans of the south and the tribes farther north. Bit Dakkuri, under its sheikh Shamash-ibni, was not dealt with until the year 678; and by this time some acts of Shamash-ibni, connected with the land settlements, called for condign punishment. He was taken prisoner, and Nabu-ushallim, the heir of that Balasu who was a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, was set up in his stead, as a tributary. Bel-iḳisha of Gambulu, east of the Tigris, also became a tributary, and his fortress, Sapi-bel, was strengthened as an outpost against Elam.

In 675 there occurred a strange incident. Khummakhaldash II of Elam, apparently without incitement from Babylonia, but very probably knowing that the Assyrian army was already setting out for Egypt, made a sudden raid into Babylonia, and entered Sippar, before the citizens were aware of the need of defence. A bloody street-fight led to the retirement of the Elamites, and the god Shamash remained safe in the great temple of E-babbar. The ancient city of Agade seems to have been raided to better purpose, for Ishtar and other gods were carried off to Elam. Immediately on his return to Elam, Khummakhaldash died 'without falling ill,' another victim of the physical debility of his house. It may seem fanciful to suppose that this raid was inspired from Egypt, and yet it is not altogether impossible, seeing that the Pharaoh of this period was especially active in intrigues against

the Assyrians; and a connection is certainly suggested in the Babylonian chronicle. Urtaku succeeded to the Elamite throne, and another of those sudden changes in policy, which show the confusion prevalent in Elam, resulted; the gods of Agade were returned without a struggle in 674, possibly as a result of a successful Assyrian campaign against Bit Parnaki, a district in the north of Elam already attacked by Sennacherib in 694[1]. It may safely be assumed that the quiescence of the Chaldaeans led Elam to abandon interference in Babylonia for the time being.

The twelve years of Esarhaddon's reign were, in effect, a period of peace in Babylonia; and during that time considerable works of restoration were effected, especially in Babylon. It is interesting to notice that Esarhaddon, in his account of the restoration of the capital city, ascribed its ruin to the year 691, that is, to the time when Mushezib-Marduk seized the rule in Babylon after the battle of Khalule. Much of the Assyrian work in Babylon remained in the glorious time of Nebuchadnezzar II; perhaps not sufficient tribute has been paid to the governing qualities of a people who were capable of expending thought and treasure on such work in a foreign land. All was put in readiness for the return of Bel-Marduk to his city. The administration of Babylonia was also conducted with equity at this time; returned exiles who could duly prove their claim to estates were heard, and their claims adjusted, as is shown by a boundary-stone inscription dated in Shamash-shum-ukin's reign. In the course of settling these land questions the Assyrian authorities in Babylon more than once had to take severe action with regard to certain native officials and the heads of the Bit Dakkuri clan. The credit for the good order of the southern kingdom must, at any rate in part, be ascribed to the queen-mother, Naḳi'a, whose position was exceptional, recalling in some respects that of Sammu-ramat.

Assyrian authority in the eastern provinces remained supreme throughout the reign. In 676 a very successful campaign was undertaken against the tribes whose districts lie along the border of the modern province of Fars, by troops probably raised from the Assyrian garrisons in Babylonia, and directed from the southern capital. The army marched far into the salt deserts of modern Persia, the actual distance covered amounting to about 1200 miles. The expedition was completely successful in imposing Assyrian authority on the land of Bāzu; eight kings were

[1] It is possible that this district, also called Bit Bunaki, was inhabited by earlier settlers of the tribe called Parna, which led Parthia to revolt from the Seleucid empire (Justin xli, 2, 5).

slain, and the booty and captured gods were carried back to Nineveh. Lailie, a king of the district, subsequently came to Esarhaddon, paid homage, and was assigned complete control of this eastern territory; his gods, with suitable inscriptions to remind the new subjects of Assyrian power, were returned to him.

In Media only one important campaign was necessary, conducted by Assyrian officers against a princeling in the district of Demavend who did not acknowledge the Assyrian supremacy. The most striking event of all was that three Median princes who had been ejected from their cities by 'town governors' came to Nineveh to implore Esarhaddon's aid, and were restored to their domains by Assyrian provincial governors. When the events in the eastern provinces from the accession of Tiglath-pileser III (745) to the death of Esarhaddon (669) are considered, it is not surprising that Assyrian culture made a very definite impress on the peoples of this land, and that Assyrian influence is traceable long after the fall of the empire. Nevertheless, the fact that both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon adopted a purely defensive attitude in these districts is obvious, and of importance. Where provinces remained secure, the Assyrians were satisfied to leave their borders as they stood.

Matters were more complicated in the north. The reduction of Shupria, the district round Tushkhan, was effected in 673. Of events in Urarṭu at this period we have no information; but it is certain that the adjacent lands once ruled from the city of Vān were now for the most part in other hands, namely, of a people called Ashguzai, the biblical Ashkenaz, the Scythians. One leader of these hordes pushed as far south as Lake Urmia, and formed an alliance with the chief of the Mannai. Of this alliance Ishpaka (the 'Spaka' of Herodotus), and a certain Kashtariti, chief of the Kashkashshi, were members, but Mamitiarsu of Mannai failed to bring a well-considered plan to successful execution. The coalition caused considerable anxiety at Nineveh, but the Assyrian provincial governors would appear to have been equal to the situation. Mannai remained under Assyrian control, either because of an overwhelming defeat of the allies, or, more probably, because the allies failed to hold together. The Scythians later became Assyrian allies, for one of their kings, Bartatua (the Protothyes of Herodotus I, 103), wished to marry a daughter of Esarhaddon, and possibly did so. In any case, Esarhaddon did not pursue a wise policy on his northern frontier. Though the date of these events is uncertain, Esarhaddon was clearly engaged elsewhere with his main army; and no attempt was made to

inflict a crushing defeat on the northern hordes, who were to reappear in Assyrian history. Sargon had shown a truer appreciation of the military situation.

Indeed the Gimirrai with whom Sargon had fought reappear in the north-west provinces in Esarhaddon's reign, stirred to activity perhaps by the Scythian hordes behind them. This danger also was averted by the activity of Assyrian governors, who met and defeated Teushpa, the leader of the Gimirrai and Daae, at Khubishna in Tabal, in 679. Immediately after the defeat of Teushpa, a regular reduction of some of the principal cities of Cilicia (Khilakku) and Tabal was necessary. Esarhaddon remarks that certain cities had not joined in the rebellion, but that he 'laid the heavy yoke' of his suzerainty on them. Towards the end of Esarhaddon's reign, the provinces of Khilakku and Tabal fell away from Assyria, and Mugallu of Tabal actually defeated the Assyrians in the field, and annexed the territory of Milid. Esarhaddon's lack of policy in the north-west, as in the north, was by no means in accord with the importance assigned to events in the north-west by his predecessors.

The year 678 was a year of unrest in the west, for in that year Sanduarri, king of the cities of Kundu (on the Gulf of Antioch) and Sizu (the modern Sis), concluded an alliance with Abdi-milkutti, who had succeeded Ithobal in Sidon. The two cities named as belonging to Sanduarri show that he was a prince with a considerable domain; whether he had established himself with the aid of, or in spite of, the Assyrians is not known. His communications with Abdi-milkutti were probably conducted by sea, and it is possible to see in the revolt arranged between them the result of Egyptian intrigue; unless these princes had promise of support from that quarter, it is difficult to divine their motives. Esarhaddon himself conducted the campaign against Sidon in 677; perhaps his general dealt with the unfortunate Sanduarri, who faced the Assyrian army with inadequate resources, and was taken prisoner. Sidon fell in the same year, and the city was very thoroughly sacked. Abdi-milkuṭṭi, who had escaped to Cyprus, was taken prisoner and brought back to Sidon, opposite which Esarhaddon founded a new city, in the presence of the tributary princelings of the west, 'the fortress of Esarhaddon.' Abdi-milkutti and Sanduarri figured in the king's triumphal entry into Nineveh in 676, and were then beheaded.

Like his father, Esarhaddon found it necessary to conduct a campaign in Arabia (676), in order to secure peace on the boundaries of his western provinces. The city of Adumu was raided

and its gods carried into captivity, and thence the Assyrians marched into the heart of the Aribi country. Their errand there was peaceful. Ḥazailu, the actual governor of the country, had paid tribute and homage to Esarhaddon at Nineveh, and begged for the return of the national gods, which Sennacherib had carried away along with the priestess Te'elkhunu, who had a private quarrel with Ḥazailu. These the Assyrian army had conducted back, as well as an Assyrian nominee to the queenship of Aribi, Tabua. It may be inferred from this incident that the royal office among the Aribi was, in its religious aspect, confined to women. Tabua, doubtless of Arabian birth, was the priestess who tended the Arabian gods during their sojourn in Assyria; she now returned to hold the ceremonial office of queen. Ḥazailu, the actual ruler, shortly afterwards died, and was succeeded by Ia'lu, and the opportunity was seized greatly to increase the tribute due from the Aribi. Of course, no strict hold on Arabia was possible; but the Sargonid monarchs were very successful in introducing some sort of order among the most important tribes, a fact which must have greatly increased the trade, not only of Assyria, but of the provinces.

Affairs in the west had become serious for Egypt. The impressive parade of twenty-two kings of western lands at the foundation of 'the fortress of Esarhaddon' had included sovereigns of all the cities and lands whose relations with Egypt had been closest. All the ports of the Gulf of Antioch, and of the Phoenician coast, were in Assyrian hands, save one, Tyre; and Ba'alu, the king of Tyre, acknowledged his dependence also by his presence at Kar-Ashur-akh-iddin. Manasseh of Jerusalem (see 2 Chron. xxxiii, 11) and the Philistine princes were presumably there, with Greeks and Phoenicians from Cyprus. That the Assyrian predominance in Cyprus, established in the time of Sargon, is not to be under-estimated, is shown by the quick surrender of Abdi-milkutti; and Assyrian predominance in that island must have meant great loss to the traders in the Delta. Nor was the fomentation of rebellion so easy as it once was; in nearly every city there were Assyrian detachments, quick to detect Egyptian emissaries, and to prevent concerted risings. Sidon was helpless in the hands of a provincial governor. Only Ba'alu of Tyre, whose territories had been increased by Esarhaddon, was sufficiently free to engage in intrigue, and Tarḳu (Tirhaḳah), the Egyptian Pharaoh, accordingly approached him, probably in 676–675. The exact nature of the inducements which led Ba'alu to accept Tarḳu's advances we do not know, but the confidence of the Phoenician prince in

his own strength was justified by events. The Assyrian king, well informed, as always, of the course of affairs, directed his main effort against Egypt, and crossed the Egyptian border in 675. His army was compelled to retreat owing to a storm, so that this campaign may be referred to in 2 Kings xix, 7, 35 (see p. 74); but in 674 the Assyrians were engaged in reducing the fortresses in the Delta, of which the principal is called 'Sha amēlie,' possibly Andropolis. These two campaigns were the basis of Esarhaddon's subsequent reduction of Egypt. The siege of Tyre, commenced early in the year 673, was obviously considered a subordinate operation. It proved, however, very difficult: the Assyrians were unable to carry the place by assault, and there was no hope of instituting a blockade. Incommoded by the presence of the Assyrian army without the walls, Ba'alu offered a conditional submission, but Esarhaddon's arrangements to take possession of the fortifications on the mainland, and install Assyrian governors there, were not acceptable to him. He continued to defy the Assyrian king with success, but was unable to interfere with the passage of the Assyrian armies towards Egypt.

The Egyptian enterprise, once undertaken, occupied the whole of Esarhaddon's energies; Assyrian prestige in the west urgently demanded this, for the past glories of Egypt were ever present in the minds of the peoples of Palestine and Syria. Failure on the part of the Assyrians would be a sure signal for revolt in the provinces. When the Assyrian army withdrew from Egypt, therefore, it was merely to reorganize and prepare for a greater effort. The year 672 was spent thus, and in 671, in a campaign conducted with remarkable speed, the Assyrian army proved itself immensely superior to any troops that Egypt could put in the field. After crossing the border, a set battle at Iskhupri ended in the complete rout of Tarḳu's army; fifteen days later, Memphis was besieged, and shortly after fell. Tarḳu himself had escaped southward, but his family was captured, and Memphis was plundered. This signal victory led to the surrender of Upper Egypt, and Esarhaddon immediately proceeded to organize the government of the whole country. A native ruler was set over each home, Assyrian officers appointed after the usual manner, and Assyrian names given to the chief cities (see p. 281 *sq.*). Necho of Saïs was recognized as the liege lord of Egypt, and he seems to have accepted Esarhaddon's suzerainty with considerable good will. Home affairs recalled Esarhaddon at this time, and on his way back he set up monuments in the valley of the Nahr el-Kelb and in Sam'āl (Zenjirli) recording his victories. The

monument from Zenjirli shows Esarhaddon standing above the kneeling figures of Ushanakhuru and Ba'alu of Tyre, holding in his hand cords attached to rings in their lips. This symbolic representation of his victory accorded rather with the wishes of the Assyrian king than with the facts. Ba'alu rejected his terms, and Tarḳu was still master of his native land, Kush. (See p. 144.)

Upper Egypt, though it had surrendered in 671, must have been extremely unwilling to acquiesce in Esarhaddon's arrangements, which had benefited a Delta prince, and subsequent events seem to show that it was to deal with Upper Egypt that Esarhaddon marched towards Egypt in 669. The campaign, however, was arrested before it was well begun; before reaching the Egyptian border, Esarhaddon fell sick and died in the eighth month of the year. The Assyrian army returned home, its mission unaccomplished. (See further, p. 113 *sq.*)

Esarhaddon's Egyptian enterprise stands isolated in the history of the Sargonid period. It has already been pointed out that in general all the campaigns conducted from Sargon's time onward are best regarded as defensive efforts: the military achievements of both Sargon and Sennacherib were directed to the final establishment of Assyrian rule within the wide territories which had acknowledged Tiglath-pileser III. Esarhaddon deliberately engaged on the conquest and absorption of a land his immediate predecessors had never entered. The explanation of his conduct was not far to seek. For twenty years or more Egypt had been concerned in abetting or initiating movements against the Assyrians. Not improbably concerned in the intrigues of Merodach-baladan, certainly an ally of Hezekiah, and now the instigator of revolt in Phoenicia, the Pharaoh must have appeared to the ruling monarch at Nineveh his chief enemy; and the most natural way of suppressing his activities for good was to invade and conquer Egypt. Nevertheless the attempt to absorb that country into the Assyrian empire, though temporarily successful, was unwise. Assyria's principal danger at all times lay on the northern and eastern borders; and had Esarhaddon paid more personal attention to affairs in Media and Asia Minor, he would not have engaged so whole-heartedly in the easy conquest of a land his successor would soon find it impossible to hold. The reign of Esarhaddon was, however, a very glorious one, and the addition to his hereditary titles of 'King of the Kings of Egypt' was not an empty boast.

The conduct of affairs at home was made difficult during his reign by dissensions in the court concerning the succession. Esarhaddon's eldest son was Shamash-shum-ukin. For some

reason there was powerful opposition to his nomination to the position of heir-apparent, and Esarhaddon's original intention was to appoint another son, Sin-iddina-aplu, but this intention was never executed, either because this prince died, or because the oracle, when consulted, returned an unfavourable answer. By 670, when the king returned from Egypt, Assyria was threatened with civil strife, the nobles being apparently divided in support of Shamash-shum-ukin and Ashurbanipal, the latter enjoying the greater favour. Esarhaddon solved the matter, but not without difficulty. Ashurbanipal was appointed *mar sharri*, the heir-apparent, in Assyria, and inducted into the *bit riduti*, the 'house of inheritance,' there to exercise the authority associated with his office. Shamash-shum-ukin was to have no standing in Assyria; but he was given an official position in Babylon, for he was nominated as Esarhaddon's *mar sharri* in that city, with the distinct understanding that he should recognize Ashurbanipal as his liege lord. This arrangement was not an entirely novel procedure, and would seem to have been a reasonable compromise. Certain discontented nobles nevertheless attempted a revolt, but this Esarhaddon easily suppressed, and executed the leaders. His arrangements held good, for on his death the succession caused no trouble.

The art of the period shows no distinctive features. Building proceeded apace in Babylon and Nineveh. One remarkable act of vandalism, unique in Assyria so far as we know, was committed at Kalakh, where the slabs on which Tiglath-pileser III's annals had been inscribed were torn from their place and partly rubbed down, to be re-inscribed and put up in a new palace the king was building there. The reverential treatment of the monuments of their predecessors was a marked characteristic of both Assyrian and Babylonian kings, and it would be interesting to know the cause of the hate thus evinced towards a monarch who had served Assyria well. The interest of the reign is, however, essentially political; on every side, save the north-west, Assyria, threatened by great and increasing forces previously unknown, held firm; and in one direction the empire was actually extended. For this the credit should be given to the Assyrian provincial governors; but Esarhaddon must have possessed his father's and grandfather's gift for selecting worthy men for the responsible posts in the administration.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF ASHURBANIPAL

THE prince whom Esarhaddon had appointed as his successor, Ashurbanipal (669–626 B.C.), had received an education which rendered him conversant with the science and letters of his age without neglecting the instruction in the chase and in warfare considered necessary for one of royal birth. His particular pride was his mastery of the art of tablet-writing (*ṭup-sharruti*), under which term is to be understood literary composition as well as the technical knowledge required for the writing of cuneiform; and that his boast of this accomplishment was justified is well known from the two magnificent libraries collected by him at Nineveh. Former princes—Sargon for example—had gathered texts together; but Ashurbanipal did more than this. From a colophon on some few tablets from the libraries it is clear that some texts were read to him for his approval; and it is not fanciful to find in the splendid series of historical records of the earlier part of his reign the work of the king himself. His interest in art also was as personal as had been Sennacherib's; in his palace were discovered the reliefs which will always remain the finest examples of Assyrian art. For modern students 'the age of Ashurbanipal' marks a definite stage in the history of culture, and the modern term as rightly links that king's name with his time as it connects the glories of Imperial Rome with the name of Augustus.

It is impossible, may always be impossible, to appreciate justly this culture, largely because Assyrian cities have revealed to the excavator little but architectural remains and records written in cuneiform. The objects handled daily by this ancient people, whether of metal or wood or clay, as well as the rare and magnificent treasures once stored in their temples and palaces, have survived only in a few cases; so that, instead of the convincing testimony of the material object, recourse must be had to the laborious reconstruction of a civilization from the written word. Such a reconstruction is sure to be incomplete, and sometimes incorrect. Thus it is usual to assume that social and political organization in Babylon and Assyria were closely parallel, largely because the details learnt from the study of the one land have

been used to complete our knowledge of the other; yet more recent research shows that the two countries were probably as distinct as Greece and Rome. The object of the following account of the Assyrian civilization is partly to explain, partly to justify, the ascendancy the nation won and held in Media, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine.

I. ASSYRIAN RELIGION

A race like the Assyrians, living in a land without great natural advantages, condemned by their geographical position to constant struggles with animals and men, as well as with adverse incidents due to natural causes, is likely to hold gloomy views of the supernatural powers, and at the same time to be fanatically devoted to the practice of religion. To such a people, devils and evil spirits will seem to lurk in every desert place, and to hide in every dark corner, and it is not surprising that whole series of charms and incantations against all kinds of devils, against the *utukku* and the *rabiṣu*, the *lilitu* and the *labartu*, have been found. The priests who were entrusted with the task of exorcizing such demons had above all to discover the particular kind of demon with whom they had to deal. But the knowledge of the demon's name was not always attainable, and then recourse must be had to the recital of the name of every possible kind of demon. As a prevention against the entry of such demons into a child or man, charms were worn, of various kinds. Demoniacal human heads, or monstrous animal forms, made in clay and metal, were suspended round the neck, on the principle that like averts like. Inscribed stone tablets, with seven magical words seven times repeated, with a cabalistic significance, were especially efficacious; and these tablets sometimes bore in relief representations of a *labartu* suckling her animal brood. It is unnecessary to linger on the details of these popular superstitions; they resemble the superstitions of all subsequent ages, and are exactly the same as those of Babylonia. It is, however, curious to note that while the existence of witchcraft and black magic is well attested, the only texts remaining are exorcisms; it is indeed scarcely to be expected that a test enlightening us as to the procedure of a witch will ever be found. (See further, below, p. 236 *sq.*)

The Assyrian, much like his modern successors in the Tigris valley, had no taste for deductive reasoning. The mere fact that one event succeeded another led him to believe the first event to be a cause. This credulity, combined with great industry in observation, and infinite patience in arranging the material, led

to the collection of great series of 'Omens,' in which the result of every kind of possible and impossible event was stated, and the method of avoiding evil results prescribed. The *baru*, or 'seer,' the class of priest specially concerned with the science of 'omens,' occupied a peculiarly important place in Assyrian religion, and while much of the literature concerned with astronomical and terrestrial observations was derived from foreign sources, especially Babylonia, a number of the texts were actually compiled in Assyria. This pseudo-science was not without its value in the ancient world; to it was due the habit of careful observation, both in astronomy and medicine, and from these great collections of observed facts real knowledge sprang, with which Greek and Roman writers were familiar (p. 238 *sqq.*).

The basis of Assyrian religion is shown by the popular superstitions to be fear; and that fear was not relieved, as amongst some other peoples, by the play of sprightly fancy. It is consonant with this that the personal relation of the individual to his gods finds expression in the confession of sin, wittingly or unwittingly committed. The sin may be a ritual or a moral sin; in either case the result is equally disastrous. The confession of sin, accompanied by a prayer for release from the consequence of the sin, was not, so far as is known, connected with a *do ut abeas* formula. The great gods were benevolent and beneficent, and reliance might be placed on their mercy. A distinctively Assyrian, as opposed to Babylonian, theology concerning the great gods does not seem to have existed save in one particular. The place occupied in the Babylonian pantheon by Marduk belonged in the northern kingdom to Ashur. In the Assyrian version of the Creation Epic recently found, Ashur was the hero of the great gods in their war against Tiamat. Ashur descended into the underworld after Zu stole the 'tablet of ordinances,' and was resurrected. 'Ashur' and 'Marduk' are possibly epithets of one and the same god, used in distant ages by different tribes, in which case Ashur existed long before his people came to the city of Ashur. Most authorities, however, believe him to have been originally the local god of that city. Such matters must necessarily be obscure, but there are certain features of Ashur which show that in some respects Assyrian religion was independent of Babylonian influence, and must therefore be mentioned here.

The peculiar symbol of Ashur was the winged disk, within which the god himself is depicted leading his people in battle or investing his chosen with authority. Ashur was thus never represented simply as a human being with certain divine attributes,

like the Babylonian deities. The Assyrian army carried the divine symbol in battle, preferably in the chariot of the king himself, and set it up in conquered cities to be worshipped by the new subjects. Opposition to the Assyrian overlord or rebellion against him was considered by Ashur's people as sin against the supreme god; and it may be that the extreme cruelty of this people, which, in truth, consists rather in the frankness with which savage punishments are recapitulated than in the punishments themselves, as compared with those of other nations and periods, was due to the gloomy religious fanaticism which seems to have been natural to them (cf. vol. I, p. 200, and p. 236 *sq.* below).

The expiation of sin against the national god could only be accomplished by ritual ceremonies; and though the texts make no mention of such rites when detailing the slaughter of prisoners, it is clear from a bas-relief from the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal at Kalakh that such were performed after a victory. On the relief referred to, there is a scene depicted in which captives are brought before a priest, so marked by the stole he wears across his left shoulder; he stands at the entrance of a tent which serves certain religious purposes, as is clear from the two goats which adorn its poles. In the upper register, representing by an artistic convention the background, an Assyrian soldier may be seen leading away two captives clad in lions' heads and skins; that they are being led away to the slaughter is clear, for immediately adjoining this scene soldiers may be seen displaying the heads of their victims to the musicians and bowmen. The prisoners being dressed up in animal hides in this way, and the presence of the priest, point unmistakably to the conclusion that their execution was a religious ceremony. These facts serve to show the nature of Ashur; he was a solar god, peculiar to the Assyrian nation, leading and directing the nation, especially the king, in peace and war, inspiring the soldiery by his presence, and exacting divine vengeance on the enemies of his people. It is not difficult to understand why Ashur never gained willing adherents among other nationalities. It should be remembered, however, that when the Zoroastrian religion prevailed in the land which had once been Ashur's, the symbol of the god still remained to testify to his former glory; for that symbol was adopted to represent the great and good Ahuramazda, and, together with the symbol rites and ceremonies once connected with the worship of Ashur, must have passed into the Zoroastrian faith.

The conquered provinces on which the worship of Ashur was imposed must have recognized in him a counterpart of the

Ba'alim they themselves acknowledged; the religious difficulties with which Seleucid and Roman rulers in Syria were faced never troubled the Assyrians. It is probable that a bare tree trunk, ornamented with green branches and bound with metal collars, played an important part in the Ashur cult; and this so closely resembles the *ashērah* worshipped in Syria, that apparently no dangerous alterations in local cults had to be undertaken. The acknowledgment of the supremacy of Ashur could then be easily imposed; for the same reason it was a supremacy entirely dependent on the military accomplishments of his people, and disappeared immediately once their arms failed to hold the field.

The Assyrians would seem to have been more gloomy and fanatical in their religious beliefs than the Babylonians, and their consequent fierceness and cruelty proved invaluable in enabling them to gain and keep possession of lands which have throughout all history been reduced to order by means of violence only. At the same time the fact that their national god was, in essentials, similar to the gods of the peoples whom they had to govern enabled them to impose on their subjects with the more ease a worship which did not interfere with ancient rites. When their subjects were greatly inferior in civilization, as in the north-eastern and eastern provinces, the religion of Ashur in certain respects made so great an impression that certain rites and symbols connected with it actually persisted for many centuries after the god himself was forgotten.

II. THE ASSYRIAN STATE

It appears useless to attempt to explain Assyrian supremacy on geographical grounds, since the Assyrian people occupied a part of the Tigris valley not specially distinguished from any other except perhaps by certain military disadvantages. The essential difference between Assyria and the kingdoms which fell to the rank of tributaries in the empire is to be found in the constitution of the Assyrian state. From the earliest times, it would seem, the Assyrians formed a nation, not a congeries of city states, or tribal districts. The land of Ashur could be ruled by one king only; the district governors were his officers and servants. There was one institution above all which prevented the district governors from striving to set themselves up as independent kings, that of the office known as *limmu*. The *limmu* was the eponym official of the year; it is probable that the year was named after him in virtue of the fact that he conducted the religious ceremonies at

the Nisan festival. At Babylon, it was the king himself who 'took the hands of Bel,' that is, he led Marduk out in his triumphal procession, after submitting to a ceremony in which he was yearly re-chosen and re-invested by the god. In Assyria the king performed this ceremony in his second year or as soon as military necessities allowed; thereafter the officers who were district governors performed the ceremony in the order of their importance. It is clear that such an institution must have great significance in supporting a central, national authority. Thus the *limmu* official who immediately followed the king was the *turtanu*, the commander-in-chief, and governor of the district of Harran. No one could be governor of Harran unless he were *limmu* the year after the king; no one could be *limmu* in that year unless he were the *turtanu*, nominated by the king. For the years 856–752 the names of five *turtans* are known, partially accounting for 100 years, and in no case does a son succeed his father. In this way the central authority of the king must have been much more efficient than that exercised, for example, by a king of Babylon, for in that country the district officials conducted the religious ceremonies of the New Year in their own capitals and held office by hereditary right. In the home province of Ashur, indeed, the succession of son to father, in Babylonian fashion, is attested, in one case for four generations, but even here it was the exception rather than the rule. Throughout Assyrian history the prominent men in Assyria were the king's personal attendants. The ill-advised attempt to abrogate the rotation of the *limmu* office by Ashur-nirari IV was soon seen to be a mistake, and the institution remained in force until the fall of the empire.

In this unity of the Assyrian people, centred about the king, is to be sought the origin of Assyrian supremacy. In the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II, Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser III the state organization was still elementary; but their conquests necessitated an extension of the king's authority, and the invention of new political terms which should meet the needs of their imperial designs. In their time, in addition to the king's natural subjects, the people of the Assyrian lands, three other kinds of subjects are found. Firstly, the tributary peoples, bound to pay a fixed amount of goods yearly, were much in the same position as tributary peoples had always been. Secondly, certain tributary peoples were bound to respect the king's authority by the installation of an official in their own princes' palaces, the *zabil kuduri*, who attended to the exaction not only of tribute but of forced labour. Thirdly, certain cities were reduced to a state of complete sub-

jection by the presence of a governor, *shaknu* or *urasu*, whose word was law. These governors were themselves responsible to one of the great district governors.

The only change in this administrative system introduced in later times consisted in a division of the great territorial districts into smaller administrative areas. Thus the home province of Ashur was divided into two, Ashur and Ekallate. These smaller areas were termed *pakhati*, a term borrowed apparently from Babylonia, where these smaller administrative districts had long been established. The governor of the new area is indifferently termed *bel pakhati*, the lord of the district, or *shaknu*, a term belonging originally to the ruler of the older territories. These district governors were supported by deputies, *amelu shanu*, burgomasters, *khazanu*, and other civil and military officers. The government of each of these areas was, in fact, in the Sargonid period, a replica of the Assyrian government in miniature; the total effect of the change must have been to secure a more effective control of the detail of government in distant provinces by the central authority. Tiglath-pileser III was most probably the ruler who introduced the new division, which remained in force until the fall of Assyria, and the system is one more proof of the outstanding ability of that remarkable man. It is unfortunate that the general terms employed in the historical inscriptions for the various kinds of subjection to Assyrian authority do not allow of our distinguishing in all cases the class to which a province belonged. It is very often impossible to say whether a particular city or district retained an independent ruler under the tutelage of an Assyrian *shaknu*, or whether it was entirely subjected. The difficulty appears most clearly in the north-western provinces, where native rulers are mentioned almost immediately after their lands had been constituted Assyrian provinces. The careful government of the provinces is attested not only by the letters but by such documents as the Census-lists from Harran. Many details remain uncertain, but the Assyrian provincial government, in certain features exactly similar to that adopted by Rome in the same country, must be commended as a considerable development of, and advance on, the methods of Babylonian, Egyptian and Hittite kings.

The power of the king was probably unlimited, at least in theory; and, though none but skilful and energetic monarchs were able to maintain Assyrian supremacy, the country was in general well governed. In practice, however, a check upon their authority did exist, as it existed in the case of Croesus, or the

Greek tyrants. In Assyria the personal application to the gods for guidance became, in the case of the king, a demand for direction in affairs of national importance. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal were only copying the example of their forefathers when they asked Ishtar of Arbela whether they should set out on such and such an expedition, what the success of certain enemies was likely to be, and whether they should nominate such an one to a certain post. The oracles of the gods thus held a peculiar position in Assyria, even as in Greece, and it is clear that the political effect must have been to give the aristocratic class, which alone could hold the highest priestly offices, an indirect means of influencing policy. Even a Sennacherib was not likely to disregard an unfavourable omen. The institution had its use; without unduly restricting the initiative of the leader on whom the country depended, it ensured his refraining from any enterprise definitely disapproved of by a number of those competent to judge.

III. ASSYRIAN SOCIETY

It is unfortunate that the only commercial and legal documents from Assyria as yet known are concerned with members of the king's household. Yet even so the partial picture of Assyrian society in the Sargonid period presented by these documents is of the greatest interest historically. Nineveh, from the time of Sennacherib onwards, was the kind of capital such an empire must inevitably have. Men from the far north-west jostled Medes and Elamites in the gate of the palace; the royal scribes wrote down as best they might in legal documents the queer words used by men of a strange tongue; and the keepers of the royal records appended notes in Aramaic to facilitate reference to the business documents. Indeed the policy of transplanting masses of Aramaeans to Assyria, which Ashur-naṣir-pal seems to have followed so deliberately, bore remarkable fruit. An interesting letter in Aramaic concerning political events in Babylonia found in the excavations of Ḳal'at Sherḳāt only serves as a culminating proof of the considerable extent to which the Aramaean language was commonly employed. In such a cosmopolitan city as Nineveh there must have been a brilliant social life concerning which it would be idle to speculate.

It was pointed out (by C. H. W. Johns) that in all probability the native Assyrians formed an actual minority of the inhabitants of Nineveh; yet it is not to be doubted that many of foreign extraction were reckoned Assyrian citizens and acquired rights

as such. This may have been secured by many means, such as intermarriage and adoption, but nothing is known as to any law directly concerning naturalization. The great majority of the foreigners were unquestionably slaves; but since slaves could acquire personal property, many of them attained influential positions, as in imperial Rome. On the other hand, Assyrians themselves must have had their heads shaved and their ears pierced, the outward marks of slavery, for families in reduced circumstances might sell children into slavery. The actual treatment of slaves would appear to have been humane, but in law their position differed in no respect from that of other chattels.

The freeman in Assyria, as in Babylonia, necessarily belonged to one of three classes. These classes were termed the *mar banuti*, patricians; *ummane*, craftsmen; and *khubshi*, proletariat. The *mar banuti*, members of princely houses, were the class from which the kings selected their governors, chief priests and generals. Few in number, their privileges would yet seem to have been maintained successfully throughout the Assyrian period. In order that this might be so, recourse was had to more liberal measures than was usual in ancient society. It has already been noted that ladies of the royal blood in times of great stress occupied a ruling position in Assyria, Sammu-ramat, for example, and Naḳi'a. (See pp. 27, 69.) Similarly in the Sargonid period the king not infrequently appointed women of the patrician class as governors. It must be remembered that the Assyrians were not a prolific race; the average family numbered only two or three sons, even in the lower classes, and amongst the *mar banuti* the birth-rate may have been even lower. It is possible, though this is uncertain, that the numbers of the patrician class were increased by the king from time to time by the inclusion of successful administrators and soldiers.

By far the greater number of the native Assyrians belonged to the class of *ummane*. In this term were included all who practised a definite profession; the banker (*tamkaru*) and the scribe (*ṭupsharru*) were considered to belong to the same class as the potter (*pakharu*) or the carpenter (*naggaru*). Difference in profession was, however, a matter of considerable importance, for each trade had a guild organization, and quarters were set aside in every 'royal city' for the different professions. The organization of these guilds, borrowed from the army, must have served several purposes. 'The chief of ten,' 'the chief of fifty,' 'the chief of a *kiṣir*' (company or battalion), were not only responsible for the work of those under them, but were bound to see that the state

dues were regularly paid. By the majority of the *ummane* these dues were paid in kind; military service, forced labour, and a payment of a portion of the produce of their labour to the temples did not require cash payments, though these were quite probably made by the richer among them in commutation for personal service[1]. The merchant who equipped and provided for a slave, whether for military service or for labour, was himself exempt; and the city workers must have found it simpler to pay the temple-dues in silver than in kind, but of this we have no evidence. The complicated commercial traffic of Assyria was very vital to the welfare of the country, and was always carefully fostered by its kings. The caravan trade, diligently conducted by private enterprise, was supported by the money advanced by bankers; the travelling traders, *ṣukharu*, who generally agreed to pay 25 per cent. interest on the capital borrowed, must have realized considerable profits on their undertakings. The means of exchange in these commercial undertakings was, in the Sargonid period, gold, silver and copper; the lead once commonly employed had fallen into disuse for obvious reasons. The metal (generally silver) was cast in half-shekel pieces (*zuzu*), as we know from an inscription of Sennacherib, and was reckoned in two standards, that 'of the King' or that 'of Carchemish,' more commonly the latter. The fluctuations in market prices were very considerable; successful campaigns would lead, for instance, to a great fall in the price of slaves, horses, or camels, and a proper investigation of economic cause and effect in these times may serve greatly to increase our knowledge of the causes and motives of Assyrian policy.

The numbers of the craftsmen class were well maintained by the natural method of a son succeeding his father; they were further increased by the system of apprenticing. A lad, whether free or slave, might be sent to a jeweller, for example, for a term of years, the jeweller agreeing, for a certain sum, to keep him and teach him the trade during that period. It will be seen that in many particulars the guild organization of the Assyrian *ummane* corresponded to the mediaeval craft guilds of western Europe. Unfortunately the position of the agricultural workers of this class in Assyria is not equally clear. Whether the majority of the farmers were in possession of their own land, or merely tenants of *mar banuti*, is not known. In the leases which are still extant the terms imposed on the tenants seem hard, but Assyria was

[1] In cases where such an one was not tax-free (*zaku*) by virtue of a charter from the king, bestowed either on his city or his family.

probably no less fertile than Babylonia in Herodotus' day, and labour was extremely cheap. It may be assumed that there was a large and prosperous body belonging to the class of *ummane* interested in agriculture.

The political welfare of a state is dependent upon the condition of the lowest class within its borders. The vigour of the Assyrian state may well be adduced as evidence for the physical well-being of the proletariat (*khubshi*). From this class must have come by far the larger proportion of the Assyrian standing army; from it too were drawn the Assyrian colonists who were scattered over the provinces. There is little to be learnt about the situation of the *khubshi* from the documents still extant, but it is clear that they had not inconsiderable rights which served to alleviate their extreme poverty. An interesting, but fragmentary, Assyrian law, which belongs to the code drawn up in the thirteenth or twelfth century, affords a signal example of this. It reads:

If a woman has been given in marriage, and the enemy capture her husband; if she have no father-in-law and no son, she shall await her husband for two years. If during those two years she have no sustenance, she shall go and declare it. If she be a palace-servant, her...shall provide for her, she shall work for him. If she be...and of the plebs (*khubshi*)...she shall go and make the following declaration...the judges shall accordingly ask the city magistrates that they go to a field in that city. They shall hire the field and the house for two years, and give it to her that she may dwell there, and they shall write a tablet for her. She shall fulfil the two years, (then) she shall dwell with the husband she chooses. They shall write a tablet for her, that she is a widow. If subsequently her lost husband returns to the land, he shall take back his wife who *has completed her time of waiting* (*ki-i-ṭi*)[2]; he shall not approach the sons whom she has borne to her second husband, but the second husband shall take them.

The field and the house which have been given for her sustenance for *the time of waiting*[2] for a fixed sum (*lit.* a complete sum, *i.e.* without interest), if he does not undertake forced labour for the king, he shall pay for on the conditions they were given, and he shall take them (for his possession). And if he does not return, but dies in another land, his field and his house, where the king gave them, he shall give (back).

It is unlikely that the arrangement for the provision for the sustenance of the poor was limited to this particular case[1]; indeed, the tenour of the law seems to point to a well-understood system, by which such sustenance was a state-charge, since the king himself was the donor of the field, and in case of the husband's return was to be paid by forced labour or by an agreed sum; if

[1] An Assyrian letter (Harper No. 892) deals with the claim of some orphans of soldiers on certain houses.

[2] Translation quite uncertain.

the husband did not return, only the relinquishment of the house and field could be legally demanded. The local judges and magistrates merely acted as representatives of the king's authority. On the whole, it may be assumed that the condition of the *khubshi* in Assyria was tolerable at all times, and in such prosperous times as those of the Sargonid dynasty compared favourably with those of the lower classes in any ancient state.

IV. THE ARMY

Military success may be gained by a nation owing to various accidents. The military genius of Alexander won the eastern world for Greece. Sheer weight of numbers brought predominance for a century to the Achaemenian dynasty of Persia. The religious enthusiasm of Islam won empires east and west of Arabia. Superiority of equipment may well account for the earlier victories of Egyptian Pharaohs in Palestine and Syria. Such explanations cannot be given when military predominance is won by such a state as Assyria. Not one king alone, but a series of kings asserted the superiority of the Assyrian army over any brought to meet it. In many cases the weight of numbers must have been opposed to the Assyrian arms; and though religious enthusiasm and patriotic feeling doubtless played an important part in the efficiency of the Assyrian army, another reason must be found for a predominance which lasted so long. As to military equipment, there is abundant evidence that the Babylonians, Syrians, Urartians and Elamites were as well armed as the Assyrians. The secret of Assyrian, as of Roman, success in the battlefield is to be found in the military organization of the state. In defeat, as in victory, Assyrian military organization continued unimpaired. Long periods of depression, in which the main sources of supply were cut off, such as that between 1100 and 900, failed to deprive that organization of the power of recovery; and the weakness of individual rulers, leading to civil strife, as in the years immediately preceding the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, did not destroy its vitality.

During the Sargonid period it is clear that the king had at his command two classes of soldiers; the first class consisted of men undergoing a period of military service, the second formed the national militia. It may be that every male was subject to a term of military service in theory: in practice probably only those who could not afford to pay sums of money for exemption, or supply a slave to serve for them, actually underwent the exertion of

continual training in the hunt or in military campaigns or in garrison duty. The methods employed for prolonging service in the army are not known; but the language employed in the letters seems to show that each governor had troops which consisted of his personal adherents, and remained always with him. On these troops the maintenance of the Assyrian empire depended, and if reinforcements were needed the king sent them from his own retinue. The arms employed by the Assyrians were chariotry, light cavalry, heavy and light infantry, and sappers. These were organized into regular military formations called *kiṣri*, but their exact size is unknown; discipline was maintained by subdivisions into 'fifties' and 'tens.' There is abundant proof in the inscriptions and the reliefs that considerable attention was paid to the science of warfare, and that in certain respects strategy and tactics were better understood during the Assyrian period than at any other time previous to the advent of Alexander. Campaigns were undertaken from fortified camps, and these camps appear to have been as well contrived as those of the Romans; in the field, the terrain to be invaded was always the factor which determined the numbers and type of the force employed. It was especially in siege-warfare that the Assyrians excelled. Rams for making breaches, platforms on wheels with arrow proof defences from which to fight the defenders, and mining methods were all freely employed; only the most cunningly fortified cities, Jerusalem for example, or Vān, could be expected to withstand such an assault. When it is remembered that Herodotus states that the Persians did not arrange their army according to arms but according to tribes, and that the Greeks themselves until the third century B.C. were rarely successful in siege-operations, the efficiency of the Assyrian standing army will be readily appreciated.

Many campaigns fought in the Sargonid period required the summoning of part or all of the national militia. Possibly every male capable of bearing arms was liable to be called upon thus; in fact, it would appear that only those who had actually served some period with the standing army fought in these levies, since the embodiment of raw levies amongst trained troops could only have led to confusion. For the purposes of the levy, so it would seem, a military organization *in posse* existed in the craftsmen's guilds and amongst the officials engaged in the exaction of forced labour. Nevertheless, some time was required to assemble the militia; and to keep it in the field during certain months of the year was an impossibility. As always, the disadvantages of such a system were very considerable, yet the militia was constantly

used. The rewards of military service were probably not inconsiderable. Officers and troops were provided for by the central government, and though we have copies of the usual complaints about garrisons being left to starve, that provision was amply supplemented by exactions in the immediate district. At the close of the campaign a share of the spoil was divided among the troops, so that a single successful campaign must often have brought greater profit to the individual than years of peace.

The efficiency of the army was backed by an intelligence system of which we still have records. Assyrian provincial governors and magistrates were all engaged in the important military duty of gathering information, and not a few of the extant letters in the Ḳuyunjiḳ collection are specimens of their reports. In the home provinces the network of defences built by a succession of kings was not neglected, and Assyria proper was a series of well-fortified defences which would not fall into enemy hands except after such a series of defeats as would break the military organization.

V. ASSYRIAN LEARNING

The knowledge of the Assyrians was in every respect based upon the knowledge of the Babylonians; there is, properly speaking, no distinctively Assyrian 'science,' only in some respects Assyrian developments of Babylonian 'science.' For general purposes it is none the less right to speak of Assyrian 'science,' for during the whole of the period 900–600 B.C. the intellectual centre was the Assyrian capital, not the ancient cities of Babylonia. During the long disastrous rule of the Kassite dynasty in the southern land, culture had decayed; and in the welter of confusion caused by the Aramaean and Chaldaean influx the pursuit of literature, of astronomy, of medicine, or of any of the pseudo-sciences was altogether neglected. Had it not been for the lively search for Babylonian antiquities instituted by Ashurbanipal, much of interest concerning the important earlier civilization of Babylonia would still be unknown; had it not been for the work of his predecessors in preserving and extending civilization as they knew it, the 'science' of the Ḥammurabi period would have perished without becoming, to a large extent, the common property of the ancient eastern world. The services of the Assyrians to ancient culture may once again be compared with those of the Romans; accepting in its entirety the civilization of a kindred people, they maintained it and spread it in a manner the original creators were

entirely incapable of, at a time when a failure to do so would have considerably affected the course of history.

In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to define clearly the Assyrian developments, but the few details that are known serve to show that such developments were rather due to the Assyrian gift for arranging and systematizing than to a marked advance in thought. In astronomy, the patient accumulation of observed phenomena was the chief task of a whole class of officials who regularly reported direct to the king; and though the facts thus observed were used for the pseudo-science of astrology, there can be little doubt that much of this material was employed in the really scientific treatises of Seleucid times (see pp. 238, 246). In medicine, the Assyrians possessed an extensive vocabulary of physiological terms, studied the symptoms accompanying distinct diseases, and had a considerable knowledge of the pharmacopœia. The full extent of their advance in this direction has not yet been duly recognized (see pp. 240 *sqq.*). In chemistry, their interest does not seem to have carried them beyond the practical processes commonly employed in their industries, especially in tanning and in the making of enamels. The dyeing of cloth, certainly practised by them, is not, to the writer's knowledge, actually described. Some knowledge of important first principles in the physical sciences, derived entirely from practical experience, is implied by their engineering achievements.

Geology, as might be expected, was almost entirely neglected; even to-day the inhabitants of western Asia are extremely careless of the natural resources which lie hidden close to their hands. It is extraordinary for instance that the Assyrian kings should have remained in ignorance of the limestone that could be obtained at Balaṭ until the time of Sennacherib. Nevertheless there are extant lists which enumerate a great number of different kinds of stone. In all these directions it will be noted that there was a complete absence of any speculative or reasoning effort; the developments merely arise from an accumulation of recorded experience. It was the distinctive gift of the Greeks for abstract reasoning which converted man's knowledge of facts into apprehension of causes and effects. Nevertheless, the Assyrians, faithfully following Babylonian methods, performed a useful task, and unquestionably improved the material civilization of the lands over which they ruled.

Abstract problems cannot well be avoided, but they can be dealt with in a practical manner, and a curious example of such

methods may be found in the way the Assyrians dealt with language. Linguistic attainments among the scribes probably varied considerably, yet even those who confined themselves to writing the business documents and so-called 'letters' must have received some instruction in the ancient Sumerian language, as well as a thorough grounding in their own; no one could read or write cuneiform otherwise. In addition to this, their work demanded a considerable knowledge of dialects of Semitic other than their own. Those who were occupied in copying or writing literary or scientific texts needed of course considerable linguistic training; and a whole class of texts show how this was obtained. From copying out personal names, the pupil proceeded to writing out phrases, first in Sumerian, then in Akkadian (Assyrian); and the method of arrangement, for instance in the school-book of legal phrases called *ana ittishu*, implies that the distinction of the various parts of speech was recognized, though no terminology seems to have been invented. The instruction was continued in long continuous texts, in which the Sumerian version was translated into Akkadian line by line. The translations are very often far from literal; their intention is to render the sense well enough for practical purposes. 'Scholarly accuracy' was not inculcated. So the problem was surmounted in the case of Sumerian, with considerable success; for the perpetuation of this ancient and dead language in the literary texts found in Assyria was due to this practical method of instruction. The study of other Semitic dialects did not require the same discipline; for these the careful collection of synonyms was sufficient, and long classified lists of these afford the modern philologist much help. Curiously enough the nature of cuneiform writing, besides giving rise to these studies, also led in some sort to a pseudo-science of philology; for it would seem that many of the interpretations of divine names offered by the scribes are purely fanciful interpretations of the signs in their ideographic meanings (cf. vol. I, p. 126).

Important was the Assyrian contribution to civilization in perpetuating and spreading Babylonian literature, the service rendered in extending the use of cuneiform script was no less considerable (cf. vol. II, pp. 253, 333 *sq.*). It is probable that the Hittites learnt cuneiform from men who bore Assyrian names at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.; it is certain that in later times the simplified script was carried into Media and Urarṭu by them, there to be adopted for the native languages. The simplification of the cuneiform script is very typical of the Assyrian genius. From about 2000 B.C. onwards there is constant progress in the

Assyrian inscriptions in reducing the number of wedges used in a sign, and in rendering the writing more square in appearance. The final result, the calligraphy of the library scribes, deserves to be reckoned as an art.

VI. ASSYRIAN LAW

It has long been recognized by scholars, on the evidence of the legal documents of the Sargonid period, that Assyrian law was in no way derived from the Babylonian codes. The formulae and technical terms are entirely different, the penalties mentioned quite distinct. The famous Hammurabi Code was never in force in Assyria, though it was carefully studied there in the thirteenth century B.C., and possibly earlier. Its terms indeed were far too mild for a country inhabited by a vigorous race in continual contact with men of hill-districts, whose lawlessness is even now a byword. The fortunate discovery of fragments of an Assyrian code dating from the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C. at Ḳal'at Sherḳāt has thrown light on a question which is further illuminated by the discovery of Hittite laws among the archives from Boghaz Keui. Careful study of these codes will, in future years, greatly advance the study of early law and our knowledge of the civilization of the Near East. Until full discussion of them has led to a *consensus* of opinion as to the conclusions to be derived from them, all but the bare statement of the facts must be considered an expression of individual opinion, and liable to errors due to prejudice or ignorance. The following summary of our knowledge of Assyrian law cannot claim to be exempt from this disadvantage.

The Assyrian laws extant are written on three large tablets; there are also fragments, which possibly belong to different editions. The largest and most important of these tablets contains sixty paragraphs, all dealing with the law relating to women. Another, in a bad state of preservation, contains thirty-one laws relating to land. The third tablet, of which whole paragraphs are lost, once consisted of a series of laws dealing with breach of confidence. The first two tablets are of special interest linguistically, since they show that the Assyrian dialect of Semitic had forms distinct from those in use in Akkadian, and that many peculiarities found in the letters of the Sargonid period are really characteristic of that dialect. In content also they show a complete absence of Babylonian influence; and the interesting question arises, as to whether this Assyrian code was first promulgated in

the thirteenth century, or whether it is derived from a still earlier code. All analogy would lead to the supposition that this thirteenth century code was copied from laws already in existence, just as the Hammurabi Code was copied from Sumerian and Akkadian laws long current in Babylonia. Unfortunately, there is at present no evidence on the subject—although the language is a strong argument for an early date—and the question must remain unanswered. Another interesting question also occurs: may not the Assyrian code of the thirteenth or twelfth century have derived certain features from Mitanni or Hanigalbat, lands which had exercised suzerainty over Assyria in the middle of the second millennium? Again, the question must remain unanswered, though it would seem extremely probable that such influences are to be found in the laws. Little is known of Mitanni and Hanigalbat at present, yet it is not to be doubted that the inhabitants of those lands had reached the same level of civilization as the Hittites; Assyria could not fail to be affected, especially by the commercial law of these peoples, since they commanded all the caravan-routes which were the arteries of the Assyrian commonwealth. Considered as a whole, however, the Assyrian code is essentially Assyrian; the social conditions dealt with are in certain cases peculiarly Assyrian, the severe punishments inflicted accord with the national temperament, and the legal administration depended on the authority of an Assyrian king.

Though the term 'Assyrian code' has been used above of these laws for convenience, it is by no means clear that the documents really represent a true 'code.' The style in which the 'laws' are worded differs widely from that in which the Hammurabi laws are drafted; instead of a terse phrase describing some general type of delinquency, followed by the punishment to be awarded, the Assyrian 'laws' often detail a specific and highly peculiar case, elaborate possibly variations in details, and may be rather an ordered series of actual judgments given in court than a unified code promulgated as a consecutive whole. P. Koschaker, after examining the texts from the standpoint of an historian of ancient law, has come to the conclusion that the Assyrian 'code' is really a jurist's commentary on the common law administered in the courts, and has detailed a series of passages which he considers 'glosses.' The circumstances of Assyrian society were in any case infinitely more complicated than in Babylonia in the Hammurabi period. A striking proof of this may be found in the two completely different types of marriage allowed for in the 'laws'; in the one, resembling the Babylonian, the bride joins the household

of her husband, and belongs to his family, while in the other the bride remains in her father's house, where she is visited by her husband. It is well known that the actual practice of the Babylonian courts in the Hammurabi period differs somewhat from the code; it may well be that the Assyrian 'code,' while less strictly logical in construction, was more closely in accord with the practice of the time in Assyria. On these points only further evidence can throw light; for the present the term 'Assyrian code' may conveniently be kept if Koschaker's arguments are borne in mind.

The most interesting laws are unquestionably those concerning the status of women, because they are the fullest ancient laws dealing with this subject. The various classes of crime are dealt with in detail. Thus theft of various kinds by women, attacks on men by women or *vice versa*, improper conduct and adultery, abortion, voluntary desertion by the wife, are all the subject of separate ordinances. It is interesting to find calumny of a wife by false witnesses included among such subjects. Involving wives in commercial dealings without the knowledge of the husband is also enumerated in the list of offences. The regulations concerning the bridal gifts, maintenance and divorce of the wife, are reasonable, judged by ancient standards, and seem to allow of some latitude of interpretation; a good instance of this may be found in the law dealing with the rights of a man who has arranged that a girl should be married to his son.

If a man has either poured oil on (a girl's) head or brought bridal gifts (*i.e.* performed the regular betrothal ceremonies) and the son for whom they intended her as a wife either dies or runs away, he shall give her to any one of his sons he pleases, from his eldest to his youngest, who (must be) 10 years old. If the father dies, and the son for whom they intended her as wife is dead, a grandson of the deceased who is ten years old, shall marry her: if after waiting ten years the sons of the son are minors, the father of the girl shall give his girl (in marriage) if he pleases, or, if he pleases, mutual recompense shall be made. If there be no son (of the deceased) (the girl's father) shall return all that they have received, precious stones and everything save food, up to the total sum, but he shall not return food.

Many other laws might be cited at length to show the wisdom with which various cases are provided for. Those who drew up the Assyrian code were not inferior in ability to Hammurabi himself.

Some adverse criticism of the code has, however, been expressed on other grounds. In general the punishments are severe; the slitting of ears and noses, the imposition of 20 to 100 lashes, castration, public exhibition as well as heavy fines and forced

labour are mentioned as penalties. Then in certain instances the individual is allowed to take the law into his own hands; thus the husband who kills the adulterer when found with his wife is not guilty of murder. Finally the large number of paragraphs devoted to unnatural and illegal sexual intercourse have been thought to point to a more immoral society than that provided for in the Hammurabi Code. These grounds do not seem sufficient to the present writer to justify the conclusion that Assyrian society was less settled and more immoral than Babylonian. The absence of laws against unnatural vice amongst savage tribes in central Africa cannot be held to prove that they are innocent of such vice; the public flagellation practised in public schools until quite recently does not really imply that England was less civilized than lands in which such a punishment was unknown. The most severe law in the whole Assyrian code is the following: 'If a woman of her own free will causes a miscarriage, they shall examine her and confront her with evidence. They shall impale her on stakes, and refrain from burying her. If she dies of her miscarriage, they shall impale her on stakes, they shall refrain from burying her. . . .' Intentional abortion is here recognized as a crime against the state and against morality; the fact that it was so recognized points to a highly civilized social and moral standard. The objection that laws which allow of summary punishment by the person or persons injured are no laws is more serious, and the Assyrian legal system must be judged imperfect in this respect. Such summary justice, however, will always be found in certain countries under given conditions, and it is unlikely that the necessity for it will ever disappear entirely.

Two interesting features of the Assyrian laws are the importance attached to the veiling of women and to the ordeal by water. Married women were to be veiled, but unmarried priestesses, prostitutes and slaves were forbidden to walk the streets veiled; and severe penalties, including the slitting of the ear, fifty strokes, and a month's forced labour, were imposed on men who knowingly allowed prostitutes and slaves to go veiled. The ordeal by water, inflicted for instance on the slanderer of a man's wife, or on one who involved a wife in commercial dealings, without her husband's knowledge, was of two kinds. The accused was taken down to the river bank, and in the one case bound in fetters, in the other case not so bound; he was then thrown into the river. In some cases undoubtedly the result must have been death, while in others the accused was thrown back by the river: even then he was not always allowed to go free, but was liable to

further penalties. The ordeal by water also appears in the Hammurabi Code, but recourse to it is not so frequent as in the Assyrian laws.

The punishments invoked in the business documents of the Sargonid period for breaches of contract and so forth seem to be of quite a different character to those prescribed in the laws. Though later in date, the prohibitory clauses in the Sargonid documents represent an earlier stage in the development of law than the thirteenth century code. The penalties mentioned in them are all of a religious character, and so date from a time when the sanction of law was derived from religious belief; whereas that stage had been outgrown even in Hammurabi's time, when crime was punished as a civil offence. The clauses in question detail the penalties to be imposed on anyone who, having completed a transaction, received payment, and sealed a tablet, brings a legal process to recover possession. The penalties are very various: the delinquent is to pay a sum of money, generally ten times the agreed price, into the treasury of a specified deity; to yoke 'two white horses at the feet of' a certain god (that is, supply the horses to draw the divine chariot in the great processions); and 'dedicate a bow to Ninurta, who dwells in Kalakh.' Other provisions are that he is to drink some obviously poisonous concoction, and that the eldest son or the eldest daughter is to be burnt before a god—an isolated reminder of the bloody cults of the western Semites with whom the Assyrians had in the earliest periods been in close contact. It is not to be thought that these penalties were actually executed in the Sargonid period. They remain as fossilized formulae in the documents, the only witness to an earlier stage of Assyrian civilization than any we yet know. In the civil law of the later time any such process as these penalties are invoked to prevent was simply non-suited.

The Assyrian provinces probably benefited considerably if the Assyrian legal system was applied to their government; and it seems most probable from the documents as yet obtained that it was applied. Not only was the central authority sufficiently strong to enforce the law—a difficult matter in the Upper Euphrates valley—but the fact that the Assyrian code was recognized throughout Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine would have been greatly to the advantage not only of the trader, but of the poor. In this respect again there may possibly be found a curious similarity between the Assyrian and the Roman rule in western Asia; for so far as is known these were the only periods in which a uniform legal practice can have obtained.

VII. THE ARTS AND LITERATURE

Sculpture and architecture have been briefly dealt with under the reigns of various kings. In the reign of Ashurbanipal both arts reached a level of perfection beyond which development would seem impossible without a complete change of style. The poor remains of Ashurbanipal's palace in the mound of Ḳuyunjiḳ long since acquainted English excavators with the ability of the Assyrian architect. The reliefs taken from that palace remain the finest artistic work recovered in the river valleys. The spacious treatment first noticeable on the Sargon reliefs, combined with the composition and pictorial sense to be found in the Sennacherib slabs, are present in the art of the Ashurbanipal reliefs; but there is in them yet one further merit. The masons no longer cut figure after figure, whether human or animal, in the same attitude, with the same expression, in monotonous succession. The attempt to differentiate, to give each figure an individual interest, renders the Frieze of the Lion-Hunt the most interesting of all the Assyrian sculptures; and a careful examination of the battle-scenes will show a more sustained effort of the same kind in a crowded field. Above all, there is a fertility of invention and an exquisite delicacy of carving, both illustrated in the scene which shows Ashurbanipal and his queen feasting; a rare combination of qualities which had previously been lacking in work of this type.

The only other art worthily represented in modern museums is that of the seal-engraver. Great numbers of Assyrian seals are of course artistically worthless, as objects produced in such quantities are likely to be. There are, however, some very fine specimens of Assyrian work in this kind both on cylinder seals and on the equally popular cone seals, which leave no doubt that the jewel engraver of the Achaemenian period deliberately copied Assyrian subjects and methods rather than Babylonian. Yet even the best Assyrian seals are inferior to the early Sumerian examples, and their real interest is to be found in the light they throw on Assyrian religion.

As to the minor arts, though a little information can be gained from written documents, so very little remains that it is impossible to speak with any certainty. Weaving of the most ornate kind was commonly practised; furniture was embellished with metal decorations; and metal was also extensively worn for personal adornment. Curiously enough, the potter seems to have made no great effort to improve his wares; the Assyrian of Ashurbanipal's time was as content with the rough pots and platters of plain buff

ware as had been his forefathers in ruder times. But no trace of the coloured glazed pottery found by Andrae at Ashur in strata belonging to the fifteenth to twelfth centuries has been found in Sargonid palaces. Indeed, though Assyria must be reckoned a wealthy country at this time, the people had not lost the Spartan simplicity once enforced by necessity, and only a few essential articles of furniture were customarily used.

Recent excavations in Assyria have proved that the diligent copying and editing of the great literary works of Babylonia practised in the time of Ashurbanipal commenced in Assyria at least six centuries earlier; it is indeed a curious anomaly that the two most important extant works of Babylonian literature, the Gilgamesh epic and the 'Seven Tablets' of the Creation story, would be almost unknown were it not for the Assyrian editions found at Ashur and Nineveh (see pp. 226 *sqq.*, 233 *sq.*). Unfortunately there is at present not sufficient evidence to show whether the borrowing was all on the Assyrian side. Indeed, the problem of literary sources has been rather complicated by the discovery of fragments of important literary texts in the 'Akkadian' language side by side with texts in other, non-Semitic, languages at Boghaz Keui and el-Amarna. Few are likely to question the fact that the legends and epics known were originally written down in their present form at Babylon, and that the Assyrian versions, with their compressions and alterations, are merely later editions of the Babylonian works; yet the question whether certain forms of the literature, such as the animal fables, may not have arisen elsewhere than in Babylon, can by no means be summarily dismissed. It is much to be hoped that excavations of sites in Syria and along the middle Euphrates may throw light on the question of the literary origins and development of cuneiform texts now known, so that the different elements may be to some extent distinguished. The generally accepted hypothesis that all the classes of literature represented in Ashurbanipal's library were immediately derived from the south in any case needs substantiation. The main fact, however, that there was no independent Assyrian literature, save in two respects, may be confidently affirmed.

The political importance of the oracle in Assyria has already been mentioned; that such oracles also influenced literary development will be readily understood. Oracular utterances are of two kinds; they may be terse and precise in meaning, as 'I, Ishtar of Arbela, march before Ashurbanipal, the king whom my hands created,' or general in import and ambiguous in interpretation, as 'Fear not, Esarhaddon. It is I, Bel, who speak to thee....

The 60 great gods are with me....Sin is on thy right hand, Shamash on thy left, the 60 great gods stand at thy side. They stand firm at their post. Put no trust in men. Direct thy eyes to me. Regard me.' Of the various tricks associated with oracular utterances, for instance in Greece, the Assyrian priests doubtless made repeated use. The play with numbers, the use of the anagram and so forth were well known to the Assyrians, and the influence of the oracles in introducing a high-flown and slightly bombastic style may be seen in the historical inscriptions, which develop from simple statements of events into highly-coloured and imaginative literary documents; an interesting example may be found in the account of Ashurbanipal's narrative of his relations with Gyges (see p. 116). In this regard Nabonidus seems to have been following Assyrian rather than Babylonian models in the curious accounts of his dreams.

The most important development in Assyrian literature is to be found in the royal inscriptions (cf. pp. 88, 113, 237). These were modelled on the old Babylonian building inscription, which was stereotyped. The form almost invariably commenced with a dedication to a god, who is praised in some specific aspect, and with the name and titles of the king; then the nature of the building or other object dedicated is specified, sometimes with a reference to the historical circumstances of the dedication; finally come the curses on whoever injures the dedication and the inscription, and sometimes a prayer for those who restore and repair them. From this fixed form the Assyrians developed the long historical inscriptions on which our knowledge of the ancient history of Mesopotamia is largely based. By elaborating the titles of the king, and giving a more discursive account of the circumstances of the dedication, the scribes were able to give general accounts of the principal events of their time. But in Assyria first came the vital change which converted the building inscription into a historical record, namely the partial suppression of the dedication. Thus arose the general account of a king's exploits. The next step was to arrange the events in their chronological sequence, either under the year of the king's reign or according to the number of campaigns, the events being baldly stated. This form arose in the fourteenth century, or earlier. Finally came the development which characterized the Sargonid period, when each year or each campaign was elaborately and separately described, and then a complete history of the reign up to the time of composition recorded on clay or stone with all the literary art of which the writer was capable. The inscriptions on the prisms of Sennacherib

and Ashurbanipal are instances of a literary form borrowed from Babylonia, yet so expanded as to be distinctively Assyrian. The building inscription remains, the annalistic element is entirely new. Once again it is probable that another influence has combined with the Babylonian to produce the Assyrian type as it is known to us; the long historical preambles of the Hittite treaties found at Boghaz Keui may serve to show whence that influence came[1]. In any case the annals of the Assyrian kings from Sargon onwards deserve to be classed with the most important literary works in cuneiform.

[1] Six rolls of lead, in the form of strips, inscribed with a cursive form of Hittite hieroglyphs, were found at Ashur. This script still awaits decipherment, but the discovery of these primitive books, which date from the ninth to the seventh centuries, affords a proof that Hittite was still a language with a literature in the Sargonid period.

CHAPTER V

ASHURBANIPAL AND THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

I. THE WARS OF ASHURBANIPAL

THE high level of Assyrian culture in the time of Ashurbanipal (669–626 B.C.) was due to the fact that Assyrian supremacy had been successfully maintained for a century; nor did there seem in the early years of his reign any likelihood that that supremacy would be successfully attacked. These years were indeed full of important military undertakings, conducted in many different parts of his borders, by the Assyrian king and his generals, but the wars were all of the usual type, and rarely presented any difficult problems. There are very many 'editions' of Ashurbanipal's annals which contain accounts of the campaigns consistent the one with the other save in one respect. The desire of the compilers of the later editions to introduce some literary form into the narrative led to their treating the campaigns in geographical, not in chronological sequence, while using terms which would seem to refer to chronology. Thus the two Egyptian campaigns are placed first, and the account of Ashurbanipal's relations to Egypt is carried down to the revolt of Psammetichus, as if all these events took place in the first two years of the king's reign. The fault really lies in a certain clumsiness in dealing with the material: critics who consider this clumsiness deliberate falsification exaggerate the importance of the matter. Nevertheless this failure of the scribes to observe a strict time-sequence is much to be regretted since, though the various accounts date the chief events, many minor points of chronology remain obscure.

The first campaign, in 668, arose out of a border affair of slight importance. The magistrate of the city of Kirbit in the neighbourhood of the Kassites led his followers on several occasions into the district of Yamutbal on plundering expeditions. In accordance with Assyrian practice the disorderly ruler was the object of a punitive expedition. Probably quite a small body of troops proved sufficient to besiege and capture the city; the inhabitants were deported during the next campaign to Egypt, where hostilities had commenced.

In Egypt the death of Esarhaddon had been greeted by Tirhakah the Nubian as an opportunity to restore his rule. That monarch accordingly marched north, entered Memphis, and stayed there, sending troops up to the Delta to make a demonstration against the native princes and Assyrian officers in whose hands Esarhaddon had left the government of the country (pp. 85, 282). The Delta princes made no attempt to resist, but apparently fled eastwards, hoping for timely support from Assyria. The Assyrian army appeared in Egypt in 667, after accomplishing a long forced march to save a situation rendered dangerous by inefficiency and cowardice. The two armies engaged in battle at Karbaniti, somewhere in the east of the Delta, with the usual result; Nubians and Egyptians could not withstand the Assyrian assault, and retired in disorder. Tirhakah, on hearing the news, immediately retreated from Memphis to Thebes, an operation easily conducted owing to the delay of the Assyrian army, which awaited reinforcements consisting of contingents sent by the twenty tributary princes of Syria, Cyprus, Phoenicia and Palestine. The Assyrians finally marched to Memphis, which fell after a few days into their hands, and Ashurbanipal or his deputy then engaged in restoring the Egyptian princes who had been driven out by Tirhakah.

This restoration of native rulers seems to show that Ashurbanipal recognized the essential weakness of the Assyrian position in Egypt. Unless the Assyrians could rely on native governors to serve them faithfully, overlordship would not be established in this distant land. Recent experience, however, showed that stronger Assyrian garrisons were required in Egypt than Esarhaddon had thought necessary, and these were accordingly detailed before the return to Nineveh. Even so the departure of the main army was the signal for an attempt at revolt by the very princes recently restored to their nomes. Necho of Memphis and Saïs joined with Manṭimankhi of Thebes and all the other important princes in offering Tirhakah, now once again in Nubia, allegiance, provided he would return to fight the invader. The Assyrian officers were easily able to deal with this conspiracy in 666 and, by seizing the chief plotters in good time, were able to maintain their hold on Egypt without calling on the king for further support. Had Ashurbanipal thought it possible, he would now doubtless have reduced Egypt to an Assyrian province, but he recognized the impossibility of this, and did not deal with the captured princes so severely as the governors in Egypt dealt with the native soldiery. Necho was especially singled out as a recipient

of the royal favour, and on the death of Tirhakah, 664, he was already back in Saïs, while his son Psammetichus, called by the Assyrians Nabu-shezibanni, had been appointed governor of Athribis. (See, on the Egyptian side, p. 284 *sq.*)

Ashurbanipal's policy bore good fruit, at any rate for a time. Tirhakah was succeeded by his nephew Tandamane (Tenot- [or Tanut-] Amon), who made a brave attempt to restore Nubian prestige. After possessing himself of Thebes and Heliopolis, he marched towards the Delta, and besieged the Assyrians in Memphis, believing perhaps that no reinforcements would be sent. But the imperial army marched to Egypt in the early months of 663, and Tandamane hastily retreated to Thebes, while the Assyrian king or his representative was saluted as their liege lord by the tributary princes in Memphis. The Nubian was even unwilling to stand a siege in Thebes, and continued his flight southwards. Thebes fell into the hands of the Assyrian army after a short resistance, and very considerable plunder was carried away from that magnificent city. The Assyrians had finally defeated the attempt to establish a Nubian supremacy in Egypt (see p. 285).

The death of Necho in 663 (p. 288) led to Psammetichus, who succeeded to the governorship of Saïs, occupying an unusually powerful position among the tributary princes. For some years he remained loyal to the oaths he had sworn to the Assyrian king; but he availed himself of opportunities afforded him by foreign support to rebel, and between 658 and 651 succeeded in clearing the Assyrian garrisons out of Egypt, with the aid of the Lydian mercenaries sent to him by his ally Gyges (cf. pp. 287, 507). The ease with which this effort of Psammetichus succeeded seems to show that the Assyrian king was indifferent to the loss of Egypt. Possibly the expectations of enormous wealth to be won in Egypt had been disappointed; perhaps the difficulty of holding the country except with larger garrisons than could well be spared induced Ashurbanipal to refrain from attempting any reconquest. The loss of Egypt was in reality no loss to Assyria, and an offensive and defensive alliance was subsequently arranged between the two powers.

The siege of Tyre, which Esarhaddon had been unable to take, continued into Ashurbanipal's accession year, when it was probably concluded by a treaty between Ashurbanipal and Ba'alu of Tyre on more generous terms than those offered by Esarhaddon. Tyrian princesses were sent to the harem at Nineveh, and Iakhi-milki, the son of Ba'alu, did obeisance to the suzerain; he was not however detained as a hostage. Though Tyre assisted

Ashurbanipal in the Egyptian campaign of 667, Ba'alu would seem to have retained considerable independence. A moderate policy brought further successes in the north. Yakinlu of Arvad (who had *not* submitted to Esarhaddon), Mugallu of Tabal, Sandasharme of Khilakku, all submitted as vassals; and the reality of the submission is shown by the fact that the Assyrian king nominated Yakinlu's successor, Aziba'al. The underlying cause for this willingness to accept the Assyrian supremacy, namely, the need for support against the barbarians in the north, is made clear by the action of still another prince, who ruled a land beyond the Assyrian border, Gyges of Lydia.

The wandering hordes of Cimmerians had reached the border of Lydia, shortly after the accession of Gyges, about 687, and there was imminent danger by 660 that the barbarians would overrun the country. The story of Sargon's battle with these hordes must have been known to Gyges; in any case he judged correctly that the most useful ally he could have under the circumstances was the Assyrian king, since the Assyrians alone were powerful enough to attack the Cimmerians in the rear. He accordingly sent an embassy to Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, with gifts for that monarch, and with orders to do obeisance to him as a suzerain. This gratuitous acknowledgment of the Assyrian power by an important prince far beyond his borders did not fail to flatter Ashurbanipal's pride; and the Lydian delegates were able to excite his interest with a story well suited to Assyrian taste. Gyges, they said, had heard the voice of his patron god in a dream, commanding him to pay homage to Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and conquer his enemies in Ashurbanipal's name. The annals proceed to record that, after his ambassadors had saluted Ashurbanipal, Gyges won a great victory over the Cimmerians, and sent two of his prisoners to Nineveh, with some of the spoil. Modern critics have generally concluded that Ashurbanipal did not in fact take any steps to help Gyges, whose victory they assume to be entirely due to his own effort; their conclusion is based on the fact that there is no mention of a campaign to aid Gyges against the Cimmerians. That such a campaign would be a minor operation conducted by the provincial governor of the north-western district is sufficient explanation of the fact that it is not mentioned; and Gyges' action in sending tribute after the victory is not easily intelligible if the Assyrians had not actually assisted him. It is quite credible that the Assyrian forces in the north-west actually engaged the Cimmerians in the rear, and so enabled the Lydian prince to inflict a defeat on them.

The liberation of Egypt from the Assyrian rule by Psammetichus caused Gyges to alter his policy; and he signalized his breach with Assyria by sending troops to the Delta to assist the new Pharaoh. This friendship for Psammetichus was doubtless due in part to commercial interest; perhaps also to an undue confidence in the strength of his own position, which subsequent events showed to be unjustified. The Cimmerians, aware of the breach between Lydia and Assyria, and pushed on by other hordes to the north and east, fell on Lydia in 652, and captured Sardes. Gyges fell in the same year that Ashurbanipal undertook his first campaign against his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon.

The success of this exploit emboldened Tugdamme (L[D]ygdamis), the leader of the Cimmerians, to return to Cilicia, with the intention of forcing a passage into Syria. Unless indeed the Cimmerians were themselves to succumb to the Treres, an Indo-European folk who were driving into Asia Minor from the north-west (see p. 189), and to the Scythians, who were gathering force in the east, a break through into the rich broad lands in the south was Tugdamme's only hope. Unfortunately we have no record of the last great encounter of the Assyrians with the Cimmerians, and the date is quite uncertain; but it was probably about the time of the Babylonian wars. So confused a horde indeed was met in Cilicia on this occasion that the inscription which refers to it in brief terms applies to the enemy the general term of *Umman-manda*, used elsewhere to describe the various savage folk met in Media, Armenia and Asia Minor at this time. Once again the Assyrians were successful, and Syria was saved. Such a victory, gained, as it probably was, when the main forces of Assyria were involved in a life and death struggle with Elam and Babylon, is a great tribute to Assyrian arms; but the victory itself led to more and greater difficulties than it had settled. The defeat seems to have led to a collapse of the Cimmerians, now under Tugdamme's son, Sandakhshatra, and they seem to have been dispersed and absorbed, chiefly perhaps by the Scythians (see pp. 507 *sq.*, 511).

Lydia recovered somewhat from the disaster of 652 under Gyges' son, Ardys, but suffered another severe blow about 646, when the Treres marched into Sardes, and Ardys was compelled to offer a desperate resistance from his citadel. Possibly it was the dire straits to which Ardys was reduced at this time that induced him to imitate the conduct of his father. Ashurbanipal, at the height of his power after his conquests in Elam, once again

received ambassadors from distant Lydia, and accepted their homage. Finally Ardys recovered, and gradually cleared his kingdom of enemies. It is once again possible that the activities of the Assyrian governors in the north-west assisted Lydia, for though not a word of fighting in these districts occurs in the inscriptions, the situation of affairs in Asia Minor renders it certain that throughout this period the Assyrian garrisons were engaged in incessant hostilities.

The annals are silent as to events in Urartu and the north; only two embassies of greeting sent by Rusas II (about 680–645) and Sarduris III (IV) (about 645–620) are mentioned, that from Rusas belonging to the year 654, and that from Sarduris some time after 639. Such peaceful relations between the two states of Urartu and Assyria arouse surprise in view of previous history and can only be accounted for by the assumption that their borders were no longer contiguous. The irruption of the Scythians in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon had curtailed the Urartian territories very considerably, and Assyrian influence in the Nairi country had quite disappeared. Probably the friendly relations Esarhaddon had established with the Scythians were maintained by his son, who accordingly seems to have considered the Tur 'Abdin his boundary in the north. This is illustrated by events in 658; for in that year Andaria the governor of Lubdi, a former Urartian province, attacked the Assyrian districts Uppumu and Kullimmeri. It is certain, from enquiries put to the oracle of Shamash with regard to this event, that the attacking force was not Urartian, but a mixed barbarian force. Andaria was most probably a Scythian leader, acting independently, in contravention of the general understanding between his people and the Assyrians. The Assyrian garrison in Kullimmeri defeated and slew Andaria, and sent his head to their king in Nineveh. This is the only occasion during the first half of the reign in which Assyrian troops came into conflict with the Scythians, who observed a friendly and correct attitude in more debatable territory to the south. The kingdom of the Mannai, always troublesome, had become increasingly daring owing to the support Akhsheri, their king, received from certain independent Median princes. The necessity of dealing with this incipient danger led to the dispatch of the general Nabu-shar-usur against Akhsheri in 659. Plundering and burning as they marched, the Assyrian troops hunted Akhsheri from his capital, Izirtu, to the fortress of Ishtatti. There an oracle of Ishtar was fulfilled. Akhsheri and his family fell at the hands of his own people. His surviving son, Ualli,

immediately surrendered to the Assyrian suzerain, and gave hostages for his good behaviour. The borders of Mannai were withdrawn considerably, so that several important townships now fell under the rule of Assyrian governors.

The intervention of the Medes in the affairs of Mannai led to a punitive campaign against certain of their princelings in the same year, 659. The Assyrians attacked and defeated Biriskhadri, Sarati and Parikhia, and captured seventy-five townships. This is the only occasion in the early years of Ashurbanipal when the Medes were met in the field. The summary account of the campaign leaves much to be desired, but it would seem that at this time there was still no semblance of unity amongst the various tribes immediately in contact with Assyria. This point, however, cannot be pressed; it may well be that already the tribes farther east recognized one king of Media, to whom the tribes farther west were shortly to submit (see pp. 128, 183).

The peaceful relations of Assyria with Elam established by Esarhaddon were welcomed and continued by Ashurbanipal. The supplies of food sent to relieve the famine which at that time afflicted the Elamite districts on the Babylonian border, first sent by Esarhaddon, were continued in the next reign; and the Assyrian king may well have felt that Urtaku, the king of Elam, would prove, if not an ally, at least a well-disposed neutral in any trouble that might arise on his southern border. The position of affairs in his own country would seem to have prevented Urtaku following so wise a policy. Elam had suffered much since the days when Merodach-baladan had induced the eastern kingdom once again to interfere in the affairs of Babylonia. The wars with Assyria had necessarily proved a drain on the army; and it seems likely that the eastern provinces had been considerably curtailed by incoming tribes of Indo-European race. By the time of Ashurbanipal there is every sign of a tendency to disruption in Elam. The prince of Khidalu, for instance, occupied a semi-independent position. District governors joined in the family feuds which continually threatened the reigning sovereign, and even those who were not of the royal blood aimed at the supreme power. Above all, the people of the border, unable to appreciate the risks they incurred, persisted in the practice of raiding Babylonia, though it was unlikely that the Elamites would be able to face the Assyrians with success on the field of battle.

Urtaku was driven into dispatching a raiding expedition across the Tigris while the Assyrian army was engaging Tirhakah in Egypt. Doubtless the Chaldaeans were engaged in this enter-

prise to some extent, but this energetic people was at the time handicapped in that the different tribes recognized no common leader, and the assistance of the Aramaeans, always readily given, was of slight military importance. The Elamites, after a preliminary success due to surprise, were defeated and driven back by a force consisting of troops drawn from the Assyrian garrisons in Babylonia. The principal interest of this campaign lies in the fact that it shows the Assyrians had established a complete supremacy in the southern kingdom, and that they were able to defend it even though the main imperial army was engaged in a different arena. This supremacy was unquestionably due in part to the curious form of diarchy actually in force in Babylonia owing to the dispositions of Esarhaddon.

II. THE BABYLONIAN WAR

Ashurbanipal had actually installed his brother, according to Esarhaddon's arrangement, as king in Babylon, in 668, and it would appear most probable that Shamash-shum-ukin was recognized as the legal king throughout the country. The local governors were however appointed by Ashurbanipal, and recognized themselves as directly responsible, especially in military matters, to him. Now, over a long course of years, such a system would clearly result in constant friction. The legal and religious administration at Babylon would continually find that orders were neglected or thwarted by the Assyrian governors in pursuance of a policy directed from Nineveh. At first, however, such friction did not arise, and while Babylon and Nineveh were still in harmony the occasion arose for Ashurbanipal to deal Elam a blow from which that kingdom did not recover.

Urtaku died shortly after the return of the unsuccessful expedition, perhaps by the hand of an assassin. He was succeeded by a younger brother, Teumman, about 664–663, who had presumably plotted Urtaku's death. The principal remaining members of the royal family immediately fled from Elam to avoid the fate always liable to befall possible rivals of a usurper, and made their way to Nineveh, sure apparently of finding safety with the only monarch powerful enough to protect them. These refugees became the subject of correspondence between Teumman and Ashurbanipal, and the Elamite, when his demand for their surrender was refused, provoked a war by his insults. Teumman was able to count on the usual allies: Shumai, of the princely house of Bit Yakin, was active on his behalf, Dananu of Gambulu

brought no inconsiderable forces to his aid, and Ishtar-nandi, the independent prince of Khidalu in Elam, also joined in the war. Nevertheless the advance of the Assyrians in 655 caused Teumman's immediate retirement towards Susa, to cover which city he occupied a position along the river Ulai. The Assyrians won a signal victory in this battle, of which the dramatic incidents are depicted on the frieze recovered from Ashurbanipal's palace. Both Teumman and his son were killed, and the Elamite resistance completely broken. The Assyrians entered Madaktu and Susa, the two 'royal' cities, and stayed there till Ummanigash, one of the sons of Urtaku who had fled to Nineveh, had been duly installed on the throne. Another son of Urtaku was appointed prince of Khidalu in place of the dead Ishtar-nandi. Elam was thus practically reduced to a dependent state.

Shamash-shum-ukin accepted his brother's overlordship in Babylonia quite loyally for many years; but the constant friction which must have arisen from the diarchy proved too severe a test of his good faith. It must also be remembered that the Chaldaeans, the only vigorous people in Babylonia at this period, had gradually become a majority even in the cities of northern Babylonia, and that the only way to become truly king in Babylonia was to secure their adherence by a steadfast opposition to Assyria. Furthermore, a general movement towards rebellion throughout the Assyrian provinces had assumed proportions which necessitated an immediate decision on the part of Shamash-shum-ukin. If he remained true to his brother, he would certainly lose his throne in Babylon, at any rate for a time, and would only regain it by his brother's help, then to occupy a more subordinate position than ever; or if he broke faith with Assyria, the military experience and ability of his own immediate adherents might be sufficient to turn the scale for the rebels against his own people, in which case he would occupy a position not to be challenged by any prince in western Asia. It is not surprising that Shamash-shum-ukin secretly allied himself, about 654–653, with Ummanigash of Elam, Nabu-bel-shumati of Bit Yakin, Ea-zer-iḳisha of Bit Amukkani, Mannu-ki-Babili of Bit Dakkuri, the Aramaeans, the Aribi, several princes of Palestine, and Necho of Egypt (see p. 393).

The war which Shamash-shum-ukin was now pledged to undertake may be regarded in two ways. The alliance which had been formed was not novel: Merodach-baladan in the time of Sargon and Sennacherib had shown the importance of forming these combinations, and it would seem at first that this war, too, was simply a rising of tributary nations against the imperial power,

that in character it was not distinguishable from former wars of the kind. This is of course true, but is not the whole truth. It is clear that this so-called 'brothers' war' was fought on the Babylonian side with a determination and courage quite unusual in the history of that country's many encounters with Assyria. Further, the prolonged resistance which Nabu-bel-shumati and his Chaldaean tribesmen were able to offer on the Elamite border shows that the same influence was at work amongst the southern peoples also; the tribal levies were turned into armies. It seems a fairly safe inference, therefore, that the new factor which was to make the 'brothers' war' the most severe and prolonged struggle on which the Assyrian army had engaged for many decades, lay in the military preparations and skill in leadership of Shamash-shum-ukin himself and his Assyrian supporters. To this extent the war may be regarded as a civil war. The Assyrian army was met for the first time by leaders trained in its own school.

The outbreak of Shamash-shum-ukin's rebellion in 652 B.C. was marked by great military activity on the part of the rebels. Ummanigash of Elam sent a very considerable army to northern Babylonia under the command of one of Teumann's sons, Undashu, to whom apparently the rôle of covering the border was assigned while Shamash-shum-ukin attacked those Assyrian governors who remained faithful to Ashurbanipal. Neither Shamash-shum-ukin nor Undashu was in the end successful. The former moved against Ur and Uruk, but was able to do no more than threaten danger to those well-fortified cities; while Undashu was defeated by the main Assyrian army. This defeat was followed by mutiny in the Elamite army, led by Tammaritu, a cousin of Ummanigash. The army returned to Susa, and in the civil war which ensued in 651, Ummanigash lost his life. Tammaritu then seized the Elamite throne, and himself undertook the command against Assyria. This affair in Elam must have weakened Shamash-shum-ukin's position very considerably, since the Elamite army did not share in the early part of the campaign of 651. The advance of the Assyrians, who captured Bab-same and Sippar, at once cut direct communication between Elam and Babylon, and threatened the capital city itself. In the south Ashurbanipal's energetic officers made the Sea-land untenable for Nabu-bel-shumati, who was forced to take refuge in the hills of Elam; but carried off with him a number of important hostages, to recover whom became a point of honour for the Assyrians. The attack on the combined forces of Nabu-bel-shumati and Tammarîtu on the border proved unsuccessful, but this reverse does not seem to

have improved the position of Shamash-shum-ukin, for he contemplated flight from Babylonia in the autumn of 651, and narrowly escaped capture in the attempt to execute his plan.

The campaign of 650 opened with the Assyrians in a very strong position. Ashurbanipal's officers had cleared southern Babylonia of the rebel forces; Bel-ibni, the Assyrian governor of the Sea-land, was holding Nabu-bel-shumati and the Elamites in check, and Babylon and Borsippa were invested in the north. If the position was to be saved for Shamash-shum-ukin it was imperative that the Aribi, hitherto engaged in pursuing their own interests on the borders of Palestine, should engage the Assyrian besiegers. Uaite' I accordingly sent an army into Akkad under Abi-iate' and Aimu, with the intention of breaking the investing forces, but the effort failed. The Aribi were defeated in the field, and the main body was forced to take refuge in Babylon. Since famine had already commenced to weaken the defending troops in that city, Shamash-shum-ukin's difficulties were sensibly increased by this addition to the number of mouths he had to feed, and it may be that it was at his instigation that the Aribi made a desperate effort to break through. In this attempt they suffered severely, and Abi-iate' himself, cut off from the desert, fled straight to Nineveh, there to be pardoned by Ashurbanipal. The efforts of the Aribi were no more successful in the west. Ammuladin, a prince of Kedar, who led the attacks on the Assyrian garrisons on the Palestinian border, was defeated and captured by Kamash-khalta, king of Moab, to whom Adia, the wife of Uaite', also fell a prisoner.

Babylon and Borsippa still held out, but events in Elam in 649 rendered Shamash-shum-ukin's cause hopeless. That land of discord was once again plunged into civil war, the result of which was that Indabigash, an official, drove Tammaritu to flee from Susa into southern Babylonia, and assumed the royal title himself. Tammaritu and his adherents fell into the hands of the Assyrian general Marduk-shar-uṣur, who sent them at Bel-ibni's command to Nineveh. There Tammaritu was subjected to a humiliating ceremony of submission, and then treated with the same favour that had been accorded to Abi-iate'; and a similar intention may be assigned to Ashurbanipal in each case. At this time, too, Shuma, the nephew of Tammaritu, fled to the nomad tribe of the Takhkha', and allied himself with the Assyrians. The position of Indabigash in Elam was so weak that he attempted to treat with Ashurbanipal, and as a first step towards establishing friendly relations released the hostages carried off to Elam by Nabu-bel-

shumati. Ashurbanipal proceeded to demand the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumati himself, and would doubtless have received satisfaction in this matter also, had not a new turn of affairs in Elam brought about the fall of Indabigash. The anti-Assyrian party was now led by Ummanaldash, who succeeded in defeating and slaying Indabigash early in 648, and ascended the throne in Susa as Ummanaldash III. This meant a renewal of war with Assyria.

Elam, torn by faction, was now powerless to aid Shamash-shum-ukin effectively, and he himself was no longer able to defend Babylon. That city had now been besieged for nearly two years. For the first and only time in history the famous city had been defended in a manner worthy of the strength of the fortifications; it was not to the Assyrian assault that the troops of Shamash-shum-ukin succumbed, but to famine. The king of Babylon himself did not submit to defeat, but threw himself into a fire intended to consume his palace, in the way attributed by legend to Sardanapalus. In the end, the Assyrian army had little to do but march into an already devastated town, which they did in 648; but Shamash-shum-ukin's legal reign really ceased in 650 B.C. according to the reckoning of some. Thus legal documents found at Ur were dated in 'the 19th year of Ashurbanipal.' Babylon was not sacked by the Assyrians; booty was of course taken from Shamash-shum-ukin's palace, and the leaders of the anti-Assyrian party in Babylon were slain as an offering to the *manes* of Sennacherib, but Ashurbanipal's attention was immediately devoted to cleansing and restoring the capital. He himself seems to have occupied the throne in Babylon only for the year 648; he then reverted to the arrangement which had proved convenient for the greater part of his reign. A titular king named Kandalanu (the Kinēladan of the Ptolemaic canon) was installed in Babylon in 647, there to reign for twenty years under the same conditions as previously applied to Shamash-shum-ukin. Ashurbanipal was to have no further trouble in Babylonia proper.

The rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin was over, but Arabia and Elam still remained to be dealt with before the war was finished. The Aribi were not in a position to offer serious resistance. Uaite' I was driven out by his people, exasperated by his ill-success in the war and by an outbreak of famine. He fled for safety to Natnu of Nabaite[1], and attempted to induce that important monarch to declare war on Assyria. Natnu was not misled;

[1] No doubt the biblical Nebaioth; the identification with the Nabataeans is phonetically difficult but not inadmissible.

he voluntarily paid homage to Ashurbanipal, sent an embassy with tribute to Nineveh, and perhaps surrendered the former king of the Aribi to his overlord. These events probably all belong to the year 648. The tribes of the desert were now subjected to a stricter government than any that had yet been imposed upon them, though unfortunately nothing is known as to the measures the government took. The leaders of the tribes at this time were Abi-iate', who owed his authority in Kedar to Ashurbanipal, and Uaite' II, son of Bir-dadda, who succeeded his cousin, Uaite' I, son of Ḫazailu. These two determined after a short time to rid themselves of the Assyrian yoke; Natnu of Nabaite allied himself with them. The first attack of the combined tribes was, as usual, delivered on the western frontier. A strong Assyrian army, dispatched to the west between 641 and 638, was engaged in a series of battles which seem to have centred about Damascene. The tribes Isamme' and Nabaite were defeated between Iarḳi and Azalla, the men of Kedar and 'the bands of Atarsamain' at Ḳuraṣiti, while the forces of Abi-iate' and Aimu were dispersed at Khukkurina, the two leaders being captured. Uaite' II seems to have avoided an engagement, but famine and pestilence aided the Assyrians. Uaite' was driven out by his own people, and probably fled to Natnu in distant Nabaite, whither the Assyrians did not follow him. Ashurbanipal had amply punished the Aribi for their alliance with Shamash-shum-ukin. A punitive raid on Ushu (Palaetyrus) and Akku ('Akko, Acre) concluded the campaign.

The last struggles of Elam were a more desperate affair than might have been expected in a country exhausted by rebellions and a long and unsuccessful war. On the accession of Ummanaldash, Ashurbanipal renewed his demand for the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumati, which was refused. The Assyrian army accordingly marched to Ṣusa in 646, and set Tammaritu II once again upon the throne. The Assyrian nominee was, however, not disposed to act as a puppet king, and actually attacked the troops which had driven his rival Ummanaldash from Susa. His attempt at independence speedily ended in his defeat and capture. During this campaign the Assyrians secured the principal fortresses on the border, thus obtaining great advantages in any campaign they might subsequently have to wage. The attempt of Umbakhabua to establish himself in southern Elam was also defeated; but finally the retirement of the Assyrians from Susa gave Ummanaldash the opportunity to return to his capital. He was, however, no longer strong enough to assert his authority even in those districts

in which there were no Assyrian garrisons, for a certain Pa'e ruled some cities while he himself reigned at Susa. This position of affairs continued, and was probably only brought to an end by the activities of Nabu-bel-shumati on the border of the Sea-land. This restless prince retained sufficient influence with his Chaldaean tribesmen to cause the Assyrian governors considerable anxiety, and it was, no doubt, the refusal of Ummanaldash to surrender him which led to the last campaign against Elam. This campaign consisted of a series of military successes on the part of the Assyrians in all the habitable parts of Elam, ending in the capture of Susa. On this occasion the city was very thoroughly sacked; large quantities of Babylonian treasure, captured in war or received as bribes, were returned to Babylon, and all the striking artistic monuments were carried off to Nineveh. Even the bones of dead kings were removed from the grave and sent to Ashurbanipal to signalize this final victory over Assyria's most important rival. It is impossible exactly to date this campaign, which marks the end of the native kingdom of Elam, but it must belong to the period 642–639.

Successful as the campaign had been, Ummanaldash himself had not been captured, but had retired to inaccessible hills. On the return of the Assyrian army to Nineveh, he came down from the hills to Madaktu, since Susa was now uninhabitable. He was now little more than the prince of a single city, and was bound to obey Ashurbanipal in every particular. His own people, under the leadership of one Ummanigash, drove him out of Madaktu, whence he fled northward, only to fall into the hands of Assyrian troops some time in 639. With that event our information as to the history of Elam ceases; when the same lands once again play an important part in history, some eighty years later, in the time of Cyrus, prince of Anshan, a new ruling people, the Persians, are established in Susa, among the remnants of the ancient people, and circumstances have changed in a manner as yet unknown. Ashurbanipal's wars in Elam were the prelude to the most important event in the history of the late seventh and early sixth century, the rise of Persia, and it would be interesting to know if and how the forces of the old empire came into contact with that which was to arise within a century.

III. THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

With the year 639 B.C. the sources for the reign of Ashurbanipal close, though the king reigned till 626. For thirty years, therefore, of the forty-two during which he sat on the Assyrian throne, he ruled the empire successfully. Egypt was lost, it is true, but

subsequent events show that the loss was finally a gain to Assyria, since a willing ally was thereby won; peace and good order were established in Palestine, Phoenicia and Syria, and an important friend had been secured in Lydia. The king was on good terms with the Scythians in the north, and with his own nominee on the throne of Babylonia. Elam was crushed to rise no more; the Medes could make no headway against the imperial troops. In all the important cities of the empire, Assyrians, some of them members of the royal family, were engaged in maintaining efficiency and securing order. Ashur-eṭil-shame-irṣiti-uballiṭsu, the king's youngest brother, was the high-priest of Sin at Harran; Sin-balaṭsu-iḳbi, the governor of the Sea-land, rebuilt a shrine in the temple of the moon-god at Ur. Well might Ashurbanipal boast of the peace of his empire, and the good order established in his cities—and then suddenly, we know not how, both king and kingdom fell on evil days. In a striking passage Ashurbanipal speaks of his last unhappy years:

> The rules for making offerings to the dead and libations to the ghosts of the kings my ancestors, which had not been practised, I reintroduced. I did well unto god and man, to dead and living. Why have sickness, ill-health, misery and misfortune befallen me? I cannot away with the strife in my country and the dissensions in my family. Disturbing scandals oppress me alway. Misery of mind and of flesh bow me down; with cries of woe I bring my days to an end. On the day of the city-god, the day of the festival, I am wretched; death is seizing hold on me and bears me down. With lamentation and mourning I wail day and night, I groan, 'O god, grant even to one who is impious that he may see thy light. How long, O god, wilt thou deal thus with me? Even as one who hath not feared god and goddess am I reckoned.'

What the physical complaints that befell the now aged king may have been we do not know; but the reference to disturbance and strife in his family and kingdom are clear enough.

Troubles concerning the succession had arisen, and when Ashurbanipal died, Ashur-eṭil-ilani, his chosen son, had to fight an usurper before he succeeded to the throne, and was then only successful owing to the support of an official named Sin-shum-lishir. The struggle was presumably a long and strenuous one, for the Assyrian empire suffered considerably under the strain. Southern Babylonia, controlled by Kandalanu until Ashurbanipal's death in 626, broke away from Ashur-eṭil-ilani under Nabopolassar, the chosen leader of the Chaldaeans, who commenced hostilities immediately on his accession in 625[1]. Palestine

[1] See p. 207. Nabopolassar's kingship was at first confined to the immediate district of Babylon: the Assyrian garrisons held the south until towards the end of Sin-shar-ishkun's reign. It should be noted that the Assyrians

broke away from its bondage about the same time, and Phoenicia ceased to obey the Assyrian writs. Media, now united under a single monarch, was lost, once for all, to the empire. It is indeed surprising that during the short reign of Ashur-etil-ilani, from 626 to 621–619(?), more provinces were not lost to Assyria, for it will be seen that the west and north remained true to the government at Nineveh.

Ashur-etil-ilani's reign ended in disorder as it had begun. Sin-shum-lishir seized the throne for a few months on his master's death, but was driven out by another son of Ashurbanipal, Sin-shar-ishkun[1]. These events took place some time in the years 621–619(?) B.C., during the prolonged struggle with Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, and Cyaxares of Media, who were now allied for the purpose of destroying Assyria. Sin-shar-ishkun was an able monarch, and in more fortunate circumstances would doubtless have been able to face even this alliance with success, for though many of the former contingents to the Assyrian army could not now be levied, he had powerful allies; Psammetichus of Egypt and the Scythians were prepared to support him, and even the Mannai, hereditary enemies of the Assyrians, sent contingents to his help. The civil wars of the preceding years, however, seem to have seriously affected the fighting strength of the Assyrian army, and the Babylonians and Medes were now fighting under generals not inferior in ability to those of the Assyrians.

The plan of the allies was sound; gradually the fighting forces of Assyria were hemmed into the fortified quadrilateral which comprised the home-land of Assyria, from Ḳal'at Sherḳāt to Kārkūk, thence up to Irbil, and back to Khorsabad. In 616 Nabopolassar was able to march up the Euphrates through the territories of the Sukhu and Khindanu without opposition, and signally defeated the Assyrian army which faced him at Ḳablinu; he was even able to send a flying column up to the river Balīkh, but Egyptian troops arrived to help the Assyrians, and Nabopolassar was forced to retire hastily on Babylon. The Babylonian troops met with greater success in Arrapkha (the district near Karkūk), where an Assyrian column was routed and thrown back across the Zāb. Possibly the division of the Assyrian troops was

remained masters in the district round Babylon, and an inscription of Ashur-etil-ilani from Dilbat, just south of the capital, is extant.

[1] The relationship of Sin-shum-lishir and Sin-shar-ishkun to Ashurbanipal's family is doubtful. The only relevant inscription is badly defaced, and where previously 'Sin-shar-ishkun, son of Ashurbanipal', had been read, Professor Clay now states that the traces favour 'Sin-shum-lishir.'

responsible for this defeat at one corner of the home defences, for when Nabopolassar attempted to attack Ashur in 615 he was defeated and forced to retreat to Takrit, where he successfully defended the fortress, owing to a diversion caused by an attack on Arrapkha by Cyaxares. This intervention of the Medes placed a greater strain on the defensive resources of Assyria than Sin-shar-ishkun could withstand, probably owing to failing man-power. In 614 Cyaxares marched almost up to Nineveh itself, took Tarbiṣ (Shārif-Khan), and then turned south against Ashur to make sure of effecting a junction with Nabopolassar. Then, for the first time so far as is known in the history of Assyria, the ancient capital fell, to be sacked with a savagery revealed by modern excavations. Nabopolassar—a typical Babylonian general on this occasion—arrived too late for the battle, but the opportunity served to cement his alliance with Cyaxares. The two might well view the future with complacency.

Though affairs were in a well nigh desperate state in Assyria proper, the empire had not fallen to pieces; it had been too well and wisely administered for a century to do that. If the Greek accounts be correct, Sin-shar-ishkun in 613 B.C. implored help from the Scythians, who were to engage the Medes while he himself faced the Babylonians. On the Euphrates the Sukhu, now fearful of Nabopolassar's intentions, came openly into the field on behalf of the Assyrians, and though the Babylonians met with some initial successes, the Assyrian army drove Nabopolassar away from 'Anah, if not in rout, at least in retreat. Everything now depended for Sin-shar-ishkun on the faithfulness of the Scythians, and they betrayed him. Possibly by the promise of rich plunder in Assyria and Syria Cyaxares induced the barbarian hordes to unite with him, for in 612 the leader of the Scythians joined Cyaxares and Nabopolassar in the final assault on Nineveh itself. Between Siwān and Āb (May to July), the allies delivered three unsuccessful assaults on the city which was a proverb for riches and power throughout the nearer East; but in the end it fell before a coalition of powers which had been trained in siege-warfare by Assyrian kings. The brief words of the Babylonian chronicle, 'a great havoc of the people and the nobles took place ...they carried off the booty of the city, a quantity beyond reckoning, they turned the city into ruined mounds,' are the counterpart of the picturesque description of Assyria's downfall by the Israelite prophet Nahum. Sin-shar-ishkun himself perished, perhaps, as the Greeks reported, by throwing himself into the fire he himself had kindled, as Shamash-shum-ukin perished

before him; but it was the end of a soldier and an Assyrian king, not of the Sybarite the Greeks pictured as Sardanapalus. The fall of Nineveh closes the history of Assyria proper; the land which had been compelled to fight for centuries, first to exist and then to win an empire, fell irrevocably when at last no part of the home-land was defensible. See p. 206.

Yet even so the few Assyrians who managed to escape from Nineveh struggled on. Driven westwards by force of circumstances, they took refuge in Harran, the fortress from which they had dominated Syria almost continuously since the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal. While Nabopolassar was engaged in subduing Nisibis and the immediately adjoining districts, and Cyaxares and the Scythians turned home with their booty, Ashur-uballiṭ, perhaps that brother of Ashurbanipal who had been made high-priest of Sin, was appointed king of Assyria in Harran. Unable to prevent the ravaging of the old home provinces which was continued throughout 611 B.C., Ashur-uballiṭ could but await attack in Harran, hoping that the Egyptians might be in time to help him to withstand the enemy. Nabopolassar did not underestimate the task before him; not until the Medes and Scythians joined him in 610 did he march against Harran (p. 209). Desirous of keeping his army in the field, Ashur-uballiṭ left his city, which fell into the hands of an enemy who devastated it as the cities of Assyria had been devastated. At last the troops of Necho arrived, and effected a junction with Ashur-uballiṭ; the Babylonian army was besieged in Harran, but timely aid arrived from Babylonia, and Ashur-uballiṭ and his Egyptian allies were defeated in the field. Presumably the weary struggle lasted on until 605, when Necho's defeat at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish settled for a time the question of the ascendancy in Syria. The Assyrian nation, as such, passed away in Syria.

The disappearance of the Assyrian people will always remain an unique and striking phenomenon in ancient history. Other, similar, kingdoms and empires have indeed passed away, but the people have lived on. Recent discoveries have, it is true, shown that poverty-stricken communities perpetuated the old Assyrian names at various places, for instance on the ruined site of Ashur, for many centuries, but the essential truth remains the same. A nation which had existed two thousand years and had ruled a wide area, lost its independent character. To account for this two considerations may be urged. First, even in lands where, as Gibbon has remarked, the people are of a libidinous complexion, the Assyrians seem to have been unduly devoted to practices which can only

end in racial suicide; the last years of their history can only be explained by a loss of man-power not entirely accounted for by civil wars. Secondly, it is certain that the Medes carried off into their own country large numbers of the *ummane*, the craftsmen who worked in metal and stone. Many of the glories of Persepolis and Ecbatana were wrought by workmen trained by the guilds of Nineveh; the art of seal-cutting was taught to their masters by Assyrian slaves. No other land seems to have been sacked and pillaged so completely as was Assyria[1]; no other people, unless it be Israel, was ever so completely enslaved.

In another way the fall of Assyria is unique, in that after centuries of military domination in Mesopotamia, and after decades of imperial power, it is almost impossible for the modern historian surely to trace any lasting Assyrian influence on the history of succeeding ages. Yet it must not be too hastily assumed that this impossibility is due to anything but ignorance; if we had some knowledge of the history of the Medes, a fuller acquaintance with the development of Persia, a more precise account of the origins of Zoroastrianism, it is conceivable that the continuity of history could be proved decisively. Politically, it may even now be affirmed, the Assyrian empire lived on in the greater Persian empire that succeeded it, and was the original of the abiding type of polity known as 'the Oriental Monarchy.' Fuller information may yet show that Assyrian civilization left a more decided impress on Syria and other provinces than has yet been realized; of Sargonid rulers especially it would probably be inaccurate to say 'they make a solitude and they call it peace.' In Harran for instance there subsisted until the time of the 'Abbasid Caliphate a form of heathendom which in some of its principal features closely resembled Assyrian religion. But above all the justification for the existence of the Assyrian empire is to be found in the fact that the might of Assyrian arms enabled Babylonian civilization to survive during centuries when Babylon was no longer a cultural centre, until at last the Chaldaean dynasty which wrought the fall of Nineveh was able to take on the task of preserving civilization in one of its earliest cradles. See chap. x, pp. 206 *sqq.*

[1] Arbela escaped, for Alexander found princely treasures there, see *e.g.* Quintus Curtius v. 1, 2.

CHAPTER VI

THE HITTITES OF SYRIA

I. THE SOUTHERN HITTITE PEOPLES

BEFORE we continue the history of the Mesopotamian lands under the Neo-Babylonian empire (chaps. x and xi) we must turn back in order to survey the main features of the history and civilization, first of the Hittite and related peoples of north Syria (chaps. vi and vii) and, then, of the Urarṭians of Lake Van (chap. viii); and finally the movements of nomads which brought the Scythians into south-western Asia and hastened the downfall of Assyria.

The ethnical and the cultural uses of the term *Hittite*, which have been stated in vol. ii, p. 252 *sqq.*, ought to be distinguished in Syria as in Asia Minor; but in practice, the distinction is less easy to observe. On the one hand, we do not possess any documents written by a Syrian Hittite people, which certify its own use of the ethnic term Hatti; on the other hand, while non-Hittite contemporary or nearly contemporary documents notice various Syrian elements under the names Ḥatti, or Ḥeth, at various epochs, both early (*i.e.* before the Cappadocian occupation of the country) and also during some centuries subsequent to the Cappadocian withdrawal, it is none the less true of some of these elements and probably true of others, that they were not of the same race as the Cappadocian Ḥatti, though within the same cycle of culture. In speaking of the Hittites of Asia Minor we have appropriated the terms Ḥatti and Ḥattic to the Cappadocians; and, strictly speaking, these terms ought not to be used otherwise in the chapter which now follows. We cannot, however, on present knowledge, be more precise than our ancient authorities; and, since these do speak of Ḥeth and Ḥatti in Syria, without necessarily denoting Cappadocian kin, we must do so too; but for the sake of distinction the Syrian Ḥatti will usually be called neo-Hatti. Cf. vol. ii, p. 256 *sqq.*

The peoples or states south of the Taurus, which we have authority to regard at any epoch as Hittite in respect of culture, are distributed (but by no means continuously) over the northern half of Syria and the north-west of Mesopotamia with an extension, to be discussed presently, into Palestine. In north Syria the Hittite cultural area, as defined by the occurrence of Hittite

monuments great and small, includes the riverain belt from above Samosata to a point opposite the mouth of the Balīkh; also, in the interior, virtually all the north-west as well as the north-east, monumental evidence being most cogent for a belt lying immediately below Mt Amanus and the Taurus. There is reason for including the Killis district and all the Cyrrhestica down to Aleppo; and there is no doubt about the middle valley of the Orontes from about Kala'at el-Mudik through Ḥamah (the ancient Hamath) to Restān. But for the lowest part of that valley —the Antioch district—Hittite evidence is wanting. In Mesopotamia, too, the riverain belt, extending from Birejik inland to Seruj and downstream to south of Tell Akhmar, possessed Hittite culture at some period. Since, however, it is by no means certain whether all these Syrian and Mesopotamian districts were Hittite at the same period, or from, or to, what dates they severally were held by Hittite peoples, it will be well, before proceeding further, to see at what periods any inhabitants of them are called Hittite by ancient authorities, or can reasonably be argued on other grounds to have been such.

The earliest attestation of the presence of a Hittite population in any part of Syria is made for Palestine by the Hebrew tradition. Many references in the Old Testament to the existence of a belief that Palestine had once been the home of 'Children of Heth' carry cumulative conviction not only of the universality of this tradition among Israelites in the time of the Monarchy, but also that it had some foundation in fact. Even if such sporadic Palestinian Hittites, as are noticed in the records of the Judges and the Kings, are to be regarded as jetsam left by an ebbing tide of recent Cappadocian invasion, the memories of 'Children of Heth' at Hebron in the time of Abraham, and of a Hittite tenure of Palestine in general before the Hebrew invasion, remain unexplained. About the bearing of other biblical references upon the question of Hittite residents in Syria at a later period, more will be said presently.

Along with these Hebrew beliefs should be considered a Babylonian tradition, although it does not refer explicitly to Syria. According to official archivists of the Neo-Babylonian monarchy, the First Dynasty of Babylon was brought to an end by Hatti (vol. I, p. 561; II, p. 230). Their invasion, which is to be dated early in the second millennium B.C., was so overwhelming, that Babylon remained feeble and without history of importance until the full establishment of the Kassites. We cannot be sure what Hatti are meant; but there is a reasonable presumption that

this term would not be used at Babylon, in the sixth century B.C., for peoples not Hittite either in race or in culture, seeing that Mesopotamians had been familiar with such peoples since at least the fifteenth century. Therefore, it may be presumed that this tradition does attest the presence of a powerful Hittite element established in some region or other south of the Taurus before the historic descent of the Cappadocian Hatti.

Furthermore, the Israelites believed that a Hittite element had continued to reside in their neighbourhood far into the period of the Monarchy. Two biblical passages argue that some Hittite, or even Hattic, state was understood to have lain not far away on the north. One of these enumerates the alien peoples from which Solomon chose wives (1 Kings xi, 1). Besides the Hittites, all the peoples there mentioned were neighbours of Israel, ranging round a segment of a circle from Edom to Sidon. It is natural, therefore, to place the source of the Hittite wives at some point on that same segment—say, in the upper Orontes valley. The other passage relates to the panic of the Syrian army outside Samaria. The king of Israel (son of Ahab who had been an ally of Hamath at the battle of Ḳarḳar) had hired against them, said the Syrians, the kings of Muṣri (in the Taurus?) and the kings of the Hittites; and both were supposed to be within striking distance (2 Kings vii, 6). It is difficult to believe that either the Syrians in crediting this rumour, or the Israelites in telling the story of it, were thinking of powers other than such as lay comparatively near to them and to the scene of action—chieftains, *e.g.* of Northern Mesopotamia and of the northern parts of Syria (see further, p. 377, n. 1). There are, of course, other passages, which argue Hebrew familiarity with Hittites at this period—for example, notices of Hittite residents in Palestine, such as Ahimelech and Uriah. Their presence, if other arguments were lacking, would have no more significance than need be attached to the presence of Moroccans and Yemenites in modern Jerusalem; but, since other arguments do exist, it gives support to the theory of the historical existence of a centre of Hittites not far from Palestine. Such a centre may well have been Hamath, for Hamathite territory has yielded Hittite monuments (at the modern Ḥamah and Restān); and relations of amity between David of Judah and Toi of Hamath are recorded. Since the region of Coele-Syria, immediately north of Galilee, was known to the Israelites as the 'entering in of Hamath,' the Israelite and Hamathite dominions may be presumed to have been coterminous. David's kingdom, if we may trust the emended text of 2 Sam. xxiv, 6 (confirmed by

the Lucianic recension), extended to Kadesh and the land of the Hittites; and the Assyrian question to Hezekiah, 'Where is the king of Hamath?' was a reminder that the last of the outer defences of Israel had been carried (2 Kings xviii, 34, xix, 13).

Immediately north of Hamath, on the lower middle Orontes (a Hattic name, *Arandas*), lay Khattina, whose name and that of its king, Tarkhulara, in the ninth century, suggest Hittite connections; but we have little evidence for asserting that any other parts of central north Syria were Hattic. At the time of, or indeed after, the Cappadocian descent subsequent to 1400 B.C., nothing in our Hattic and Egyptian records suggests that any region south of Taurus was inhabited by kin of the invaders. Most of the small states of the north and centre were certainly not ruled then by Hattic princes (see vol. II, p. 262), whatever race may have been represented by the bulk of their populations. Moreover, it seems clear that a broad Semitic wedge had been driven by the Amorites between any possible Hittite peoples of the north and the south. Where Amorites were not, there Ḫarri and other non-Hattic princes held the length and breadth of the central north lands. Nor does any unmistakable evidence attest a population of Hittite culture in northern Syria, before or during the Hattic empire; or, indeed, till, at earliest, two or three generations before the close of the second millennium, even at Zenjirli, whose geographical position must have exposed it to the passage of Hattic imperial armies (see p. 142). At Carchemish, whose territory the later Assyrians called 'Hatti-land,' there is no such evidence till about the end of that millennium. Shalmaneser I, recording his western advance, included that place in Muṣri, and did not call its people or any other Syrians Hatti; and the first Assyrian mention of 'Hatti' there is made by Tiglath-pileser I near the end of the twelfth century. Thenceforward, throughout the Assyrian Empire of the first millennium, kings of Carchemish (*e.g.* from Sangara in the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal) will constantly be styled kings of Hatti.

To complete the survey, we must glance at north Mesopotamia. There abundant archaeological evidence demonstrates that, at some time, and for no inconsiderable time, Hittite culture prevailed as much as in any part of Syria. It may have been established quite as early as, for example, at Zenjirli; for rude monuments, showing human types and technical style similar to those of the early Zenjirli sculptures and the same sort of subjects (but no Hittite inscriptions), have come to light at Tell Khalaf in the Mitannian country far east of the Euphrates. Of a later class and

period are other Hittite monuments distributed along the left bank of the river from Birejik to the Balīkh, and at least as far inland as the Seruj district. These seem to be products of a culture either identical or kin with one which was established at Carchemish at some epoch after 1200 B.C. That this was partly neo-Hattic, influenced by an influx from beyond the Taurus, the newcomers being either survivors of the Cappadocian Hatti, or elements from south Cappadocia (*e.g.* from Melitene, which had inherited of those Hatti), is argued later (p. 159 *sq.*). But, whoever these were, their characteristic culture was imposed on an earlier, which belonged to the Mesopotamian cycle; and from this they took over at the first many features. Presently they received a fresh reinforcement of Semitic influence. Aramaeans, who had flooded north-west Mesopotamia before the twelfth century, crossed the Euphrates and occupied a belt of Syria north of Carchemish reaching from the river to the Amanus range. Also, about the end of the eleventh century, they took and held Pitru, a town on the Sajur, south of Carchemish. It is not impossible that they may have taken even Carchemish itself at this time, and so have become part authors of the later Hittite monuments both in north-west Mesopotamia and in certain northern districts of Syria. To the north, immediately below the Taurus, where on the east the range abuts on the Euphrates, lay an independent state, Gurgum or Gamgum, which, a century later (Sargon's time), had princes of Hattic-sounding names, Tarkhulara and Muttallu (p. 135). It is mentioned in close connection with Kumukh, then ruled by another Mutallu. South of the Aramaean belt and west of riverain 'Hatti-land,' we find Tunip and Ḥalman (Aleppo) still existent as states, though the last (if not both) may have been subject to Arpad, which lay some twenty miles north of Aleppo in the direction of Killis. Whereas Ḥalman is never mentioned as offering opposition to Assyrian forces, Arpad gave them repeated and serious fighting.

Before we pass to the history of these Hittite states attention must be called to the south Cappadocian group of principalities, which, at more than one moment of that history, are found in relations with some states of the Syrian group. The Hittite character of their culture is attested by numerous monuments, to be regarded as post-Hattic, which range from southern Lycaonia across the Anti-Taurus to Melitene. None has yet been found north of the Mazaca-Caesarea district on the middle Halys. In contrast to monuments of the Hattic period, such as that at Fraktin (Ferakdin) (vol. II, pp. 272 *sqq.*), the south Cappadocian reliefs

show divine and human types resembling not the north Hattic but those prevalent at Carchemish after 1000 B.C. (see p. 161); and when they bear inscriptions, these are usually in the reduced linear Hittite script. The principalities in question, enumerated from east to west, were: first, Milid (Melitene), about whose Hittite monuments and their probable date something is said later (p. 162). This principality, which carried on the traditions of Ḫanigalbat (vol. II, p. 273) and was frequently raided or traversed by Assyrian armies from the time of Ashur-uballiṭ II onwards, owed allegiance, at one time or another after 1000 B.C., to rulers with Hattic-sounding names, such as Lalla, Salamal, and Tarkhunazi. Its territory extended probably from the Euphrates to the main ridge of Anti-Taurus and commanded two (or three) main passes of the Taurus which converge on Mar'ash. It seems to have lain very open to Assyrian attack, and to have been compelled to throw in its lot fairly consistently with Assyrian fortunes.

Next to it lay two small states, Tabal and Kumani (Comana), or perhaps one only, if the first named included the second (see vol. II, p. 272). Assyrian armies could, and did, reach this region from either Milid or Cilicia. Its western frontier was, probably, the range of the Ala Dagh which shuts off the approach to the great pass of the Cilician Gates; and it commanded the head of a third pass to Syria by way of Mar'ash, that which enters the Taurus south of Gyuksun (Cocusus). It has relatively few Hittite monuments to show, and one, if not two, of the small number is Hattic, being a relic of an earlier age when this region was, probably, Kissuwadna (vol. II, p. 272): but the rest are demonstrably post-Hattic.

Next in order, on the west, is a broad and comparatively plain region which in later days was the Tyanitis. Here the Hittite monuments are, without exception, post-Hattic (see p. 166), and very closely related to a certain group in northern Syria. The Tyanitis was, without any reasonable doubt, in post-Hattic days territory of the Mushki, who were ruled by kings bearing a dynastic name, Mita; and this people must have made the monuments in question. The Mushki were politically distinct from the Carchemish folk, but allied with a king of the latter, in the eighth century B.C., in the prosecution of a combined movement against Assyria (p. 145). Their origin and the causes of their presence in south Cappadocia are obscure. Their name appears first in history during the twelfth century, in northern Mesopotamia (vol. II, p. 274); and a body of Mushki was still settled in the foot-hills below the source of the Tigris some generations later.

But these facts are quite consistent with settlement of the Tyanitis by another, and perhaps the main, body in or about the twelfth century; and if, as there is reason to argue, the Mushki formed an element also in the Phrygian realm of the Midas dynasty (chap. XXI), one would look to the north rather than the south for their place of origin, and incline to regard their appearance in Mesopotamia as the result of a raid or raids undertaken after, or coincidently with, settlement in southern Cappadocia.

North of the Tyanitis lies a district in which several post-Hattic monuments occur, the majority being inscribed in the linear script. This is the volcanic region of Mt Argaeus and the valley plains about its roots, of which Mazaca-Caesarea was chief town in historic times. If this district constituted another state in the post-Hattic age, we do not know its name; but our ignorance could be explained by the fact that the Assyrians, who never penetrated far into Tyanitis or subdued the Mushkian power, did not reach it. Not improbably, it was the original state organized by the Mushki after the fall of Hattic power in the north; hence they subsequently reached Tyana and possessed themselves of the rich Lycaonian plain. Finally, to the west of the Tyanitis, beyond low hills which shut off the district of Iconium, Hittite monuments again occur, but they are of older appearance than the Tyanean, and may well be Hattic, or provincial work contemporary with the Hattic empire.

II. THE STRUGGLE WITH ASSYRIA

Before the historical curtain is raised upon Hittite Syria by records of the Second or New Assyrian empire, light is thrown on its condition by three isolated groups of data. The first group, which concerns the Cappadocian invasion and occupation, ending with the thirteenth century, has been dealt with already (vol. II, p. 256 *sqq.*). The second group, to which allusion has been made above, concerns the penetration of Syria, after a considerable interval of time, by the Aramaean peoples which, by the close of the twelfth century, had occupied all the left bank of the middle Euphrates. The third group consists of allusions to riverain Syria by two Assyrian monarchs of the closing period of what we may call the First Empire, and a much more informing statement by Nebuchadrezzar I of Babylon, that, in or about the year 1140 B.C., he had to withstand an invasion of southern Mesopotamia by 'Hatti,' whom in the end he thrust back into the north. This statement conveys a possible confirmation of the

conjecture made above that Çarchemish experienced, in the twelfth century, an influx of neo-Hatti from beyond the Taurus. They may have occupied the place either on their way to the south or on their return. In any case it seems reasonable to account for the sudden appearance of a Hittite culture there in that century by a movement which ended, as an earlier Hattic movement to the south had ended, with an attack on Babylon.

After the raids which Tiglath-pileser I pushed across the Euphrates and even into the Sajur valley, more than two centuries elapsed before another Assyrian king entered a Syrian district. While the north flank of the Taurus was not so fortunate—for example, armies of Adad-nirari III twice attacked the territory of Kumani (Comana) in the late tenth century—Syria gained immunity from the Aramaean wedge, which had been thrust up from the south into north-west Mesopotamia. Assyria, suffering from relapse since the death of Tiglath-pileser I, was powerless to stop a fresh Semitic horde, in the prime of its expansive force, from settling along the Khabur and the Euphrates, and even in the richer Syrian country, which she herself coveted. Presently, however, settled life began to abate Aramaean truculence, as it always abates that of Arabs; and before much of the ninth century had elapsed, Assyria was again contemplating a thrust towards the Syrian lands. In a series of devastating raids spread over some seven years, during which Ashur-naṣir-pal attacked continually and exhaustively the Aramaean chiefs and all their possible allies from the Khabur up to and beyond the Taurus, he broke through, and raided even the transriverain lands of Bit Adini; and in 876 B.C., having secured his passage and repassage of the Euphrates by fortresses, which he built and garrisoned on the left bank, he could lay Carchemish under contribution, and go forward to central Syria. His purpose seems to have envisaged transient adventure rather than permanent conquest, its goal being the Great Sea. He marched, therefore, straight for the lower Orontes valley, without touching Aleppo, and, finding himself in the state of Khattina, took toll of its chief towns on both sides of the river, before crossing the mountains to some point on the coast, probably not far from Latakia. Since we hear nothing of Hamath in his annals, it is not to be supposed that he followed up the Orontes valley even so far as Kala'at el-Mudik. He claims to have received presents from the cities of the Phoenician shore as far south as Sidon; and it is likely enough that these societies forestalled what seemed an imminent assault. Then, at the end of summer, he appears to have retraced his steps

to the Tigris, as directly and quickly as he had come; and, so far as we know, he would be seen in Syria no more (see p. 15 *sq.*).

His brief apparition, however, bore fruits with which his successor had to deal more than twenty years later. Awakened to a common danger, the jealous inland states of north Syria drew together into a defensive league under the influence of the Aramaeans of Damascus and the leadership of king Irkhuleni of Hamath (see p. 21 *sq.*). But the crisis had not yet quite come. Shalmaneser III, on ascending the Assyrian throne, found the Aramaean states more or less recuperated; and he had to devote three years to breaking down the barrier once more. But, when at length his father's road was reopened, it was better assured than of old. Shalmaneser had been at pains not only to destroy the trans-Euphratean strongholds of Bit Adini, but also to colonize and garrison on the right bank of the Euphrates a point which commands the ferries off the Sajur mouth; and from Pitru (renamed in Assyrian fashion) he could keep Carchemish in salutary fear. Having thus cleared his way Shalmaneser sat down at Pitru in 853 to discover who was or was not on his side by sending summons to all the princes of the north to bring him tribute. Among those who obeyed was Kalparuda of Khattina, who should be neo-Hattic.

It is tempting to divide north Syria at this moment between Hittite states, which followed the Assyrian, and Semitic states, which leagued together against him; but such a rule would have to admit too many exceptions. The attitude of the states was determined evidently by geographical position and recent history, rather than by racial considerations. Thus, while Khattina, which had felt Ashur-naṣir-pal's hand twenty-three years earlier, submitted at once with most of the north-western states, Hamath, which probably was just as much or as little Hittite, but had not yet been raided by Assyria, headed the opposition. Its allies were mainly Semites of the south, including the Damascenes, the Israelites under Ahab, and divers Phoenicians, trans-Jordanians, and Arabs; but among them were also some northerners from Ḳue, beyond Mt Amanus, and from Muṣri in or beyond the Ṭaurus—districts which had had little or no experience of Assyrian raids (pp. 22, 362).

Shalmaneser marched from Pitru to Aleppo and thence southward by what is now the line of the railway. He encountered, so far as we know, no serious opposition, until he was within the territory of Hamath, and had come down into the Orontes valley at a point some distance north of the city. There he found the

forces of the League based upon a stronghold, named Ḳarḳar, whose site has not been identified. The battle which ensued was indecisive (853 B.C.). Shalmaneser's records agree in claiming, as matter of course, an Assyrian victory; but since they vary, by more than a hundred per cent., in the tale of enemies killed, one may doubt if the Assyrians remained sufficiently in possession of the field to make any count of the dead. In any case, it is clear that they withdrew northwards again without attempting to advance upon Hamath itself, or even to assault Ḳarḳar; and that the League was left in being for several years more. In 849 Shalmaneser returned to the charge, taking apparently the same route from the Euphrates to fight on the Orontes, in much the same locality as before, and with the same general result. The king of Damascus, Ben-Hadad, held the field in person on this occasion against him. A third raid, three years later, effected no more; but a fourth, in 841, seems at last to have sealed the fate of Hamath, and opened the road to the south. Time had played the Assyrian game. The cohesive force of Syria was outstayed by that of Assyria; and with the deaths of Ben-Hadad and Ahab, the League went to pieces. The great Phoenician cities and Jehu of Israel stood out of it, making separate terms with Shalmaneser, who henceforward was free to begin the process of wearing down Damascus, as in twelve years he had worn down Hamath. (See pp. 23, 362 *sq.*)

III. THE ASSYRIAN CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION

Throughout Shalmaneser's campaigns we hear of no serious movement in that riverain country which, to the Assyrians, was peculiarly Hatti-land. Evidently it was held securely *in clientela* by the menace of the Pitru garrison. This is the period of the most excellent art remains found at Carchemish—for example, of certain reliefs on the Palace stair which, for the first time in the artistic history of the site, betray a debt to Assyria; for they are inspired to some extent by the free art which, in the early ninth century, produced the bronze plating on the doors of Balāwāt. Since sculptures in the same style, but of less excellent execution, have been found both at Sakjegeuzi and Zenjirli, it may safely be inferred that all northernmoşt Syria had fallen in some measure under that same influence since Ashur-naṣir-pal's appearance in the west.

Although Shalmaneser secured a base on Syrian soil and opened to Assyrian armies the direct south road through Aleppo and Hamath to Damascus and Palestine, he left on one side a large and rich district of Syria, including the domains of modern Killis

and Antioch, together with the basins of the Afrin, the Karasu, and the lower Orontes. Various parts of this region were to give his successors considerable trouble for more than a century, while Damascus would still hold out obstinately in the south. We hear of campaigns on the Orontes undertaken by Adad-nirari III, at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the eighth; by Ashur-dan III a generation later; and finally, after the middle of the eighth century, by Tiglath-pileser III, the great organizer of Assyrian territorial empire. The centre of native opposition was for long the city of Arpad (Tell R'fad), some twenty miles due north of Aleppo; and even after its reduction, in 740 B.C., the Antioch plain, then called Unḳi or Amḳi, was not pacified. A prince, Tutammu, then ruled these north-western valleys, where to the present day the most Hattic-looking peasantry in Syria survives. The last stand of north-west Syria seems to have been made under one Azriyau (Azariah), prince of a district near Sam'āl, and obviously a Semite (pp. 36, 378). Some Semitic states of the yet unsubdued south supported him—for example, Damascus, Tyre and Israel; but his chief foreign allies came from beyond the Amanus and the Taurus. In all, says Tiglath-pileser in his annals, the Assyrian forces had to deal with nineteen leagued foes; and when, at length, they captured Azriyau's stronghold of Kullāni, he, the Great King, had to annex the whole north-west, colonize points in it with Assyrians, and interchange plainsmen for hillmen and *vice versâ*, even as, in the same district, less than a hundred years ago, the Turks used to deport Kurds from Amanus and push up Armenians in their room.

One of the small states reduced was Sam'āl, whose king, Panammu, had probably been a supporter of Azriyau. This place, now represented by the Kurdish hamlet of Zenjirli, has affected our knowledge of Hittite Syria out of all proportion to its size, thanks to the systematic exploration of it carried out by German excavators, between thirty and twenty years ago. (See pp. 36, 157 *sq.*) Small though it was, it had considerable importance in the world of its time, as the crossing-place of two main tracks, the one coming south from Mar'ash and the Taurus passes and continuing to the Antioch plain and the Orontes valley, the other coming from the Euphrates and striking across to Cilicia by the easiest of the Amanus passes. Its situation on a *col*, commanding two great roads, excites expectation that, among divers foreign influences affecting the culture of the place, that of the Cappadocian Hatti would be conspicuous. These imperial invaders did not approach Syria through Plain Cilicia (if we may judge by

its lack of Hittite remains), and must have used the Mar'ash passes and the three main tracks leading south—by Aintab to Carchemish, by Killis to Aleppo, and by Zenjirli to the Orontes. But, in fact, there is curiously little trace of Cappadocian culture at Zenjirli. No inscription in Hattic script came to light in any part of its excavated area, or, again, at Sakjegeuzi in the same district; and although two stones so inscribed (one has been re-used and possibly brought from a distance, and neither looks of early date) have been found on outlying sites, and the use of relieved characters, in the ninth century, for inscribing Semitic texts implies local acquaintance with Hittite writing, that lack tells strongly against any presumption of a Hattic occupation of the place, or, indeed, of Hattic influence having had responsibility for its culture. Still more convincing is the evidence of plastic monuments. The style of the earliest reliefs at Zenjirli—dados of the southern Town Gate—cannot, on any reasonable artistic canon, be affiliated to the latest Hattic style as shown in, *e.g.*, the Warrior-god relief at Boghaz Keui. This style is already far ahead of the earliest Syrian, and one must go back to the first Hattic style, that of the Euyuk façade-dados, for any possibility of causal connection. But if one does so, not only do the two arts remain very dissimilar in general and in detail, but also a serious difficulty of chronology arises. If the earliest plastic work of Zenjirli is to be affiliated to the Euyuk style, its date must be pushed back into the fourteenth century B.C., and a gap of some five centuries will yawn between it and the great bulk of the Zenjirli monuments, demonstrably dating from the ninth century. As a matter of fact, those south Town Gate sculptures are, in all probability, not of an earlier century than the eleventh.

If this be so, it is necessary to look elsewhere for the parentage of Zenjirli culture. The remarkable similarity of some sculptures found at Tell Khalaf, on the upper Khabur, suggests North Mesopotamia, where, from an unknown antiquity till almost the end of the second millennium B.C., Mitanni, related in some way to the Cappadocian Hatti, was a civilized and important power. If, in that region, further research should reveal earlier Hittite remains than those of Tell Khalaf, and evidence of an old focus of Hittite civilization developed by Hatti or Harri or Mitanni, the Cappadocian Hittite culture might be explained as its earlier offshoot and the Syrian as its later.

From the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal at any rate, if not before, Sam'āl had princes with Semitic names who were almost certainly Aramaeans. The earliest known to us is Gabbar, whose grandson,

Kalamu (or Kalammu)—the precise pronunciation of all these names is unknown—sent presents to forestall attack by Shalmaneser. The father of Kalamu, named Ḫaya, may have been ruling in Ashur-naṣir-pal's time, and Gabbar even earlier than the latter's reign. Subsequently, in or about 815 B.C., a prince named Ḳaral was on the throne, and from him a line of Aramaean princes is given to us by epigraphic records down to about 730 B.C.—Panammu, Bar-Ṣur, Panammu II, and Bar-rekub, who was a worshipper of Baal of Harran, and not son, but grandson, of the last Panammu, who had killed Bar-Ṣur, his father. The latter was king of Ya'di, a place not known to us. He may, therefore, not have been in direct succession to the earlier princes; but in any case we may be assured by his name that he continued Aramaean rule at Sam'āl. His son, Bar-rekub, inherited a principality whose independence was henceforth limited by direct overlordship of Assyria, and perhaps, by an Assyrian garrison.

It has been noticed that Bar-rekub is represented with full beard and moustache in the Assyrian fashion, instead of with chin-beard and shaven lower and upper lips, as was the Babylonian fashion followed at an earlier time at Zenjirli; and probably he was the first to acknowledge unconditional vassalage. Up to this time, although some Assyrian influence had come to bear on the local art, the general character of Zenjirli culture, as will be shown later, had remained essentially Hittite, the North Semitic script being sometimes used to express a non-Semitic language, and cut on stone in relieved characters according to the tradition of Hattic hieroglyphs. But henceforward Assyrianization was to proceed apace, though the principality, after the manner of distant vassals of Assyria, seems on occasion to have broken away from allegiance. Esarhaddon had to attack and retake it in 670 B.C., and a great stele, found on the site, records its submission to him and re-entry upon the roll of Assyrian subjects. Among these, no doubt, it was constrained to abide till at least the last quarter of the reign of Ashurbanipal.

After 740 B.C. we hear little more of independent states, cities, or princes in north Syria. When Assyrian armies passed down to attack Damascus (it fell in 732), or Tyre, or Israel (Samaria surrendered in 722), or Philistia or even Egypt, the official annalists rarely found anything to record about the northern districts through which those armies attained their objectives. Shalmaneser V (see p. 42) had some trouble with a town named Shabara'in, north of Damascus (presumably the Sibraim of Ezek. xlvii, 16, and the Sepharvaim of 2 Kings xvii, 24); and Sargon,

five years later, dealt with a momentary recrudescence of Hamathite independence, when the central Syrians, from Arpad to Damascus, made common cause with beleaguered Samaria. But after Karkar had been stormed, the rebel king of Hamath, Yaubi'di, died under torture, and the revolt collapsed (p. 57).

There is no indication in Sargon's annals that Carchemish and the riverain Hittites stood in with this rising. The offence, for which this city was punished by armed occupation and reduction to an Assyrian governorate (717 B.C.), seems to have been that its prince, Pisiris, had been fomenting a distinct movement in the north in concert with some trans-Tauric peoples, of whom the Mushkian, under its king, Mita, was the chief. It was quickly suppressed. An Assyrian fortress-palace was now built at Carchemish, on the north end of the Acropolis hill, and the history of the city was merged thenceforward in that of the Assyrian empire. But its late allies, who were not so accessible to Sargon's armies, remained unsubdued. Raids into the Taurus occupied Assyrian forces for the next five or six years; and though the easternmost districts, Gurgum, Milid and Tabal, were occupied, the more westerly region (Tyanitis), in which Mita ruled the Mushki, remained defiant. As late as 709 it was beyond the power of the Assyrian governor of Cilicia to reduce; and indeed, another half-century later, we find it still flourishing as an independent state. See pp. 54, 56, and below, pp. 166 *sq.*, 179.

The annals of later rulers of Assyria, down to the fall of the empire, fail to illuminate the history of north Syria; but other records of the seventh and the sixth centuries throw light on it now and then. The great stele of Esarhaddon, mentioned above as found at Zenjirli, leaves no doubt that north-western Syria continued subject to Nineveh. Nor is there more doubt about the north-east; for cuneiform documents, found at Gezer in Palestine, of the time of Ashurbanipal, are dated by the eponymate of his governor in Carchemish (below, p. 165). The sculptures of Carchemish become more and more Assyrian, and Hittite features less marked till, towards the close of the seventh century, the use of the Hittite script fell into decay, and the indigenous pre-cremation folk (to judge by burials of this period and the following one) emerged and reasserted a pre-Hittite culture (see p. 160).

IV. THE ASSYRIAN RETREAT

In the latter half of the seventh century (probably not before 637 B.C.) occurred a destructive invasion of all Syria from the north, headed by Scythians under Madyes, son of Bartatua (p. 82);

but the few details of its course and effects that are recorded by Herodotus and, perhaps, reflected in the writings of the Israelite prophets, Jeremiah and Zephaniah, belong rather to the history of Palestine (see pp. 189, 293, 394). The Greek historian, writing about two centuries later, states that these Scyths dominated western Asia for eight-and-twenty years; and modern commentators have concluded that it was their force which abolished Assyrian dominion west of the Euphrates, some twenty years before the catastrophe of Nineveh. Scythian elements certainly remained long enough in north Syria to introduce some influences of South Russian culture into Syrian grave-furniture, and, in the south, to give a new name to the old Philistine and Hebrew town of Beth-shan (modern Beisān), the excavation of which may, it is to be hoped, throw light upon the Scythian occupation. But at present there is not enough evidence to determine whether there was really a widespread Scythian domination in Syria which lasted for any considerable period, or whether the result of the invasion was not rather that most districts and cities reasserted their own independence of the moribund Assyrian rule. See p. 147 n.

North Syrian graves of the latest Hittite period demonstrate also that, during the last quarter of the seventh century, Egyptian cultural influence and Egyptian products gained ground rapidly, ousting the former influence of Assyria (cf. pp. 145, 298). The fact is not surprising, seeing that, as a fragment of Nabopolassar's annals has lately revealed, Egypt was exerting strong political pressure upon Syria in the last part of the reign of Psammetichus I and the early part of that of Necho II (see p. 296). If the former king could send an army up to and across the Euphrates in 616 B.C., the predominance of his influence in the lands west of the river must be presumed at an even earlier date. Among the motives which caused this whilom rebel to join hands after all with Assyria was, no doubt, fear of the Scythians, who were supported by Nabopolassar; and the latter was the foe whom immediately he was envisaging. He proved, however, unable in that campaign to break the Babylonian rebel, or four years later to avert the catastrophe of Nineveh. But after yet another three years his successor, Necho, resumed his policy in hope of saving a remnant of the Assyrians who had taken refuge in the Harran district under Ashur-uballiṭ, last of a famous name, but been worsted by Nabopolassar. An Egyptian contingent was sent thither in 609, and in the following year Pharaoh himself advanced into Syria with a large army to take and hold all of it, west of Euphrates, for a base of operations against the Babylonians and

the Medes. It is doubtful whether, after he had swept Josiah out of his path, he advanced in person farther north than Hamath; but, in any case, from this point he was able to command the tributary allegiance of all Syria, until, in 605, Nabopolassar sent a full levy up the Euphrates valley under his son, Nebuchadrezzar. Necho hastened to the help of the Harran refugees, but was forestalled by a counter advance of the Babylonians. The armies clashed at, or opposite, Carchemish, and Necho, completely defeated, had to make all haste back to Egypt, pursued by the victor. Carchemish itself seems to have been destroyed by one party or the other, and, as its remains show, it did not revive till Hellenistic times.

So Syria passed into the neo-Babylonian empire and under its shadow remained for about half a century, till the coming of Cyrus the Persian. During this period almost the whole of it is practically without history, largely because we have hardly any cuneiform chronicles dealing with foreign expeditions, or, indeed, with any provincial concern, of the Babylon of that epoch. It must be remembered that, were it not for the O.T., we should know nothing of those wars in the south, which ended in the capture of Jerusalem. Nebuchadrezzar himself, when in Syria, appears, like Necho, to have remained by preference at, or near, Hamath, controlling the country from Riblah, its central point. Since, however, we know nothing of his relations with what lay to the north, it is useless to attempt to follow further the fortunes of the Hittite peoples in that quarter. Indeed, by now they had so far lost their distinctive culture that they may be regarded as merged in the common Semitism of the Syrians[1].

[1] Various objects closely akin to furniture of Scythian graves in South Russia came to light in the Carchemish district during the construction of the Baghdad Railway in 1913–14. Of this class, besides a clay model of a tilted waggon, there were found clay rhytons with ibex-head finials, terra-cotta figurines in Scythian dress, chapes in bone and bronze decorated in an 'animal style,' and bronze and iron horse-bits with rings and broken bars. The most prolific source was a cemetery of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. dug out by natives at Devé Huyuk on the Sajur about twenty miles west of Carchemish (see C. L. Woolley in *Liverpool A.A.* vii, p. 115). Its later graves yielded many other foreign objects, Egyptian, Phoenician, Cypriote, Rhodian and even Attic, besides much that hailed from Mesopotamia and Iran, illustrating in striking fashion the cultural influence exercised on a small remote settlement by traffic passing to and from the Euphrates ferry at Carchemish.

CHAPTER VII

HITTITE CIVILIZATION

I. THE HATTIC ART OF CAPPADOCIA

HITTITE civilization, during an activity which lasted at least a thousand years, was possessed and developed by several societies, differing in chronological periods and geographical location; also, probably, in race. If (as assuredly must be) a continuous and compact *bloc* of culture, distinguished throughout as Hittite, has to be fitted into the scheme of progressive civilization—a *bloc* as self-contained as *e.g.* the Egyptian or the Assyrian—within it was much local and temporal variety. All Hittites, by culture, were not Ḥatti; all Hittites did not possess the culture at one time or for the same period of time; all did not necessarily derive it from the same source; nor was its development governed by the cultural progress of only one society, or dependent on the existence of a single political domination, such as the transient Hattic empire of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Too many Hittite remains have been assumed to be of the period of that empire and the work of Cappadocian Hatti, although the empire in question was at an end more than half a millennium before the civilization. The great majority of the Hittite monuments extant are post-Hattic or neo-Hattic.

The oldest extant remains of Hittite art are probably certain dado-reliefs which decorated the façade of the main gateway of Euyuk Alaja in north-west Cappadocia. Foundations of a gate or other structure, differently orientated, underlie this. Since sculptures of more developed style have been found decorating other parts of the gateway, the frontal slabs *in situ* may be assumed to be older than its present state, and to have been taken from that underlying building and re-used. As reset, they seem to have formed a double dado, for some slabs of a lower tier were brought to light in 1907, and others subsequently. Thus we have two stages of Hittite art represented, the one by the frontal dados, the other by the inner sculptures, of which the best preserved block shows a lion and ram, in the half-round, and of a fully developed archaic art. Probably the famous pairs of lion-

sphinxes, which flank the two portals of the gateway, with the still more famous relief upon one of them, which shows a draped figure standing on a double eagle, belong also to the second stage. Like the eagle, which is derived from the blazon of Lagash, these sphinxes (whatever be the ultimate origin of the sphinx idea) proclaim, by their attitude, style and details of treatment, immediate affinity, not with Egypt, but with Mesopotamia.

The dado-slabs of the façade represent an art which owed something to the Sumerian; but even in this early stage it is sufficiently removed from that parent to suggest that it has been derived through some secondary medium. While this may well have been an early Sumero-Mitannian culture of Ashur, it cannot have been such Assyrian art as that of the Second or New Empire. The other parent must be sought in Inner Asia. However derived, Hattic art quickly achieved independence; for its earliest products, as illustrated at Euyuk, are marked by conspicuous individuality of treatment. Whatever it borrowed it transmuted to express distinctively local ideas. The ritual scenes represented, the details of dress, attributes, cult-furniture and accessories, belong to none but Hittite society. The earliest reliefs are executed in a single plane, which returns to the ground of the stone at an acute angle, hardly softened by any bevelling of edges; that is to say, no attempt is made to suggest anything behind the superficial silhouette. An effect results like that of *appliqué* work. This feature of execution, which distinguishes early Hittite glyptic intaglio as well as relief-sculpture, did not go wholly out of fashion till far on in neo-Hattic times. The human physiognomy represented is a peculiar one, which is reproduced both in Egyptian portrayals of Hatti encountered by the Pharaohs and also, though less pure, in the most primitive Hittite sculptures that have come to light in north Syria and north Central Mesopotamia. Cappadocian Hatti and their gods are shown with full hairless jowls, with inordinately long noses continuing the line of a rapidly-receding forehead, and with pointed brachycephalic skulls.

Subsequent to the style of these early Euyuk reliefs, with which, perhaps, a somewhat more elaborated dado-block found at Yarreh, in the Sangarius valley, might be grouped (but it is doubtless later), we find examples of two styles showing progressive artistic development. The second style is exemplified by the later Euyuk sculptures, and also by the decoration of the Yasili Kaia shrine which, as stated in vol. II, p. 270 *sq.*, is to be dated, by comparison with sealings on tablets, to the fourteenth—

thirteenth century B.C.—the period of full Hattic empire. A third and last Cappadocian style has left us a fine gate-sculpture at Boghaz Keui in true and very high relief, representing the Hattic War-god (not an 'Amazon,' as a Berlin bronze figurine, which shows similarly accentuated breasts, sufficiently proves). It must fall very late in the thirteenth century, and be a monument of the last years of the Hattic empire.

The early Euyuk sculptures can hardly, therefore, be dated after the middle of the fourteenth century; but how much older may they be than that? The artistic advance made by the Yasili Kaia style is not so considerable as necessarily to have required any long lapse of time; and the extant monuments of the earlier style, for their part, do not look like the first efforts of an art. While human figures are naïvely conceived, animals are represented with a freedom which bespeaks previous practice and some study of living models—such study as superstition often denied to the human figure. Moreover, much expert knowledge and more tradition are evinced in the schematic grouping of the elements of the subjects; one needs to look only at the slabs which show archers hunting a boar and stags to be convinced that discovery will some day reveal Hittite sculptures more primitive. If, then, the earliest Euyuk monuments precede Yasili Kaia by a generation or two, but hardly more, the beginning of the fourteenth century must be their upper limit of date; and another century, or not more than a generation or two, may be allowed for the development of their art out of the first local efforts of sculptors, inspired by some tradition transmitted directly or indirectly from Sumerian work.

If this dating of Euyuk seem altogether too low to those who are inclined, on the evidence of cuneiform archives, to presume a much greater antiquity for the Hattic civilization, they may be invited to consider the evidence for the Cappadocian use of the Hittite pictographic or 'hieroglyphic' script. Of this there is no trace on any sculptured monument at Euyuk and none on any stone on that site except one detached block which seems to have borne a few script characters in relief. Since the symbols on the upper part of the Yarreh block also are perished beyond recognition, the most primitive examples of hieroglyphic characters available for study, not only in Cappadocia but anywhere in Asia Minor, accompany the Fraktin rock-relief, some figures or groups at Yasili Kaia, the Kara Bel figures and, perhaps, the 'Niobe' near Manisa—the symbols on the last two monuments, as also on Nishan Tash at Boghaz Keui, being too much weathered to be of

service. Others of early appearance are to be seen on the Kolitoghlu Yaila (Tyriaeum) block and on certain stones from Emir Ghazi (both places lie outside Cappadocia), but these are not associated with sculpture. Now, on the Fraktin relief, the characters carved have the most primitive forms imaginable; yet that relief is beyond question not earlier than the Euyuk dados, but rather of the Second Style of Cappadocian sculpture, though probably almost as early as the Yarreh block. Thus the available evidence leaves us with the most primitive example of the script —an example than which a more primitive is hardly conceivable —carved on a monument not older in all probability than the fourteenth century B.C.

It is, however, well known that long before that century Cappadocia knew and used another system of writing, the cuneiform; and further, that this use was continued and developed by the Hattic monarchy of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. The facts, therefore, pose a twofold problem. Why and how did a 'hieroglyphic' script come to be introduced by Hatti thus late into a cuneiform-using country? and why and how was it that they used it so little? For it appears on less than a dozen monuments all told that have any good claim to be Hattic, and upon these its use is limited to the shortest of legends. At the same time the possibility that less-enduring vehicles of it have perished, or not yet been discovered, must not be lost sight of, especially since it has been found at Boghaz Keui and Carchemish used for *graffiti* on the shoulders of earthenware pots. It seems insufficient to conjecture that a cuneiform-writing people, on attaining independence or domination, deliberately invented, under a national impulse, a new script for monumental use alone. It is far more probable that rude warriors, equipped with no better means of written expression than pictographs derived from early Sumerian forms (of these some recently discovered tablets have shown us linear examples), brought them into Cappadocia when they first broke in on its cuneiform-using natives; and that, finding, as empire developed, their pictograph-hieroglyphs, which they continued to keep in monumental use, inadequate for political and domestic needs, the warriors enlisted scribes of the conquered peoples to conduct correspondence and keep records in the older and more convenient script, even as the Ottoman Turks, whom in certain other respects the Hatti often bring to mind, have used Armenian and Greek subjects. Such a practice, which naturally would have limited the use and retarded the development of the Hattic script proper, would account for the very small proportion of known

Hittite inscriptions, which belong to the period of Hattic empire or have come to light in the Hattic homeland.

If, then, the Hatti attained comparatively late to those fruits of settled order, a native art and a native script, must we assume a long antecedent history of unsettlement and disorder in their historic home? Probably not; but each man's answer will be affected by the measure of confidence or distrust that he attaches to the published decipherments and translations of 'Kanesian' records from the Boghaz Keui archives. In any case it is to be noted that one leading decipherer of these records finds only eleven kings before Shubbiluliuma's successor, and, therefore, places Tlabarnash or Labarnash, the supposed founder of the Cappadocian Hattic dynasty (vol. II, p. 698), not earlier than the sixteenth century; and that there is no good evidence for Hatti in Cappadocia before that date, though a century or two may be allowed for the process of their settlement. No Semitic document of the region (see vol. II, p. 257) mentions them as a people, nor does the 'Legend' of the Cappadocian expedition of Sargon of Agadé, of which a fragment was found at Tell el-Amarna (vol. I, p. 406).

At present it looks as though, during the third millennium and the first part of the second, the Semitized Cappadocian folk, who read and wrote cuneiform, and maintained intimate relations, commercial and probably also political, with Mesopotamia, had yet to become acquainted with Hatti in their midst. If this were so, most of the earlier history of the Hatti must have been enacted in some other region or regions; and there, rather than in Cappadocia, they must have received their first impulse to culture. But where in the Near East did this happen? Possibly in the Caucasus or Upper Armenia, as some argue from the characteristics of mountaineers that the historic Hatti betray and from their early possession of iron. These appeal for support to an early Caucasian art, derived in some measure from the Sumerian, and capable of having implanted in rude emigrants a fecund germ. But seeing that in much closer proximity to the Sumero-Babylonian area—in north Central Mesopotamia and northern Syria —evidence exists of an independent Hittite culture indirectly inspired by the Sumerian (see p. 156 *sq.*), one is inclined to suggest the south rather than the north for the earlier Hattic homeland; and to connect the retreat of the historic Hittite invasion which, in the eighteenth century B.C., ended the First Babylonian Dynasty, with the appearance of Hatti in the north. That early sojourn of Hatti in Babylon may well have encouraged their rudimentary art and letters; and their ejectment have given the first

impulse to a part of them to a northward migration which, doubtless with many stages and halts, *e.g.* in Hani (*i.e.* Mitanni?), where they deposited the Marduk statue that they had carried off (vol. I, p. 562), ultimately landed them in eastern Asia Minor. Such a Hattic Odyssey would have anticipated the course and history of Turki irruptions into the same region in after times. This theory, however, if or when it be proved, would but push the unknown a stage further back, leaving an earlier home of the Hittites and the first nursery of their art still lost in the heart of Asia.

II. HATTIC SOCIETY

The Cappadocian Hatti, at whatever date they first appeared, enter written history as, by at latest the fifteenth century B.C., a settled monarchical society, possessed of a civilization far from inconsiderable according to the standard of that age. Their art, from first to last, suggests a stolid warlike folk, largely self-educated and newly promoted to culture (the impression created by all that we know of Hattic history and remains being something like that left by the medieval Scots, rude vigorous fighters who gradually civilized themselves by preying upon elder civilizations). Hattic art is portentously heavy, solemn, and, while markedly independent and inventive, conventional. If it reflects faithfully the society which created it, this must have consisted of very dour uplanders. One can well believe that, when subsequently the Hatti pushed into the trans-Tauric lowlands in virtue of their native vigour and, probably, their use of iron weapons, and came into contact with Egypt and Mesopotamia, they were at some loss how to govern, and were constrained more and more to resort for secretarial and other bureaucratic services to more advanced peoples whom they had subdued, whether in Cappadocia itself or in Syria. Both the Hattushil-Ramses treaty, and the subsequent action of the Hattic king in taking personal conduct of his daughter to Pharaoh, betray, according to immemorial oriental usages, a consciousness of inferiority despite the established success of Hattic arms (vol. II, p. 265 *sq.*, cf. *ib.* p. 150 *sq.*). One might compare the attitude of Macedonian conquerors towards Athens. If in communications with the Kassite monarchy of Babylon—itself of comparatively recent institution and, to judge by the paucity of its remains, of relatively indifferent culture—the Hattic king expressed himself with more assurance, he clearly used also no little circumspection.

According to the published translations of a Hattic Code of

the thirteenth century (see vol. II, p. 269), some Cappadocian king lifted social laws wholesale from Babylon. So wholesale indeed is this borrowing that it would be rash to assume that the actual level of social organization in Cappadocia was, at that time, at all on a par with that Code's provisions. What we have is a foreign law, or perhaps only project of law, imposed, or about to be imposed, on a people of lower social development. It offers little warrant for presuming that such advanced ideas as distinction between premeditated and unpremeditated crime, or substitution, wherever possible, of a monetary fine for the death penalty, or inalienable rights of women and slaves, or condemnation of certain sexual acts as being against nature, were realized in the Hattic civilization of the fourteenth century. Nor, again, is there adequate reason for crediting the Cappadocian Hatti with any considerable knowledge of the arts and uses of commerce. They certainly knew, possessed and could work several metals, notably silver, bronze and iron; but whether mined by themselves or by others we do not know.

So far as the German excavation of Boghaz Keui was directed to other objects than cuneiform tablets, it revealed little sign of any but very simple social apparatus. The enclosed site is spacious as early fortresses go, but in a bleak and ill-watered situation. Its fortifications are massive constructions, imposing enough by their bulk and megalithic methods to be quite worthy of an imperial city; but the remains of religious and palatial buildings, while illustrating considerable skill in masonry, have yielded little evidence of artistic refinement or any sort of luxurious furnishing. They suggest in these respects a life much ruder than was led in contemporary Thebes or Babylon. It must be remembered, however, that tombs, which would have informed us better on domestic matters than can a rocky denuded town site, were not found. The only early Cappadocian graves of which anything is known are some at Kara Euyuk (Kültepe), south of the Halys, the possible site of Kanes, which we have no reason to regard as a seat of the Hatti. The cremation custom illustrated by its burials may have been proper only to older Semitized aborigines.

Religious beliefs and practices of Hattic society in its imperial period are obscure matters. Notwithstanding the plurality of deities, either represented in the shrine at Yasili Kaia, or called to witness Hattic treaties, the cult of the Hatti themselves need not have been polytheist or even dualist; for though a Nature-goddess seems to have had equal honour with a Sun-god, she was the patroness of another city, Arinna, adopted, perhaps, for

politic reasons by the Hatti (vol. II, pp. 270 *sq.*, 350 *sq.*), and she is of a type found almost everywhere in Asia Minor. Doubtless her cult in Cappadocia was of very ancient local origin, and long antedated the Hattic settlement. In the Hattic society of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries she probably represented an indigenous Cappadocian element. If this were so, then the Hattic deity proper was the Sun-god. He advances at Yasili Kaia behind the goddess of Arinna. A suggestion was made long ago, but is now somewhat discredited, that this whole scene is concerned with the formal union of the deities of a conquering and a conquered people, and that the Yasili Kaia shrine is to be regarded as a chapel of reconciliation. Others hold that it perpetuated, year by year, the sacred marriage of sky and earth which brings the spring. Much depends on the identification of the figures at the heads of the two confronted processions. Those on the right, which stand on wild animals, must be deities; but the leaders on the left, who stand on human supports or mountain peaks, need not be so, though they bring in their train winged and other divine beings. It is, perhaps, more likely that the leader is the Hattic king, attired like his god, and that among his followers are gods of conquered cities. If so, the scene represents a triumph —a returned conqueror presenting himself and his conquests to the deities of his home. As for other divine personages who make up what has been called 'the Hittite pantheon,' they were almost certainly local deities of other cities and districts federated or subject to the Hatti, and they could have been recognized by the head of the League without prejudice to its own fundamental henotheism.

Elsewhere the Hattic god appears (*e.g.* at Kara Bel, near Smyrna) as a warrior armed with sword, bow and long spear; or, in the south country (*e.g.* at Malatia and in many neo-Hattic representations of Syria and Mesopotamia) he stands in the act of striking on a bull. Evidently he came to be assimilated to Hadad of the Semites and Teshub of the Mitanni; we may compare also the Egyptian Sutekh (vol. II, pp. 348, 351). What his appellation was in the earlier Hattic society of Cappadocia is not known. Possibly it was Tarku, or some similar form: but our evidence points rather to this name having belonged to the local god of other societies than the Hattic. The conservatism of Anatolian cult-usage will go far to justify an assumption that the historical eunuch-priesthood of Cappadocia dates back to Hattic times; but in view of the prevalence of a hairless fleshy physiognomy in representations of Hatti, whether warriors or not, no

good argument for hieratic castration can be based on the aspect of their priests.

As for ritual apparatus and cult-attributes, some evidence can be derived from the monuments. These sometimes represent the deity, and perhaps also the deified dead, at a ritual repast, to which the worshipper contributes by libation. A very singular form of table-altar, whose stem suggests the lower half of a figure draped from waist downwards, sometimes appears before the deity. It carries an object atop which the bad preservation of the sculpture seldom allows us to identify with certainty; but sometimes it is, clearly, a bird—an attribute common to many Near Eastern cults. In other representations the table-altar is supported by legs crossed camp-stool wise. Various offerings are borne by those approaching the deity, and music evidently was an adjunct of ceremonies.

An art which showed such manifest initiative and individuality as the Cappadocian Hattic may safely be presumed to have reproduced (so far as it represented scenes of ordinary life) the real aspect of the society of its locality and period, or at any rate, the aspect of the governing class. We may picture its men in pointed or round caps, short bordered tunics falling in a point before and behind, and tiptilted shoes like those of an Albanian hillman. Women and certain priests, possibly eunuchs, wore long robes, and some priestesses, mitres of 'mural crown' form (more usually the great Goddess herself wears a hood drawn forward). These features of dress will be found to be maintained, by religious conservatism, in the representations of deities long after the fall of the Hattic empire; but not in those of mortals.

III. SOUTHERN HITTITE ART: ZENJIRLI

It was said, earlier in this chapter, that evidence of an independent but not necessarily contemporaneous Hittite offshoot from the aboriginal cultural stem is offered by southern regions outside Cappadocia. This evidence has been furnished chiefly by excavations conducted at Tell Khalaf, near the source of the Khabur, in mid-north Mesopotamia; and at Zenjirli (Samāl), Sakjegeuzi and Jerablus (Carchemish), in the northern part of Syria. On the Mesopotamian site were found rudely sculptured dado-blocks, said by their discoverer to have been reused in a structure of later date, and now, for the most part, owing to a chance of war, in the British Museum. While other blocks of later style show brief cuneiform legends, none bears any Hittite

inscription; but the Hittite character of their rude art is none the less obvious. From Sakjegeuzi a series of slabs of much more developed art, representing a hunting scene, was conveyed to Berlin in the last century after long lying partially exposed. At Zenjirli scientific excavation, begun in the 'nineties and continued in the present century on behalf of the Berlin Oriental Society, has laid bare dado-slabs and other sculptures of Hittite style. The most primitive-seeming of these represent a stage of art distinctly earlier than the Sakjegeuzi slabs; the others, examples of a somewhat more developed work, show significant innovations. The earliest sculptures on all these sites betray the same parents as the Euyuk reliefs, namely Sumerian art, transmitted by some medium, and an art of Inner Asia. But, since in some respects they differ considerably, it will be well to consider each site separately.

On the series of slabs from the South Gate of the town at Zenjirli the human male type represented is not unlike the beardless men of Euyuk; but neither is it absolutely the same, nor are the general style, details of human dress, and treatment of animal forms such as could be mistaken for Cappadocian Hattic. On the other hand, by many details (*e.g.* treatment of lion paws) and by the character of the subjects, these reliefs fall into the Hittite class. On another series of dado-slabs from the Citadel Gate, of later, but not very much later, date, male figures of Hattic profile wear beards; and while the Cappadocian (originally Chaldaean?) pigtail, tip-tilted shoe, and conical mitre or skull-cap persist, the short tunic, when worn, is bordered or fringed and does not fall in points before and behind. This second series, however, is too near in style to two statues found on the site (the later is dated to about 800 B.C. by a Semitic dedication) for its period to be reckoned earlier than theirs by more than about a century; and since the first series cannot reasonably be divided from the second by a much longer interval, we have to consider a date for the most primitive—the most Hittite—of the Zenjirli dado sculptures, which is hardly before 1000 B.C.—a date, that is to say, divided from that of the Cappadocian First Hattic style by some four hundred years. Yet, while abundance of later sculpture was found at Zenjirli—latest examples, executed after the Assyrian occupation, about 740 B.C., becoming so contaminated by North Semitic style and features as to lose much of their distinctively Hittite character—none was found certainly, or even probably, earlier than the South Gate dados. The rudest of the Gate lions need be referred to no older date, nor need the

earliest Palace of '*khilani*' type or the earliest works of fortification. The mass of the smaller objects found by the excavators in the Zenjirli soil has never been published. It is, therefore, not possible to use the evidence of pottery, etc., for dating the beginnings of culture on that site; but certainly it looks as if no social condition that can fairly be called civilized prevailed there before the twelfth century.

This inference is supported by the more meticulously excavated —or more conscientiously published—site at Sakjegeuzi, some twenty miles to the east. Its monumental history seems to have been exactly parallel, period for period, with that of Zenjirli; but before the earliest of its sculptures, pottery gives evidence of long habitation by a society using a culture derived from the earliest Sumerian, but of much ruder achievement and not, by any distinctive feature, Hittite. Tell Khalaf shows sculptures of ruder style and execution than any at Zenjirli; but their primitive features are the result, without doubt, not of superior antiquity, but of the barbarian ineptitude of remote copyists. They must rank, as regards date, with the reliefs from the Town Gate at Zenjirli.

In view of this dating, one cannot suppose the art of Euyuk and Boghaz Keui to have been the immediate parent or inspirer of Hittite culture on any of those three sites. Had the impulse been given by Cappadocia, during the imperial expansion of the Hatti, we should have found at Zenjirli examples not only of the second Cappadocian style, but also of the Cappadocian script. As it is, both the style and the script in question make complete default. Though the local use of Semitic script shows Hittite tradition by its choice of relieved characters in more than one of the Zenjirli texts, not a scrap of Hittite writing has come to light on any one of the three sites just described—a fact, which, if the scale on which Zenjirli has been excavated be considered, tells strongly against the Hittite script having been used by their societies after they had attained to settled civilization. These societies, to judge by their monuments, spoke and wrote Semitic tongues and were predominantly of Semitic race. The Zenjirli society must have been mainly Aramaean; and it is more than probable that the other two also resulted chiefly from the ultimate settlement of that great Aramaean wave of migration, which, as we know from Assyrian records, was flowing over north Mesopotamia into north Syria in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. Historical questions, which these data suggest, had best stand over till the evidence of a more important site—that of

Carchemish—has been called to assist. As regards the problem raised by the use of the North Semitic alphabet at Zenjirli, see below (pp. 420, 425). But a few words may be said here on the general character of the Aramaeo-Hittite civilization which prevailed there.

Its princes lived in a circular town whose walls enclosed a small, low hillock standing out of marsh. Their palaces occupied a fortified citadel, irregularly oval. The living chambers, opening off a hypaethral courtyard, were arranged in a self-contained block, laid out on a scheme which Assyrians called 'a *khilani* according to the Hatti' (cf. p. 40). Though this plan has been found at Zenjirli and also at Sakjegeuzi, no such building has been observed in Cappadocia. The scheme implies an oblong stone structure, which was entered in the centre of one of its long sides through a pillared gateway giving access to a narrow ante-room with a small chamber at either end, and beyond this to the main hall, bordered at the back and one side by a range of small rooms, including a bath chamber. It is a simple compact scheme such as might well have originated in the chieftain's booth of a nomadic tribe. Citadel and town, in both of which domestic structures were built of brick imposed on foundation and ground courses of masonry, were defended by massive stone walls, built dry, and pierced by double gateways planned as in Cappadocia—that is, they were flanked by projecting towers on the inner and outer faces, the salient being much the greatest on the latter face, and between the outer and the inner portals was enclosed an oblong hypaethral court. This arrangement is not found in Assyria. Stone lions kept guard at the portals, and the internal walls might be ornamented with orthostatic reliefs set dado-fashion.

What state and style the prince maintained within his fortress, with what apparatus of life his household was equipped, the publication of Zenjirli, for a reason given already, fails to inform us. Still less do we know how the common folk lived in the lower town. At a late period the citadel wall was lined, round part of its circuit, with a series of small parallel chambers which the excavators call casemates; but we are not told if anything found in them revealed that their use was similar to that of the ring of chambers round the Lower Temple at Boghaz Keui.

IV. CARCHEMISH

In considering the cultural remains of north-western Syria we have thus far neglected the most important, those at Carchemish.

The reason is that these remains suggest a history differing in important respects from that of the other sites. The Bronze Age culture of the town and neighbourhood, which is abundantly illustrated by tombs on the Acropolis, cemeteries in the plain, and floor-deposits, shows from first to last none of the features that properly characterize Hittite culture. Whether by its ceramic or its glyptic art, or again by its apparatus of daily life, it recalls entirely the south Mesopotamian cycle. Not long, however, before the close of the second millennium, it was replaced abruptly by a culture not merely Hittite, but, in important respects, Hattic, whose introduction seems to date from a destructive invasion which ruined the pre-existing town, and was followed by rebuilding upon not only the Acropolis hill but a large semicircular area below. The pottery, immediately underlying the new foundations and afterwards characteristic of the restored city and its cemeteries, is wholly different from preceding ceramics. Iron replaces bronze. The method of burial has been changed from inhumation to cremation. Objects very similar to Cypriote products of the Early Iron Age make their appearance. Local glyptic art, previously almost indistinguishable from Sumero-Babylonian, takes on distinctively Cappadocian characteristics; and plastic monuments of comparatively advanced, but impure, Hattic style begin. The society had evidently received some strong alien infusion which stimulated it to cultural advance *per saltum*.

Hattic colour is pronounced from the first. The hieroglyphic relieved script appears at once with the forms of its characters developed and their arrangement and spacing much improved in comparison with prior Anatolian examples. It is used freely for long texts disposed in several registers; and an incised linear reduction of the pictographic characters, evolved through a stage of sunk relief, whether or not after an interval or where originated we have no means yet of determining, makes its appearance and quickly becomes common, obviating any need of cuneiform for cursive writing. Plastic art is represented by monuments never wholly Cappadocian Hattic, but strongly reminiscent, in the conception and execution of figures and groups, of the Yasili Kaia reliefs, divine types being especially so. For example some small cloisonné images of gold, found in a cremation-grave at Carchemish, might well have been reduced from models of those reliefs. The new burial custom marked a change to what had been a Cappadocian, but not certainly a Hattic, custom. The decoration of the new pottery belongs to an Anatolian and Cypriote dark-on-light

family; but this again we do not know to have been proper to the Cappadocian Hatti.

At the same time this new culture at Carchemish, if Hattic, is so with a difference; and what distinguishes, at the outset, its sculpture from the Cappadocian Hattic is not merely evidence of artistic and stylistic development, such as some lapse of time would explain, but features of human physiognomy, hair-fashion, dress and the like. The excavation of the site, being incomplete, has unfortunately not supplied such stratification evidence as would serve to date classes of monuments independently of their style; and it is not till Assyrian influence has become strong that we get a relatively fixed point by comparison of such reliefs as line the Palace staircase with monuments of Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser III, and find ourselves in the ninth century. Thereafter down to the epoch of the destruction of the town, near the close of the seventh century, comparison with monuments at Zenjirli avails much. Up to a certain point the cultural history of the two places seems to have run on parallel lines during some centuries; in both culture was Semitized, first by infiltration of Aramaeans, then by Assyrian occupation. But though Assyrian influence appeared earlier at Carchemish (as was natural where Assyrian armies had raided a century before they reached north-west Syria, and the main Mesopotamian trade route to the West passed), neither it nor the Aramaean infiltration, which must also have begun early—since monuments prior to the Assyrian Conquest show bearded figures—succeeded in overwhelming the 'Hattism' of Carchemish. This resisted obstinately and largely with success, no doubt because Carchemish, in its capacity of a capital city, received it in greater volume at the first and had it more constantly reinforced. Of the persistence of its Hattism a sufficient proof is its conservation of the Hattic script. As has been said already, its use of this marks an advance both quantitative and qualitative on all previous use. No trace has been found on the site of script-characters so ill-formed and arranged as those on Cappadocian monuments; and by the early ninth century its lapicides had attained to very fine surface detail, arrangement and decorative effect. Subsequent decline is marked by summary treatment and crowded arrangement of characters, through which decorative effect was lost and the minuscule hieroglyphs came to look like worm-casts on the stones. Progressive decay of their artistic quality may be traced, not only at Carchemish, but also on such monuments as the Marash lion and the Ivriz reliefs.

If it is comparatively easy to trace the cultural history of Carchemish after, say, 850 B.C., and to arrange its later monuments in a due sequence, we can say little more about other classes of its monuments than that, from their innocence of Late Assyrian influence, they must certainly be earlier than that date. But by how much earlier, and which of them should be before or after the other, can hardly be determined. Such are the reliefs from the ruined Water Gate, probably the oldest; the mythological series of dado-slabs, which lined the inner hypaethral court of the 'King's Gate,' whose scenes are all of Sumero-Babylonian derivation, while their bearded figures wear Hittite shoes and often the Hittite pigtail (this hair-fashion was known earlier to Sumerian art); and the series representing a seated goddess, with long train of priestesses and attendants, in the outer Palace Court. Such, again, is a group of slabs, mostly not *in situ*, which show curiously slender human figures, with un-Hattic hair-fashion and dress, while the scenes in which they appear recall Cappadocian compositions. Finally, two negative facts are worth attention. First, that no monuments of purely Cappadocian Hattic appearance have yet been found at Carchemish. Second, that there is a like lack of sculptured monuments of very primitive appearance; that is to say, there are no examples of a local infancy of Carchemishian Hittite art. What is perhaps the earliest sculpture found—a lion-supported column base, dug out of a deep trial trench in the oldest part of the site, the Acropolis—shows a fully formed archaic style, affiliated to the south Mesopotamian, but already far removed from its parent.

The whole body of evidence agrees in suggesting that Carchemish and its district experienced, towards the close of the second millennium, invasion by iron-using men who had acquired the full Hattic culture. Probably they came from eastern Asia Minor, and may have been either actual north Cappadocian Hatti forced southwards after the fall of their empire, or more southerly inheritors of the Hattic civilization. On the other side of the Taurus, in the extreme south-east of Cappadocia, monuments found near modern Malatia show that a Hittite culture, slightly contaminated with some southern, perhaps Semitic, infusion, flourished at a time when Hattic artistic traditions were still very strong. This Melitenian art betrays some degradation of the latest Cappadocian Hattic style; and the hieroglyphic script-characters, which are carved on the monuments, mark an advance on the north Cappadocian use. On both accounts the group may reasonably be regarded as post-Hattic, if not long

posterior to 1200 B.C. On the south side of the Taurus also, at and near Marash, which lies at the mouth of a much-used pass from Malatia as well as of two easy passes from central Cappadocia, occur monuments more purely Hattic in character than any at Carchemish, and much more so than any at Zenjirli or Sakjegeuzi—monuments which may well cover a long duration of time, ranging from, perhaps, the close of Hattic empire to the decay of Hittite culture in Syria. It looks therefore as if the Tauric lands offered to survivors of the imperial Hatti a refuge whence, after some interval, a strong contingent moved on to Carchemish, either before or after that raid into Babylonia which was repulsed by Nebuchadrezzar I (p. 138). If and when such a neo-Hattic contingent seized Carchemish, it must have established itself as only a dominant minority, not greatly diminishing the subjugated native Syrian folk. For not only do we note, some centuries later, evidence of native pre-Hittite customs having survived and regaining prevalence, but we find plastic work of the new order at Carchemish showing from the first more contamination by Semitic influence than does the Melitenian.

It may be objected here that, since there is no absolute certainty about the higher limit of Hittite culture at Carchemish, it might easily be pushed back a century or so into the period previous to 1200 B.C., when the Cappadocian monarchs were holding the place as a fief, and perhaps occupying it. Thus the introduction of Hattic culture would readily be accounted for. But two counter-objections, taken together, render preferable at present the theory given above. First, that if direct Hattic influence had been exercised in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, some monuments of pure Hattic style ought to have occurred at Carchemish; second, that the pre-Assyrian classes of sculptured monuments actually found do not seem adequate to fill anything like all the centuries which would require artistic content, if the original establishment of Hattic empire had been directly responsible for introducing Hittite culture to Syria. Neither at Carchemish, nor anywhere else south of the Taurus (except, conceivably, at Marash), is there evidence of that empire having imposed its own culture during its lifetime. The scattered Hittite monuments of north Central Syria, at *e.g.* Aintab, Aleppo, Ḥamah, and Restan, as well as those distributed along the eastern bank of the Euphrates from Birejik to below Tell Aḥmar, are, none of them, of earlier appearance than classes which, at Carchemish, are to be ascribed to the tenth or the ninth century. As for the earliest Hittite art of Zenjirli—to return to that site—a comparatively late date is virtually

assured for it (p. 157), and it is not to be affiliated to Cappadocian Hattic art. Strictly speaking indeed, both there and at Sakjegeuzi we have to do with monuments not of Hittite but of Semitic culture, inspired originally by Hattic tradition. Where and how it came so to be inspired we can only guess. The Aramaean tribes, before their final settlement, probably assimilated no more culture of any sort than Bedouins do; and, if so, they can have possessed none capable of producing works of art till, at earliest, the eleventh century. Probably, too, this stage was first reached by them on the eastern side of the Euphrates. The rude sculptures of Tell Khalaf are witnesses, if not to the beginnings of Aramaean Hittite art, at least to its slow and painful development in a lean land. That it had come into being through contact with surviving Mitannian kindred of the Hatti is the most probable explanation of its genesis; and, if as has been suggested, a certain inscription found to the south of Zenjirli is in a Mitannian language expressed by Semitic characters, this Mitannian origin was not forgotten in a subsequent age. When the Aramaeans passed the Euphrates and settled down in fat territories at Zenjirli and Sakjegeuzi, they received, probably from neighbouring Marash, a fresh Hittite stimulus, and thus, in the earliest artistic fruits of their Syrian settlement, came to outstrip at once the stage in which they had left predecessors at Tell Khalaf. Such, for lack of better, must be our tentative explanation of that Hittite-Semitic blend which constituted the north Syrian civilization of the first half of the last millennium B.C.

Post-Hattic culture was developed under kinder skies than the Cappadocian and in closer relation to elder luxurious societies of the south and of the sea. Naturally, therefore, it achieved a social advance. Its remains in Syria convey a hint of amenities, to which Cappadocian society had remained strange. The portentous ugliness of the northern monuments is relieved by more gracious types, human and divine; and scenes of festivity become frequent. Such are the musical concerts, and the children at play on the dado of the 'King's Gate' at Carchemish. Some sweetness and light have been introduced into the dour culture of the earlier Hatti, the introduction being, no doubt, due to the racial mixture. But, however numerous the Aramaeans who filtered into north Syria, its population, particularly in the riverain strip, continued to be called Hattic by the Assyrians, so long as these exercised domination west of the Euphrates.

Beyond a general impression of the culture of Carchemish one may hardly go, while no document of its Hittite period found on

the site, except a very few fragments of cuneiform, can be read. We know the place to have been a great focus of trade both before the coming of the neo-Hatti and after its subjection to Assyria. That, on that account, it had been important in even earlier days is suggested by the fact that a Babylonian measure of weight took its name from it. Assyria kept officials there, one of whom, Akhi-ilai, is named as eponym on a contract of Natan-yau (Nethaniah) of Gezer, *c.* 650 B.C.

As to the religious practice of Carchemish, the monuments indicate that the neo-Hatti brought down with them both the Hattic Sun-god and the Cappadocian Goddess; but that the former soon took on the similitude and attributes of the Semitic Sun-god, and, with the ever-increasing Semitization of the place, came to be indistinguishable from Hadad of Zenjirli. By what name he may have been called at Carchemish we do not know; but it is unlikely that he was the Mitannian Teshub, who should belong to an earlier period and a disappearing cult. By the ninth century the religious iconography became conspicuously Semitic.

There have not been found at Carchemish, as at Boghaz Keui, archives of a Foreign Office, or any written documents at all, whose contents throw light on the society of the place. Assyrian records, however, make it clear that here no question of 'empire' affected daily life. Carchemish was but one—though probably the richest—of several small Syrian states, which concluded, on occasion, alliances with one another or with states of south-eastern Asia Minor, but maintained no permanent federation. It was doubtless because of a commercial rather than a political connection that cultural relations with Cyprus have left so plain a mark on its products; but it was not the chief buyer and seller in this commerce, but rather a transmitter; for there is good evidence of Cypriote intercourse, late in the second millennium, with a point much farther on into Asia, namely, the city of Ashur. Penetration by Phoenician influence becomes evident in the seventh century; but not that of the Greek communities before the sixth, when Carchemish had fallen to low estate, and any culture that could be regarded as distinctively Hittite had been submerged by the ever-flowing tide of Semitism.

V. OTHER SITES

About the Hittite culture of other societies, whether south or north of the Taurus, there is little to say, no excavation having been conducted on any site within their borders. What digging

has been done on the site of Ḳadesh (Tell Nebi Mend), at the southern end of the Lake of Ḥomṣ, is negative in its results, indicating that the place lay beyond the area of Hittite culture. But, as far south as Hamah and Restan, Hittite culture must be presumed to have spread by the ninth, or at latest the eighth, century. This is said not because a king of Hamath, named Yaubidi, is called 'of the Khatti' by Sargon—for his is no Hattic name—but because of the occurrence of Hittite inscribed monuments at both places, and a promise of more from the great flat-topped mound of Ḥamah. But it must be remembered that those two sites lie on a great international route up the Orontes valley, and that a culture, which penetrated thither from the north, is not likely to have spread laterally in steppe and desert areas up to anything like the same parallel. Aleppo on the one hand and Antioch on the other are the probable southward limits of the general diffusion of Hittite culture in Syria. It threw forward no more than outposts down the central road towards Palestine.

North of the Taurus, post-Hattic culture is not better known than in those southern societies; and hardly more can be said of it than has been said already. Besides the state of Milid (Melitene), the only Hittite political organization of the later period in that region, whose remains are such as to excite lively curiosity, is the Mushkian of the Tyanitis. This society evidently maintained cultural relations with north Syria not less close than we know its political relations to have been at one epoch—the last part of the eighth century: and there can be little doubt that thence it derived its post-Hattic art and script. Three of the Tyanean monuments—those of Ivriz and Bor, which, on comparative evidence from Zenjirli, should all be placed in the ninth century—suggest a royalty which maintained pomp and luxury: a fourth, by its proximity to the rich silver-lead deposits of Bulgar Maden, indicates whence some of the wealth of that royalty may have been derived. That the Mushkian state grew into a stable power with considerable capacity of defence may be inferred both from its immunity late in the eighth century, after aiding and abetting Pisiris, king of Carchemish, to rebel against Assyria (p. 145), and also from the absence of any indication that Assyrian armies were able subsequently to deal effectually with it, though they tried once and again.

Where it excites our curiosity most keenly, however, is on another side, the north. An inscription in Phrygian script, in which the name Mita (Midas) occurs, has been found built into

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a pier of the ruined aqueduct of Roman Tyana, whose great mound has never been excavated, and may well conceal more such monuments. Far away in the north of Cappadocia, at Euyuk Alaja, have been found other inscriptions in the same script; while, at an equal distance from both of these points, to the west, in the middle basin of the Sangarius, are well-known monuments similarly inscribed (see chap. xxi, pp. 502 *sqq.*). These last are always assumed to mark the home of the Phrygian power, known to Greek tradition. Was, then, all the triangular heart of Asia Minor, which is contained by these three points, under one rule at the period of those several inscriptions—say, late in the eighth century? If so, its rulers, called Mita of the Mushki by Assyrians, must have been identical with the Midas kings of Phrygia known to the Lydians and Greeks. Was the centre of their power at Tyana or in the Sangarius basin? Or, while their winter capital was at the former place, was their summer residence in the wooded well-watered uplands of the latter? And, granted all or any of these possibilities proved (they are in fact far from being so), what about centuries before the eighth? Was the Tyanean Hittite culture with its Hattic script and Aramaeo-Hittite art spread northwards as early as the opening of the first millennium, by which date we know the Mushki to have wielded a formidable raiding power? All that can be urged yet in favour of such an hypothesis are the following considerations: that, as suggested above (p. 138), Hittite monuments round Mazaca-Caesarea offer evidence of a post-Hattic culture of Tyanean type spread up to the Halys, within moderate distance of Euyuk Alaja; that Hittite monuments, as well as Phrygian, are known in the Phrygian highland, though no search under its soil has yet been made; and that certain Phrygian sculptures, *e.g.* the two great lion-reliefs of Ayazinn, show south Mesopotamian influence similar to that shown by early post-Hattic monuments of Carchemish.

The occurrence of Phrygian inscriptions in old homes of the Hittite script, if it cannot yet be fully explained, at all events suggests the period at which Hittite culture lapsed in eastern Asia Minor, and another took its place. Presumably about the close of the eighth century an alphabetic system, brought from the north-west, dispossessed the syllabic system, which, in its incised linear form, had been in common local use. For although no examples of the Hittite linear script have been found north of the Halys, they abound in south Cappadocia and the Tyanitis—being, indeed, much more abundant there than examples of the relieved hieroglyphic script of any period. As the linear

system accompanies Tyanean sculptures whose late post-Hattic date is beyond question, we may rest assured that it continued in use up to the epoch at which the Phrygian alphabetic script appeared. It has usually been supposed that linear Hittite was peculiar both to the post-Hattic Age and to the northern half of the Hittite area. The second of these suppositions has been demonstrated false by recent exploration at and about Carchemish, where linear Hittite inscriptions have proved plentiful, among them being some of a kind apparently transitional between the relieved and incised scripts, and others which show more elaborate, and probably earlier, forms of the linear characters than any observed north of the Taurus. If the incised system was, indeed, of late origin in the Hittite world, Carchemish rather than Cappadocia should be credited with an invention, which made the Hittite script a convenient medium. But in view of remarkable analogies between elements of this system and pre-cuneiform Sumerian characters, it does not seem safe to presume it so late an invention, unless some day it should be proved that Sumerian pictographic characters were continued in use in Kassite Babylonia.

In fact, a problem of the same sort and difficulty has arisen in regard to the Hittite script as that which arises from the Sumero-Babylonian affinities of Hittite art in Syria—how to bridge the wide chronological interval which divides the latest known Sumerian monuments from the earliest known Hittite. It is a problem not yet seriously attacked by any critic, and not yet soluble for lack of sufficient examples of Babylonian work, at once post-Sumerian and pre-Assyrian, to establish any conclusion, whether positive or negative.

We stand on the threshold only of knowledge about both the origins of Hittite art and its influence upon art contemporary and later. It is clear that it cannot be explained fully by any earlier art whose products are yet familiar to us. Until, therefore, much more has been learned about the art of Mitannian Assyria and its relations to the Sumerian, and also about early art or arts of inner Asia, whose existence and quality may be inferred with certainty from the features of Siberian and South Russian products, from the characteristics of early Persian art, and to some extent from certain Chinese remains, any conclusions about the parentage of the Hattic style cannot be more than provisional or better than nebulous.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KINGDOM OF VAN (URARṬU)

I. GEOGRAPHY: THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE Vannic kingdom, which had its capital on the south-eastern shore of Lake Van, played a conspicuous part in the politics and history of western Asia in the age of the Later Assyrian Empire (see pp. 19 *sqq.*). On the one hand it checked the southward inrush of the semi-civilized tribes of the north; on the other it was for a while the mainstay and rallying-point of the nations of Armenia and eastern Asia Minor in their struggle with Assyria. In spite of Assyrian victories, it never lost its independence, and the Assyrians never obtained possession of the coveted metal-mines of the Taurus which had once been worked by Babylonians in the second millennium before our era.

The original seat of the kingdom was on the eastern and south-eastern shores of Lake Van, though conquest extended it to Lake Gökcheh (or Sewan) and Alexandropol beyond the Araxes on the north, and to the banks of the Euphrates on the west, while its armies made their way eastward as far as Rowanduz and the sources of the Zab. It thus occupied the larger part of Armenia, the frontier city on the Assyrian side being Uaisis, the modern Bitlis. Eastward, on the southern shores of Lake Urmia, were the Mannā, the Minni of the Old Testament, and the land of Parsuas; westward of them, according to Thureau-Dangin, came the petty state of Muṣaṣir, called Ardinis, 'the city of the Sun-god,' in the Vannic inscriptions, which at one time was a dependency of Van.

The Vannic kingdom was known as Urarṭu to the Assyrians and Babylonians, Ararat in Hebrew. An early Babylonian 'tourist's' map places the city of Ura-Urṭu north of Assyria, and a lexical tablet informs us that Urṭu corresponded with Tilla 'the Highlands.' In the Assyrian version of the inscription of Rusas at Topzawa, accordingly, the country is named Urṭu.

The city of Van was probably founded by Sarduris I about 840 B.C. It was, at any rate, under him that it became the capital of the kingdom. He was the builder of the citadel, which was further fortified by his successors, while his grandson, Menuas, added to it a garden-city. The site was well chosen; on the

southern side, whence attacks on the part of Assyria were to be feared, the rock on which it stood was well-nigh impregnable; on the northern side was the lake where a fleet could lie and secure a supply of provisions. The city stood in the province of Biainas or Bianas; its own name, however, was Ṭuspas, Tosp in Moses of Khorēnē and Turuspa in Assyrian. Bianas, 'the town of Bia,' written Byana by Ptolemy, is now pronounced Van.

The name, therefore, under which the kingdom and its language are generally known, is peculiarly appropriate. It commits us to no theories as to the origin or relationship of the people, and expresses the geographical facts. Moreover, most of the inscriptions recording the history of the country have been discovered in Van or its immediate neighbourhood. Another title, however, has been proposed, that of 'Khaldian,' on the ground that in the inscriptions the people are called 'the children of Khaldis,' the supreme god. The name survived, it has been urged, among the Khalybes, who are also called 'Chaldaeans,' and a mediaeval province of Khaldia extended along the coast of the Black Sea from Batum to Trebizond. But there was no connection between the Black Sea and Lake Van in the age of the inscriptions; different languages were spoken, and the territories of the Vannic kings never stretched so far to the north. On the other hand, the name of Ararat has been preserved in that of the Alarodians of Herodotus, so that, if another title is wanted in place of Vannic, Alarodian would be preferable to Khaldian.

The French scholar, Saint-Martin, as far back as 1823, drew attention to the references made by Moses of Khorēnē, the Armenian historian, to the antiquities of his country, and concluded that inscriptions as well as early architectural remains were to be found there. At his instigation, a young German, Fr. E. Schulz, was consequently sent to Armenia by the French Government in 1826, with the result that many cuneiform inscriptions were discovered in Van and its vicinity. A preliminary report of his discoveries was published by Saint-Martin in 1828; the following year Schulz was murdered at Julamerk in Kurdistan together with several Persian officers. His papers, however, were subsequently recovered, and his copies of forty-two cuneiform inscriptions published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1840. They have proved to be astonishingly accurate. Three of them (IX, X and XI) turned out to belong to the Persian period; with the exception of a short one in Assyrian, the rest were in an unknown language.

Two inscriptions in the same language were discovered soon afterwards on the bank of the Euphrates (at Isoglu and Palu) and in 1847 an attempt to read the 'Vannic' texts was made by Edward Hincks. The Persian cuneiform texts had now been practically deciphered and a beginning had been made with their Babylonian transcripts. Hincks pointed out that the forms of the characters employed at Van resembled the Assyro-Babylonian, and he succeeded in reading with fair exactitude the names of some of the kings, as well as detecting certain 'determinatives' (such as 'city') and fixing the signification of one or two words.

In 1850 Sir A. H. Layard visited Armenia and made copies of the numerous inscriptions he found there. A considerable proportion of these remained unpublished in the British Museum until they were edited by the present writer in 1882, along with squeezes of other inscriptions subsequently taken by Hormuzd Rassam. Meanwhile similar inscriptions had been found by Rawlinson and other travellers in the Rowanduz district, and additions to the collection were made by Blau, Hyvernat and many others. The exploring expeditions despatched by the Imperial Archaeological Society of Moscow added largely to the list and have been published by Nikolsky and Golénischeff, while Armenian scholars have brought some fresh texts to light. The largest and most complete collection of new texts, however, was that made by W. Belck and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt at the instance of Virchow in 1898–9. Unfortunately very few of these have been published. Belck had already discovered several inscriptions in an earlier expedition in 1891.

The task of deciphering them had been taken up by François Lenormant in 1871, and A. D. Mordtmann in 1872. Lenormant pushed the decipherment a little beyond Hincks, and Mordtmann settled the meaning of several words. But his imperfect knowledge of Assyrian prevented him from advancing further, and the problem without the help of a bilingual text was pronounced to be insuperable. In 1880, however, the French scholar, Stanislas Guyard, announced a discovery which threw a new light on the subject. This was the fact that a phrase frequently met with at the end of the inscriptions represents the imprecatory formula found in the same place in the inscriptions of Assyria. The present writer also had been working at the Vannic texts, and had independently arrived at the same conclusion, based in his case upon the interchange of phonetically written words in one text with idéographs, the meaning of which was known to us, in another.

Certain of these ideographs are 'determinatives,' determining, that is to say, the class of word to which they are attached. In this way it became possible to break up a text into its component elements, to discover and set apart the names of men, women, countries, deities, and the like, or words like 'ox,' 'sheep,' 'stone,' and so to arrive at its general sense. When once this had been done the grammatical forms could be ascertained and fixed. In several cases, moreover, a word was replaced in a parallel passage by an ideograph of which the signification was known. The net result was to show that the cuneiform system of writing must have been introduced into Armenia from Assyria in the age of the Assyrian king Ashur-naṣir-pal, and that the historical inscriptions of the Vannic kings were modelled after those of the kings of Assyria. This was a further aid to the process of decipherment, since whole sentences proved to have been translated or paraphrased from Assyrian prototypes.

In 1882 the present writer's memoir on 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van' was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In this he settled for the first time the geography and date of the inscriptions, as well as the geographical position of the Mannā who had previously been located at Van, and followed this up with a grammar and vocabulary of the newly-deciphered language and with copies of all known inscriptions along with interlinear translations, introductions and notes. Stanislas Guyard in Paris, D. H. Müller in Vienna and Patkanoff in St Petersburg sent their congratulations with numerous corrections and additions to his memoir. From this time onward fresh inscriptions came to light which the writer communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society, and eventually two bilingual (Vannic and Assyrian) texts were discovered, erected by Ispuinis at Kelishin and Rusas at Topzawa, which verified the decipherment, corrected a few details, and made important additions to our knowledge of the vocabulary. Since then Belck, Lehmann-Haupt and Nikolsky have carried on the work, more especially on its historical side.

The Vannic language is of the Asianic type, perhaps distantly related to Georgian. It displays, however, no connection with Mitannian on the one hand or with the Hittite languages on the other. After the seventh century B.C. it disappears; when Armenia again emerges into view under the Persian kings, its old language has been displaced by an Indo-European one, the proper names have also become Indo-European, including even the names of the cities. In this latter respect it differs from England after the

Saxon conquest. While, however, there has been a complete change of language, the general racial type has remained unaltered. The typical Armenian of to-day is, on the physical side, what his ancestors were in the age of the Vannic kingdom. Broad-skulled, with black hair and eyes, large and protrusive nose and somewhat retreating chin, he represents that 'Armenoid' type which extends throughout Asia Minor, embraces a section of the Jews, and is characteristic of the Hittite monuments. It is evident that the invaders who introduced the Armenian language of to-day could have been but a small caste of conquerors who have long since been absorbed by the older population of the country. Languages change readily; racial types are extraordinarily permanent.

II. EARLY HISTORY TO *c.* 720 B.C.

The very existence of the Vannic kingdom was unknown and unsuspected before the decipherment of the cuneiform texts. There are references to it in the Assyrian annals (see pp. 19 *sqq.*, 26 *sqq.*), the most important of which is Sargon's history of his campaign against Muṣaṣir, first published and translated by Thureau-Dangin (see pp. 51 *sqq.*, 56), but the greater part of our information is derived from the native monuments. These begin with inscriptions in the Assyrian language belonging to Sarduris son of Lutipris, and recording the construction of the citadel of Van with stones from the city of Alniun. He calls himself 'king of the world' and 'king of kings,' as well as 'king of Nairi,' the name under which the 'Riverland' of the north was known to the Assyrians, and we must accordingly see in him the founder of Van and the Vannic empire. In 831 B.C. he was defeated by the general of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, who entitles him king of Ararat (p. 24). A few years previously, in 859 and 855 B.C., the 'king of Ararat,'[1] who was Shalmaneser's antagonist, had been Aramē, whose capital was Arzaskun on the northern shore of Lake Van (p. 20 *sq.*). The imperial titles assumed by Sarduris, therefore, as well as his selection of a new capital, which henceforth remained the centre of the kingdom, make it probable that he was the founder of a new dynasty, Aramē having been one of the 'kings' of whom he claimed to be overlord.

The next king whose monuments are found at Van is Ispuinis, 'the establisher,' the son of Sarduris. There is no reason for thinking that this Sarduris was not identical with the son of

[1] The more familiar Ararat is used in this chapter for Urarṭu.

Lutipris; the continuity of the epigraphic and architectural monuments of Van, in fact, is against such a supposition. He introduced the use of the native language instead of Assyrian into the inscriptions; tentatively at first, however, since the record of his victories and prowess which he erected in the pass of Kelishin (between Rowanduz and Ushnei), was written in Assyrian as well as Vannic. But it was he who first established the empire and carried his arms as far east as Rowanduz and he therefore felt justified in placing his new dominion on a level with Assyria. Before his death he associated his son Menuas with himself on the throne, and the Kelishin inscription was drawn up in their joint names. In this the Assyrian title 'king of Nairi' still takes the place of the native title 'king of Biainas.' Muṣaṣir, called Ardinis, 'the city of the Sun-god,' by its Vannic conquerors, had already been annexed to the Vannic kingdom; temples were erected in it by the two Vannic sovereigns and sacrifices offered on a sumptuous scale to the supreme god Khaldis.

Menuas imitated the action of his father by associating his own son Inuspuas in the sovereignty. He seems to have been one of the ablest, and was certainly one of the most successful, of the Vannic monarchs, and the number of his monuments and the extent to which they are scattered over the country imply a long reign. Inuspuas could have been his associate only at the beginning of his reign, since an inscription ascribes the rebuilding of a ruined portion of the citadel at Van to the joint labours of Ispuinis, Inuspuas and himself, and after the death of Ispuinis the name of Inuspuas is recorded in only one other text.

Parsuas had already been attacked by Ispuinis, and Menuas now proceeded to subdue the Mannā, farther east, on the southern side of Lake Urmia. Here at Tashtepé, near Mianduāb, called Mesta by Menuas, an inscription was set up celebrating his victories. Later on in the same year he led an expedition against the Hittites in the north-west, capturing some of their cities and penetrating into the land of Alzi at the sources of the Euphrates. Before his reign was ended, he had subjugated the country of Diaus, the Dayaeni of the Assyrians, on the Murad Chai, not far from Melazgert (Menuasgert) to which he conducted a canal.

The Euphrates was made the western boundary of the empire and here at Palu Menuas engraved an inscription on the cliff recording his march through the country of the Hittites and his conquest of Milid (Malatiah, Melitene). The king of Malatiah

was made tributary and relations established with the peoples of Asia Minor which were to issue in later days in the league of the northern nations against the Assyrian menace. Northward the Vannic armies made their way to Erzerum, as is shown by an inscription of Menuas found in a neighbouring town, and the country of Etius north of the Araxes was overrun. From this time forward the district between the Araxes and Mount Ararat formed part of the Vannic kingdom.

Victories abroad were accompanied by building operations at home. Menuas was the founder of the garden-city of Van which extended to the Lake and was made possible by the construction of a large and important canal, now known as the Shamiram Su, which was cut through the rock and brought through Artemid. Other canals were cut in various parts of the country, at Bergri north-east of the Lake, at the city of Ḳera, the modern Arjish, at Melazgert and Ada, and elsewhere. Melazgert itself was rebuilt, Arjish founded, and we hear of the building or restoration of numerous temples, palaces and forts all over the kingdom.

The Assyrian king, Shamshi-Adad V (p. 26 *sq.*), states that in his second campaign his general penetrated as far as the Lake of Van, capturing on his way 200 cities belonging to Uspina. Uspina is evidently Ispuinis, and we may therefore place the accession of Menuas about 810 B.C.[1]

Argistis I, the son of Menuas, was a worthy successor of his father. The record of his campaigns is inscribed on the rock of Van, where he added largely to the fortifications of the citadel, and we may see in it the prototype of the great inscription of Darius on the rock of Behistun. Year after year the Vannic armies went forth and returned with the prisoners and spoil that were employed in the construction of the public works. Fourteen campaigns are recorded, which resulted in establishing Vannic rule in Etius and Dayaeni beyond Melazgert and the Araxes. South of that river, the country had now become an integral part of the Vannic kingdom, and the foundation of the city of Armavir by Argistis was a standing witness of the fact. The inscriptions of the Vannic conqueror are found as far north as Alexandropol and the road between Ḳars and Erzerum.

At least one campaign was directed against the Hittites and Malatiah. But it was in the east that the activities of Argistis were greatest. Here in the lands of Parsuas and the Minni (Mannā) on the shores of Lake Urmia he found himself threatened by the Assyrians, and here, accordingly, a large part of his military

[1] So Lehmann-Haupt.

operations took place. Most of the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser IV (782–772) was occupied in wars with Ararat, and the annals of Argistis show where the field of battle must have lain. Assyria was then temporarily in a decadent condition, and the rise of the new power in the north was a serious menace to it. (See p. 29 *sq.*)

Argistis I was succeeded by his son Sarduris II. Under him the Vannic kingdom or rather empire reached its furthest limits. Near Isoglu (or Izoly) he engraved an inscription on a rock overlooking the Euphrates in which he describes his invasion of Malatiah and the capture of its cities. There was as yet no league or common policy between Van and the Hittite peoples of Cappadocia. That was to come later, when the new Assyria had arisen and threatened the independence of both.

Meanwhile Sarduris could boast of his victories over Ashurnirari V, the Assyrian king (754–745 B.C.). Assyria was seething with insurrection. Ashur, the ancient capital of the country, had broken away from Nineveh along with other cities, and civil war was still intermittently raging there. Sarduris could consolidate his power in the north without hindrance, could exact tribute from the tribes beyond the Araxes and become the predominant power in northern Syria.

Then came the change. A revolution overthrew the old Assyrian dynasty, and a military dictator named Pul made himself master of the state, under the title of Tiglath-pileser III (745 B.C.). Attempts at revolt were mercilessly suppressed, the government of the country was centralized at Nineveh, and the army reorganized and made the most perfect fighting instrument in the world. A punitive expedition put a stop to Kurdish raids and the Babylonian frontier was secured. Mesopotamia was occupied by the Assyrian troops, and the Euphrates crossed with the fixed intention of annexing Syria and so gaining command of the high-road of commerce to the sea.

This brought the Assyrian armies within what had now become the Vannic sphere of influence (see p. 34 *sq.*). In 743 B.C. the clash came. Tiglath-pileser laid siege to Arpad, the key to northern Syria. Sarduris hurried at once to the rescue and along with the Syrian forces attacked the enemy. A common peril had made the northern princes forget their own rivalries and unite against the common foe under the leadership of the premier power in the north. In the train of Sarduris was his erstwhile antagonist, the king of Malatiah, as well as Kustaspi, king of Kumukh (Commagene), whom a recently discovered text, the

longest yet known, and computed by Belck to have consisted of more than 500 lines, tells us had been conquered by the Vannic king in an earlier part of his reign. But the allies were no match for the newly-trained and newly-armed forces of Tiglath-pileser; they were driven northward, and finally, near Kishtan and Khalpi in Commagene, were signally defeated and pursued as far as the bridge over the Euphrates, which marked the boundary of the Vannic kingdom. The Assyrian king claims to have captured the state carriage and chariot of Sarduris, his palanquin and royal necklace, 72,950 soldiers and an enormous spoil. From henceforward Syria was lost to Ararat.

A few years later, in 736 B.C., Tiglath-pileser determined to carry the war into Armenia itself. The Vannic forces were crushed, and city after city fell into the hands of the Assyrians and was ruthlessly destroyed. The Assyrian army eventually appeared at the gates of the capital. But Sarduris had shut himself up in his citadel which proved impregnable, and Tiglath-pileser was compelled to content himself with destroying the city at its foot, massacring its inhabitants and erecting a statue of himself in full face of his enemy's fortress. Then he ravaged the country over a space of 450 miles, and returned to Nineveh, leaving ruins and desolation behind him, while Van was rendered powerless, at all events for a time.

Sarduris must have died shortly afterwards and was followed by his 'son' Uedipris, who took the name of Rusas, written Ursa in the Assyrian texts. Such, at least, is the natural inference from the native inscriptions. But the long inscription of Sargon in which he describes the capture and sack of Muṣaṣir creates a difficulty. Here, the Assyrian monarch seems to emphasise the fact that Sarduris and Rusas belonged to different families. On his way to Muṣaṣir two of the towns he destroyed, so Sargon tells us, were 'Arbu the city of the house of his (*i.e.* Rusas') father and Riar the city of Sarduris' (line 277). After the capture of Muṣaṣir, moreover, three royal statues are described in the enumeration of the booty, one of them, it is stated, being a statue of 'Sarduris son of Ispuinis,' which was inscribed with a prayer for the continuance of his sovereignty, while another represented Rusas with his two horses and driver and 'the vainglorious' inscription: 'With my two horses and a driver my hands have obtained the sovereignty of Ararat.' The inscription, however, resembles those which Greek travellers discovered on the monuments of foreign princes, the image of Sardanapalus at Tarsus, for example, or that of the pseudo-Sesostris near Smyrna, and is

totally unlike anything we find in the Vannic texts themselves. Nor would a Vannic king have spoken of the 'sovereignty of Ararat': that was purely Assyrian. No historical inference, therefore, can be derived from the Assyrian scribe's pretended translation of the epigraph, much less the supposition that Rusas had conquered Biainas by force of arms. How little acquainted with Vannic history the scribe must have been is shown by his statement that Sarduris was the son of Ispuinis.

Nor can the assertion that Rusas and Sarduris came from different cities be pressed too far, since Sargon adds that there were seven other towns 'surrounding them inhabited by his brothers of the seed royal.' It is evident that each brother had a separate city assigned to him, but that along with Rusas and Sarduris they all alike belonged to 'the seed royal.' In other words, Sarduris had eight sons, the eldest of whom may have been Uedipris who took the name of Rusas. This assumption of a new name on mounting the throne appears to have been a fashion of the time; Tiglath-pileser was originally Pul, his successor Shalmaneser V was Ululai, and the present writer argued many years ago that Sargon had borne the name of Yarib (Hosea v, 13), while inscriptions tell us that Esarhaddon had the further name of Ashur-etil-ilani-mukin-apli. Where there was a doubt about the legitimacy of the title the adoption of the name of an earlier king, famous in history, was an attractive device, and it is possible that Uedipris was not the immediate heir of his father in the line of succession. Indeed he may have been a son by adoption or by an inferior wife.

III. LATER HISTORY, FROM *c.* 720 B.C.

The military troubles which followed the death of Tiglath-pileser enabled the Vannic kingdom to recover to a certain extent from the effects of that monarch's campaign in the north. An inscription left by Rusas on a rock overhanging Lake Gökcheh describes how he had brought into subjection twenty-three kings, 'called *ipani*' in that part of the world, in the region between Erivan and Tiflis. We learn from Sargon that he had wrenched from the Minni the district of Uisdis with its grain-cities 'which were as numberless as the stars of heaven,' though it is possible that the acquisition of this territory was part of the price paid by the Minni for assistance against Assyria. Even in northern Syria Vannic influence revived (see p. 51 *sqq.*).

But it was clear that respite from the Assyrian danger could

not last long. The Assyrian army was as formidable as ever, and it was certain that with the appearance of a strong leader and the suppression of internal disputes another assault would be made upon Armenia. Rusas, therefore, busied himself in forming a league of the northern nations along with Mita (or Midas) of the Mushki who were now the predominant power in eastern Asia Minor (see pp. 145, 166). The northern alliance, however, was ill-compacted, and Rusas and Mita do not seem to have worked heartily together. The country, moreover, was mountainous and difficult to traverse, so that intercourse and rapid action in common were by no means easy. Sargon was allowed to strike at his opponents in detail; first Carchemish, the head of the league in Syria, fell (in 717 B.C.), and so the passage over the Euphrates passed under Assyrian control. Instead of uniting, his enemies now divided their forces; while Mita headed the confederates on the western side of the Euphrates, Rusas threw all his forces into the lands of the Minni to the east. But the Minni resembled the Kurds of to-day. They had no political cohesion and their army was a rabble of bandits. Sargon had little difficulty therefore in crushing them (in 715 B.C.). Then he turned westward to Mita, and with the Syrian resources behind him drove the enemy beyond the Taurus. He was now free to attack Rusas in his stronghold at Van.

The Armenian campaign occurred in 714 B.C. The Vannic army was completely defeated in the Minnian province of Uisdis in the gorge of Mount Uaus which Thureau-Dangin identifies with Mount Sahend east of Lake Urmia. At Uskaia the Assyrian troops entered the Vannic kingdom. The relics of the Vannic forces had fled to Van along with their king, while the unarmed inhabitants found a refuge in the mountains or were massacred helplessly by the invaders. The towns and villages were burned and Sargon finally found himself at the northern point of Lake Van and so reached Uaisis (Bitlis) on the Assyrian frontier. But the fortress proved too strong to be taken, and the conqueror, after receiving the tribute of Khubushkia (the modern Sart), suddenly determined to make a forced march backwards through a country without roads to the city of Musasir where Rusas had deposited all his treasures. It was a bold determination; the place was reputed inaccessible to an invading army, and the slightest attempt at blocking the road on the part of its defenders would have meant destruction to the invaders more especially on their returning road. But Sargon trusted to the suddenness and unexpectedness of his manœuvre as well as to the disorganization of

the Vannic forces, and he knew that untold wealth awaited him if the expedition proved a success.

His account of it, which takes the form of a letter to the god Ashur, describes the stages of the march and its successful issue. Muṣaṣir was reached without opposition, its vassal kinglet, Urzana, fled, leaving his wives and family to the mercy of the conqueror. The unfortunate townspeople crowded the roofs of their houses weeping and begging their lives from the conqueror, or else crawling before him in the dust on their hands and feet. The temple of Khaldis, the god of Biainas, was demolished, and an immense spoil carried away from both temple and palace. Line after line of the inscription is occupied with an enumeration of it. Gold and silver, precious woods and stones, ivory and rich furniture, fell into the hands of the Assyrian. Among the numberless vessels of gold and silver were 'the silver cup of Rusas with its cover,' 'cups from the land of Tabal,' and silver censers from the same country. There were bronze and iron objects of all kinds and sizes, and dyed vestments of linen, including the scarlet textiles of 'Ararat and Kurkhi.' From the temple-treasury were taken talents of gold, of silver and of copper, a great sword of gold, as well as lances, bows and arrows of silver inlaid with gold, chariots of silver and 393 silver cups 'the workmanship of Assyria, Ararat and Kurkhi,' daggers of ivory and hard wood set in gold, ivory tables and baskets for holding flowers together with 139 ivory wands. The shields of gold, which hung three on either side of the temple-door were torn down from the walls, and the conquerors carried away the golden bar moulded in the form of an *abubu* or Flood-dragon, seated on a human hand, which closed the door, along with the two golden keys that were fashioned in the likeness of protecting goddesses with the Hittite tiara on their heads. Among the other spoils of the temple were twelve silver shields adorned with heads of lions and wild oxen and also the *abubu*—a curious parallel to the Flood-dragon of China—as well as the gold ring which 'confirmed the commands of Bagmastu, the wife of Khaldis' and special goddess of Muṣaṣir, and the ivory bed with silver mattress on which the divine pair were believed to lie. Images of the Vannic kings also fell into Sargon's hands, as also 'a great bowl of bronze capable of holding eighty measures of water, with its great bronze cover, which the kings of Ararat filled with wine for libations when they offered sacrifice to Khaldis.'

Sargon declares that when the news of the loss of his treasure and the captivity of his god reached the Vannic king, he was

overwhelmed by the greatness of the disaster and committed suicide by running a sword through his body (see p. 53). The statement cannot be correct if the bilingual inscription set up by Rusas at Sidikan-Topzawa belongs to a later period than the destruction of Muṣaṣir, as has been suggested. But the text of the inscription really implies the contrary. It describes the installation of Urzana as vassal king of Muṣaṣir and accordingly must belong to an earlier period in the Assyrian war. Rusas states that the Vannic troops had penetrated as far as 'the mountains of Assyria' on the north-east of the Assyrian kingdom and that on their way back to Van he had established Urzana at Muṣaṣir to keep watch upon the enemy. The installation of Urzana took place in the temple of Khaldis which was still standing.

Rusas I was probably the Rusas of the mutilated stele of Keshish Göl, near Van, which describes various public works carried out by the king, more especially the formation of a reservoir at the source of the Keshish Göl, the construction of a canal, and the creation of a new garden-city named Rusakhinas, 'the city of Rusas,' on the east side of the rock of Van with its vineyards and palace. The transference of the garden-city from its old site on the south side of the citadel was probably due to the fact that the new town was protected by the fortress of Toprak Kaleh. The canal dug by Menuas was consequently no longer serviceable, and another canal was required. It will be remembered that the lower town of Van had been destroyed by Tiglath-pileser.

Rusas I was succeeded in 714 B.C. by his son Argistis II. The capture of Muṣaṣir by Sargon and the loss of the royal treasure was a disaster from which the Vannic kingdom never recovered (p. 59). During the rest of Sargon's reign it remained quiescent so far as Assyria was concerned, and it is only after the accession of Sennacherib that we hear of it again. But Assyria had no reason to congratulate itself. In the districts south of Lake Urmia, it is true, no further trouble was to be feared, but the kingdom of Biainas had served as a buffer-state protecting Assyria from the attack of the northern hordes. And this service it was no longer strong enough to perform. Scyths (Ashguzai) and Cimmerians (Gimirrai) poured down from the north to the right and the left of the Vannic state, and the Phrygian tribes, who were eventually to become the Armenians, were already advancing from the west. The Cimmerians had now reached Lydia, since Esarhaddon associated Sapârda or Sardes with them as well as with the Scyths and Medes. (See pp. 83, 188.)

In their own immediate territory, however, the kings of Ṭuspas still maintained their authority. A letter of Sennacherib, when he was crown-prince, informs us that 'Gurānia (the modern Gurūn on the Ṭokhma-su), Nagiu, the fortresses of Ararat and the fortresses of Gamir were paying tribute to Ararat,' 'But when the men of Ararat went to Gamir they were defeated.' In Gamir we may see the name of the Cimmerians, the Gomer of the book of Genesis. Later on we hear that 'Uesi,' that is Bitlis, had been occupied by the generals of the king of Ararat—Sēteni of Ararat, Sunā of the Ukkā, Sakuatā of Ḳanium, Siblia of Alzi (on the Arsanias) and Ṭutu of Armiraliu—and a despatch from the governor of Amida (Diarbekr) to Sennacherib mentions Argistis and states that the Assyrian cities had to be carefully garrisoned up to the frontier of the Vannic kingdom.

The son and successor of Argistis was Rusas II. In an inscription discovered by Belck and Lehmann-Haupt at Adeljevas on the north side of the Lake of Van he claims to have conquered the Mushki, the Hittites and the Khaliṭu[ni] or Halizōnes, and another inscription found near Melazgert, between Erzingan and Kharput, refers to his occupation of Alzi. Among the Minni, also, his authority was recognized, according to a tablet from the son of a prince in that part of the world who had sent a number of workmen and others to Van, to assist in the building operations Rusas had undertaken at the temple of Toprak Kaleh. The Cimmerian danger was now past: they and their leader Teushpa had been defeated by Esarhaddon in Khubushkia (Sart) and driven westward into Asia Minor. But it would seem that the common peril had brought Van and Assyria together, and we find Rusas, accordingly, sending ambassadors to Ashurbanipal to congratulate him on his victory over the Elamites. A few years later, after the Arabian campaign of Ashurbanipal, another embassy arrived at the Assyrian court from Ararat, sent this time by Sarduris III, who appears to have been a son of Rusas. At all events, Ashurbanipal informs us that his 'royal fathers' had made alliance with the 'royal fathers' of the Assyrian king, which implies descent from the ancient royal house of Biainas (see also p. 118).

Another Sarduris has left a memorial of himself on the southern shore of Lake Erivan, who calls himself the son of Rapis. But he does not entitle himself king of Biainas or Ṭuspas, and is therefore probably to be regarded as some dependent prince whose territory lay in the north, and who was possibly a cadet of the royal house. On the other hand, various bronze objects—shields, libation-bowls, human-headed bulls and the model of a palace—discovered

at Toprak Kaleh, record the building activities there of a king Rusas, the son of Erimenas. The relics seem to belong to the last period of restoration or construction in the garden-city, and the present writer therefore adheres to his old belief that we must see in them the latest literary records of the Vannic kingdom that have survived. Erimenas would have been the successor of Sarduris III.

The kingdom of Ararat was still existing when Jeremiah, chapter li, was written. There the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni (i.e. Mannai) and Ashkenaz are called upon to assist the Medes in the destruction of Babylon. Cyrus the Persian has not yet loomed upon the scene; the Medes still hold the place subsequently occupied by Persia in the history of western Asia. The date of the prophecy, consequently, will be before 550 B.C.

When the curtain rises again, Biainis has become Armenia. The Vannic language has been replaced by an Indo-European one, and the cities bear new names. The war carried on by Darius against the Medic pretender was partly fought in Armenia, and Strabo tells us that the descendants of Hydarnes, one of the seven conspirators against the Magian, became kings of Armenia, and reigned there from the time of Darius Hystaspis to that of Alexander. The next cuneiform inscription to those of the old Vannic monarchs that is found there was engraved by Xerxes on the rock of Van. Over the interval which lies between them hangs the same veil of darkness as that which separates Roman Britain from the England of Christian Saxondom. All we know is that in 609 B.C., after the overthrow of Assyria by the Medes and Babylonians, the conquerors marched against the old capital of the Vannic kingdom.

IV. RELIGION AND CULTURE

The supreme god of Biainas was Khaldis, whose people and children its inhabitants believed themselves to be. Under the influence of Babylonian culture Khaldis came to be associated with two other gods, Ardinis the Sun-god and Teisbas, and so to form a trinity like that of Babylonia. Teisbas, the Tessubas (Teshub) of the Hittite monuments, was probably borrowed from abroad, and corresponded with the Hadad-Rimmon of Syria. Hittite religion was very hospitable, so long as the foreign deities who were admitted into it acknowledged the supremacy and fatherhood of Khaldis. Ishtar, for example, was introduced under the name of Saris and in the disguise of Semiramis played a

prominent part in the legends of the later Armenia. The joint kings, Ispuinis and Menuas, engraved a long inscription on the rocks of Meher-Kapussi, two miles from Van, containing a tariff of the sacrifices and offerings that were to be made to the various deities of the kingdom. Among them are the deities of conquered countries, and there are others like Ṭuspuas who, as in Asia Minor, were deified cities. Along with Selardis, the Moon, 'Water' and 'Earth' are also mentioned, from which we may gather that worship was offered to rivers and springs. The 'Khaldis-gods,' that is to say, the family of Khaldis, were very numerous; and it is therefore curious that like Ashur in Assyria no consort is assigned to him except at Muṣaṣir, where it is the foreign goddess Bagmastu. At Van itself the goddess Ishtar, in the abbreviated form Saris, was adopted into the pantheon, though she remained an independent deity, altogether outside the family of Khaldis. It is Saris who masquerades as Semiramis in the early legends of Indo-European Armenia.

The offerings naturally included wine. The vine, which is indigenous in Armenia, was the sacred tree of the country, and the planting of the vine on the part of the king was an especially solemn ceremony. But there is no trace of the sacred stone which played so large a part in the religion of Asia Minor.

The temple resembled those of Assyria. A picture of the front of the temple of Khaldis at Muṣaṣir is given in one of the bas-reliefs of the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad. On either side of the door a spear is set upright before the columns which supported the roof, and another spear forms the apex of the slanting roof itself. Right and left of the spears, two shields are suspended from the wall, while in front of the entrance are two large bronze bowls fitted into stands.

Traditions of the old gods survived into Indo-European Armenia. Moses of Khorēnē tells us how the Armenian king, Ara, 'the Beautiful,' was wooed by the Assyrian queen Semiramis. But Ara refused her offers and eventually Semiramis marched into Armenia at the head of an army to force him to accept her. A fierce battle was fought, in which Ara was slain, and the Assyrian queen flung herself on the corpse in an agony of grief calling upon the gods to restore him to life. And the story went that 'the gods Aralez' did restore him, though the Christian historian declares that this was the invention of the queen.

We hear of the gods Aralez at an earlier date, in the pages of Faustus Byzantinus, who describes the belief of the Armenians in the fourth century A.D., that the brave man who died in battle

would be restored by them to life. And at a still earlier date, in the fourth century before our era, Plato knows the name of Er the son of Armenios, who was slain in battle but returned again to life after a sojourn in the world below. It is the old story of Tammuz, the beautiful, beloved of Istar and slain by the boar, for whose sake Istar descended into Hades and brought the dead god back to the living world. The story goes back to the Sumerian age of Babylonia, and in the gods Aralez we must see the Babylonian Arallu, 'the land from whence none return.' In the Assyrian 'history' of Ctesias Ara and Aralez have become Assyrian kings, Arios and Aralios, successors of Zameis, 'the Sun-god,' known also as Ninyas 'the Ninevite,' the son of Semiramis.

Vannic art and culture were derived, like the system of writing, from Assyria, but modified on lines which remind us of Hittite Carchemish and Boghaz Keui. The buildings were mostly of stone, both dressed and undressed, many of the carefully-cut blocks being in contradistinction to Assyrian workmanship of very great size. Bricks were seldom used, and since the only brick construction found at Toprak Kaleh was of crude brick it would appear that they were employed solely in imitation of Babylonia. On the other hand, excavations in the rock were numerous, and Lehmann-Haupt observes that the rounded roof of the entrance to a rock-cut fortress of Rusas at Melazgert throws light on the architectural origin of the rock-cut tombs of the Pontic kings. Houses for the living were excavated in the rock as well as tombs for the dead. The Vannic architect was fond of building his walls with alternate rows of white and black stones after the style of the early Italian churches, and he also ornamented his floors and dados with a sort of mosaic work of small circles consisting of stones of different colours. His stone statuary was a reproduction of that of Assyria.

In metallurgy the people of Van were very expert, as might be expected from the proximity of the mineral wealth. Gold, silver, bronze, copper and iron were all in requisition. The work in bronze was especially excellent; a gryphon with inlaid eyes, discovered at Toprak Kaleh, is, for example, a first-class work of art. But, here again, the inspiration came from Assyria; the solitary human figure of bronze that has been found is as purely Assyrian as is a Vannic reproduction of the god Ashur emerging from the winged solar disk. A bronze candelabrum from Toprak Kaleh is remarkably like those of Etruria and might easily have been discovered in Italy.

Iron objects are common; the iron mines of north-eastern Asia

Minor had introduced it into that part of the world at a comparatively early period, and it is possible that the extensive replacement of bronze by iron in Assyria in the reign of Sargon was due to that monarch's northern campaigns.

The pottery of Biainas belongs to the same class as that of early Asia Minor, which we meet with again in the lower strata of Ashur and Nineveh. It is well made, and vases with handles are frequent. The commoner ware was of polished black clay, but there is a considerable amount which closely resembles the pottery found in Phrygia, and is characterized by a fine red glaze reminding us of 'Samian' ware. Wine and oil were kept in large jars with rope-patterns in relief running round their sides and their contents stated in cuneiform characters. Similar jars have been disinterred at Boghaz Keui. In some instances figures of animals in clay were attached to their rims.

The Vannic dress was that of a cold climate. The people wore buskins which reached half-way up their legs, tunics and possibly drawers, and the soldiers protected their heads with helmets, many of which had crests like the helmets of the Greeks or the Hittites of Carchemish. In fact, as far as dress, pottery and art were concerned, there was a general resemblance between the inhabitants of the Armenian plateau and those of Asia Minor throughout the period when the Vannic kingdom rose and fell. (See also pp. 19 *sqq.*)

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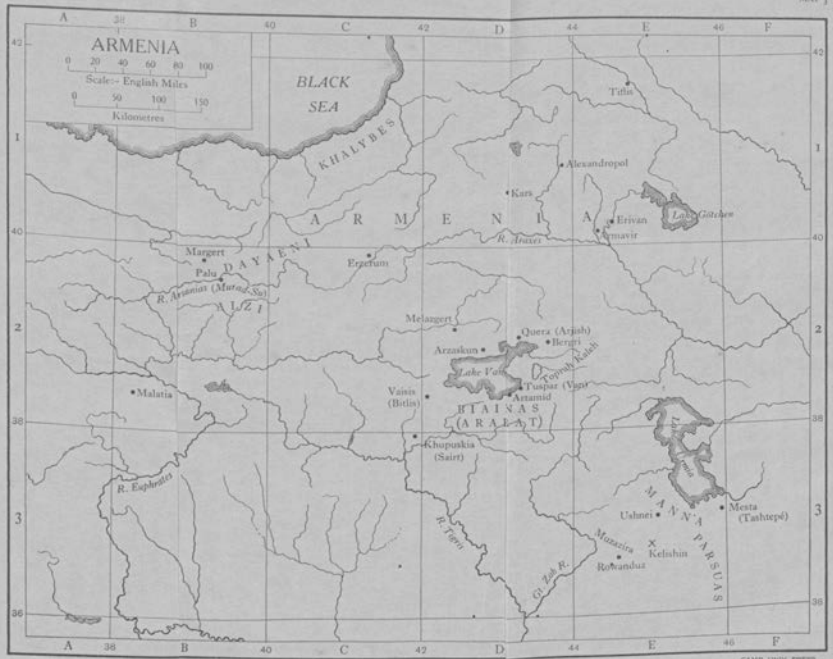

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CHAPTER IX

THE SCYTHIANS AND NORTHERN NOMADS

I. THE NOMADS IN WESTERN HISTORY

ACROSS the old world from the Carpathians to the Khingan Mountains stretches a belt or crescent of steppe and desert, touching the 50th parallel at the ends and sinking to the 36th in the middle: at one end Hungary, at the other Manchuria, form extensions beyond the limiting ranges. In the middle the Pamir, T'ien Shan and Altai mountains cut the belt in two; the way from one half to the other goes by the Gate of Dzungaria or by the more difficult passes through Ferghana.

North of this steppe-belt is a land of forest and tundra mostly inhabited by Finno-Ugrian tribes, who can scarcely be said to come into ancient history: their part has mostly been passive, to be pressed back or assimilated by their southern neighbours. The true nomads of the steppe-belt have been one of the dynamic forces of history. About a thousand B.C., when we first can form any idea of the population of this region, the part east of the T'ien Shan seems to have been inhabited by tribes of the Altaic race; Huns, Turks, Tartars, Mongols are the chief names borne by their descendants. To the west of the barrier the peoples would appear to have been Indo-European, Thracian, Iranian and the like. Both races were capable of the nomadic life, though it is only among the Altaic tribes that it still survives.

Historical information about this region can only come from its civilized southern neighbours. It begins at its eastern end in the annals of China. The Emperors Yao and Shun (2356–2208 B.C.) had to the north-west of them nomads called Hien-yün, with the same customs as are assigned to the later Hiung-nu or Huns. Under the Hia dynasty (2206–1766 B.C.) the Huns encroached upon China but were repulsed. The same thing happened again under the Chou dynasty, when the Emperor Süan drove them out (827–781 B.C.).

In Hither Asia early invasions from the north must have succeeded better: the rulers of the Kassites (1900 B.C.) and of Mitanni (1400 B.C.), bearing Indo-European names, must have northern ancestry (vol. I, pp. 311 *sq.*, 552). Tradition among the Indians and Iranians told of their having come from the north-

west and we may regard them as having passed down through the Caucasus. If Trogus Pompeius and Diodorus had any foundation for their stories of a long Scythian domination in Asia before the time of Ninus, it might be sought in the Kassite empire. We find the Medes in Media by the ninth century B.C. But the first movement from the north of which we have direct historical knowledge may well be the result of the very impulse given by the Chinese when they drove out the Huns about 800 B.C. It was recorded by Greeks, Hebrews and Assyrians.

Aristeas of Proconnesus (placed by Herodotus about 260 years before his own time, say 680 B.C.) tells how the Arimaspians attacked their western neighbours the Issedones and drove them upon the Scythians. Herodotus says that it was the Massagetae who directly attacked the latter; in any case the Scythians pressed upon the Cimmerians and made them leave their land along the north coast of the Euxine and force their way through the Caucasus—no doubt the central pass of Darial is intended. They themselves followed in their track but took the eastern pass of Derbend. Accordingly, the Cimmerians came up against the kingdom of Urarṭu round about Lake Van and the Scythians into the land of Man farther east about Lake Urmia.

The appearance of Gimirrai (Cimmerians) south of the Caucasus can be dated by letters of Assyrian governors at the end of Sargon's reign (722–705 B.C., see pp. 53, 181), this gives about a century for the impulse to arrive from the borders of China: the analogous movement started by the building of the Great Wall about 250 B.C. took much the same time to spend itself: the spread of the Mongol power in the thirteenth century A.D. was far swifter because it was not a mere impulse but a direct conquest, Batu Khan coming as far west as Poland.

Herodotus speaks as if the Scythians pressed hard after the Cimmerians, but we do not find them in Assyrian records until thirty years later, when Esarhaddon (681–669) proposes to use Bartatua, king of the Ashguzai (Scyths), against a league of Gimirrai, Sapardai, Madai (Medes) and Mannai threatening his borders towards Urarṭu. These are the biblical Gomer, Madai and Ashkenaz (Gen. x, 2, 3), Sepharad (Obad. 20), Minni and Araraṭ (Jer. li, 27). Later, Esarhaddon boasts that he has scattered the unruly northerners and their ally Ishpaka the Ashguzai; but on the whole Herodotus is right when he makes the Scyths the enemies alike of the Medes and of the Cimmerians, that is, though not disinclined to plunder Assyrian provinces, they had the same foes as Assyria. When Esarhaddon (*c.* 679) drove the

Cimmerians under Teushpa westward, the Scyths pressed them the same way. The Cimmerians flooded all Asia Minor, destroyed the Midas dynasty in Phrygia and were a great power for thirty years and more (p. 510 *sq.*). Their king, T(D)ugdamme (Strabo's Lygdamis) defeated and slew Gyges of Lydia about 652 B.C.

Ardys, the next king of Lydia, aided by the Ionians whose cities had been sacked by Tugdamme, defeated him and apparently slew him, for Ashurbanipal soon after boasts of driving his son Sandakhshatra northwards (p. 117). At the same time the Thracian Treres were also raiding in Asia Minor. Strabo says that "Madys the Cimmerian" destroyed a band of these; but as Herodotus and the Assyrians agree that Madyes son of Protothyes (Bartatua) was a Scythian, it is probable that his defeated enemies were Cimmerians. In any case, the Cimmerian dominion in Asia Minor did not last long, though they maintained themselves for many years in Sinope and Antandrus.

Meanwhile the Scythians were a great power farther east. Herodotus says that they ruled all Asia for twenty-eight years, ruled, it would seem, in this sense, that they raided as far as Egypt and that, in the struggle between the Assyrians and Mannai on one side and the Medes and Babylonians on the other, Scythian help was decisive. From the Babylonian texts recently published by Gadd and Sidney Smith it is clear that Babylon revolted as early as 625 B.C., whereas the Medes do not come in till 615, and in 614 failed against Nineveh, but took Ashur. In the following year they seem to have done nothing, but in 612 the Babylonians met the northerners and Medes, and in concert attacked and destroyed Nineveh. The defenders under Ashur-uballiṭ transferred the seat of the Assyrian kingdom to Harran and maintained themselves against the Babylonians, going down in 610 before the northerners (see above, pp. 129, 296).

The account in Herodotus reads as if the Medes had made a first attempt upon Nineveh, were attacked from the north by the Scyths, and lay under their domination for twenty-eight years, threw off this yoke, and then made a second and successful assault upon Nineveh. Diodorus speaks of a league of Medes and Babylonians throwing off their allegiance to Assyria and vainly besieging Nineveh, of a Bactrian force coming to help the Assyrians but persuaded by the rebels to join them, and of its aid turning the scale so that the Assyrians were defeated and hemmed into the city, which fell in the third year of the siege. These three accounts are combined by Gadd: the approach in 614 is the beginning of the three years of siege; the Bactrians are the

northerners at first upon the Assyrian side and preventing any attack in 613, but coming over in 612 and making all the difference to the besiegers. The Chronicle speaks of the northerners as *Umman-manda*, a general term—we are not quite justified in calling them Scyths in the narrower sense, perhaps they were Sacae really from the Bactrian side. It ends with the surviving Assyrians and the Egyptians trying to recover Harran from them. This alliance of the Egyptians with the enfeebled successors of their conqueror Ashurbanipal was doubtless due to the terror inspired in Psammetichus by the Scythian raiders to whom he had paid blackmail upon his very frontier (see p. 295). After the ruin of Assyria the Medes turned upon the Scythians, slew the greater part of them and drove the rest back to Scythia. Nothing remained of their domination but a vague legend, a festival (the *Sacaea*), and the name of Scythopolis which the Greeks gave to Beth-Shan in Palestine, now again Beisan. (See p. 146 *sq.*)

II. NOMADISM

Such is the first appearance of the nomads in Western history: with what manner of men does it deal? About their way of life we have much information, Chinese and Greek accounts of them in their natural habitat, descriptions of later tribes whose life was governed by the same conditions, and observation of modern nomads. As to the racial affinities of any particular nomad people it is exceedingly difficult to come to any decision. Their mobility and their readiness to coalesce with any successful movement produce a mixture of blood and an instability of nomenclature which make it almost impossible to determine what may be the true ethnic connotation of any particular name at any given time or place. Nomadism is a matter not of race but of environment, members of any race may take to a life dependent upon property in animals which have to wander over a large area to seek their food, and impose upon their owners the necessity of following their wanderings: the animal may be horse or camel, sheep, ox or reindeer, the man may be Semite, Turko-Tatar, Samoyed or Iranian, all nomads have something in common, and those which keep the same animals under the same conditions, even though they belong to different races, are more like each other than they are to settled kinsmen.

The nomad mode of life must not be regarded as primitive, or as a half-way house between hunting and agriculture: it is in some cases highly specialized and under favourable circumstances

demands less labour than tilling the ground. It is only under severe pressure, natural, economic or political, that the nomad consciously adopts a settled life. If he establishes himself in countries where he cannot be a nomad, it is with no idea that hard work on the land will give a steadier return for his labour, his intention is to be a ruler and to live off his subjects instead of living off his cattle. This may succeed for a limited time, but the nomad loses his mobility and sooner or later finds himself on a level with the settled population and compelled to live in the same way: that is the end of him as nomad.

Nor are the wanderings of the nomad as free as we are inclined to picture them. If a tract of steppe has no owner, it will be because it can support nothing. Every place which produces grass will belong to some tribe or other; if another tribe encroaches upon it, the rights of the first are violated and will be defended unless a contest is too unequal. This is true even of areas which only furnish pasture in the spring or after the rains, but places affording nourishment in summer and still more those giving shelter and food in winter are strictly limited and their possession precisely assigned to particular families, and these resist any encroachment to the uttermost. Still, a nomad driven from his own pastures by the expansion of a neighbouring tribe is not as helpless as a husbandman torn up from the soil in which he is rooted. He has a fair chance of finding some nomad weaker than himself whose pastures he can seize, or failing that, a nomad tribe may conquer itself an empire over the cultivated lands. It is so strong for attack against a settled state that it has a very good chance of success, though success eventually means being absorbed by the despised cultivators.

The nomad is perhaps best off when he has left the unmitigated steppe and occupied a mixed country offering besides the pasture large areas suitable for agriculture and accordingly tilled by a population ready for him to exploit without abandoning his own mode of life. This has been the case in parts of Iran and still more in south Russia. On this state of things is founded the importance of Scythia for the ancient world. Just as a heavy rent is said to be the best means of making a farm productive, so a rapacious ruling class anxious to import foreign luxuries develops production for export in an agricultural country. But this state of things is not a permanent equilibrium. The ruling class tends to lose the mobility upon which its military power depends and is exposed sometimes to an uprising of its subjects, more often to being superseded by a new horde. The change is fatal to the

old lords; likewise very disadvantageous to the subjects, and it is a series of such changes from the time of the Sarmatians to that of the Tartars which turned the steppes of southern Russia from an agricultural country fairly thickly populated but interspersed with spaces for nomads, into an empty land which had to be artificially resettled in the eighteenth century. But it is only a strong power under modern conditions that can enlarge the agricultural area at the expense of the nomadic: generally, just as the sand gains upon the fruitful country owing to man's destruction of plants for fuel and fodder, so the settled populations exposed to the nomad's incursions are steadily denuded: and in central Asia, Iran and Asia Minor we have nomads living their life where agriculture formerly throve.

III. THE SCYTHIANS OF SOUTH RUSSIA

It is in the light of these generalizations that we must consider the Scythians and neighbouring peoples in South Russia. First, as to the geographical position: Herodotus gives us two surveys differing in detail and hard to reconcile with the modern map. The general effect is that the Royal or Nomad Scyths were in the fifth century B.C. the paramount power from the Danube to the Don, with their own dwelling-place to the east of the Dnieper. To the west of that river lived tribes called Scythian but Scythian with a difference, ploughmen or husbandmen, probably Iranians. In the corners made by the coastline were non-Scythian tribes, Tyritae on the Dniester, Callipidae on the Bug, both perhaps of Thracian affinities, Tauri in the Crimea and Maeotae to the east of the Sea of Azov, more likely to be Caucasian. To the west and north the natural limit of Scythian dominion was formed by the edge of the forests, a line running E.N.E. from the Carpathians to the Volga. These sheltered Thracian (?) Agathyrsi in Transylvania, and farther west Iranian Sigynni, Neuri (possibly Slavs) in Volhynia, Finnish Androphagi and Melanchlaeni on the Desná and Oká and, apparently on the Volga, the more civilized Budini with the trading station of Gelonus. To the east of the Don ranged the Sauromatae, a rival horde of nomads akin to the Scyths and sometimes reckoned a part of them. Farther to the north-east were Thyssagetae in the lower Urals, Iyrcae, perhaps the ancestors of the Magyars, in the west Siberian steppes, beyond them Scythian colonists on the upper Irtysh. South of these about the Aral Sea were the hordes of the Massagetae, scarcely to be distinguished from the Sacae who threatened Iran.

East of these, perhaps in the Tarim Basin, lived the Issedones and beyond them the Arimaspi, almost certainly Mongols. These localizations and racial definitions are by no means universally accepted; the data are too contradictory; but they serve to give some idea of the mutual relations of the various tribes.

Herodotus gives us two entirely different accounts of the origin of the Scyths: of one account he reports two forms, one as native and the other as current among the Pontic Greeks; both agree in making the Scythians come into existence in the country called after them, about a thousand years before the invasion of Darius. In the native form Targitaus, son of Zeus by a daughter of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais and Colaxais, in whose time there fell from heaven four gold objects, a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a cup; these burned with fire when approached by the two elder brothers, but yielded themselves to Colaxais, the youngest, who accordingly was accepted as the overlord. From these brothers were descended four tribes called Auchatae, Catiari, Traspies, and Paralatae, and the real name of the whole nation was Scoloti, whereas Scyth was merely the Greek name. Colaxais divided the kingdom among his three sons, that part being chief in which the sacred gold objects were kept. In the form of the story as told by the Pontic Greeks, Heracles is father of three sons by Echidna, a monstrous woman living near the lower Borysthenes: the elder sons, Gelonus and Agathyrsus, fail to string their father's bow and make way for the third, Scythes. It is noticeable that the names in the first form nowhere recur; they seem to lend themselves to interpretation from Iranian in its Sacan form, but with the mention of the plough the tale is not particularly suitable to a nomad people and probably belongs to settled inhabitants of western Scythia. The Greeks substituted for these unknown names eponymous ancestors to fit three familiar nations of Scythia.

In the other account the nomad Scyths are newcomers forced across the Araxes (apparently the Volga, perhaps the Jaxartes) by the Issedones or Massagetae, and displacing the Cimmerians from their seats in south Russia, and to this Herodotus himself inclines. Moreover, Herodotus does not reckon the south Russian Scythians as the only Scythians, for in his chapters on the trade route going towards the north-east he speaks of migrant Scyths somewhere north-west of Lake Balkash, and further he says that what the Persians called Sacae were the same as the Scythians; now the Sacae were the nomads on the north of Persia. Sometimes Herodotus uses the word Scyth in a narrower sense of the

particular horde which bore rule in south Russia, as when he says the Scyths are quite few, that is the real Scyths. Thucydides speaks of them as the most numerous of races because, for the ordinary Greek, Scyth was anybody from the steppe region, just as for the Persian any nomad was a Saka. Perhaps the two words are the same, but it does not seem very likely, as the Assyrian form Ashguzai supports the Greek, the initial vowel being added to make pronunciation easier to Semites: the Hebrew Ashkenaz is a mistake (*n* for *w*, אשכנז for אשכוז): Scyth and Saka are each probably a tribal name spread to a whole people. It is generally agreed that this people spoke a kind of Iranian; one view would make it as distinct from Iranian as Indian, but this seems going too far. The modern survivals of the group are Ossete in the Caucasus, last remnant of the Sarmatians, and Galcha with kindred dialects in the Pamirs and to some degree Afghan. The clearest characteristic is a metathesis of Iranian mute and liquid, so that *e.g.* the root familiar in 'Tigris,' meaning 'swift,' occurs in the name of the Sarmatian queen Tirgatao, and probably in the legendary Targitaus. The Greek inscriptions of Olbia and Panticapaeum in the early centuries A.D. are full of names showing this phenomenon, and just enough older names are preserved to prove that it went back to much earlier times. We may therefore believe that from the Dniester to the Irtysh and to the upper Oxus there stretched a more or less unsettled population speaking this variety of Iranian and ready to follow the example of the earlier Indian and Iranian movements and press towards the south-east or indeed in any direction which afforded an opening.

The movement in the seventh century was ultimately a failure. The Scyths lost their dominion in Asia, though many of them must have found settlement there; districts of Armenia called Scythene and Sacasene are mentioned by Xenophon and Strabo, and the feast of the Sacaea, said to commemorate their destruction, would be as likely to commemorate their presence. A Scythian element in all the Pontic region would account for the Iranian colour of the Mithradatic empire. But if the Scythians certainly spoke an Iranian dialect, it is not clear what the Cimmerians spoke. Of the three or four names preserved Teushpa and Sandakhshatra are almost certainly Iranian, and Iranian Cimmerians would contribute to the Pontic Iranism. Also the tendency to confuse Scythians and Cimmerians would be more intelligible if they were closely akin; not only does Strabo confuse them in calling Madys a Cimmerian, but also in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription Gimirrai answers to the Persian Saka.

Against this it has been suggested that the Cimmerians are actually the conquerors who imposed a language akin to Thracian and Phrygian upon the Caucasian inhabitants of Armenia; it is not known when these Indo-European speaking Armenians arrived—some think they came with the Phrygians about the tenth century. Armenian tradition derived its Haik' kings from Gamir, used by them for Cappadocia. If the Cimmerians were Thracian it would account for the Thracian element that played a leading part in all the history of the Bosporan kingdom. The mounted barbarians represented upon the famous sarcophagus from Clazomenae in the British Museum are mostly taken to be Cimmerians, but their equipment is like nothing that we connect with the Scythian area: perhaps they are Treres from central Europe where big swords first developed.

Granted that the Scythians spoke Iranian and that Iranian nomads existed, being mentioned in Asia by Herodotus, there is still a possibility that there was among them an element from beyond the divide, an original Hunnish nucleus. This view, at one time prevalent, is now out of fashion, because the argument from similarity of customs is not very cogent, given the similarity of conditions over all the steppe area, and the argument from artistic style, the resemblances between Scythic things and those found about Minusinsk on the upper Yenisei, to which appeal has recently been made, assumes that the influence came down from north-east to south-west, whereas it is in south Russia that the earliest examples have been found and the makers of the Minusinsk bronzes were long-heads perhaps of European origin, and not in the least Hunnish. It is however difficult to disregard the evidence of the Hippocratic treatise, *Of Airs, Waters and Places*, which says that the Scyths are as different from the rest of mankind as are the Egyptians. The special points are a tendency to fatness, slackness and excess of humours, scantiness of hair on the body, and a singular mutual resemblance due to all living under the same conditions. Further, it goes on to say that the cold makes their colouring πυῤῥός, which seems to be reddish brown, the colour of fair people much exposed to the weather; specially striking is the expression 'most eunuch-like of men,' and the mention of a singular sexual indifference amounting in some of the men to actual impotence. This latter phenomenon has found a parallel among the Nogay Tartars; Herodotus mentions it and says it was due to the anger of Atargatis of Askalon when the Scythians sacked her temple upon their great raid. Hippocrates (if it was Hippocrates—the attribution is much questioned)

is very insistent that it is a disease like any other disease, and modern writers have suggested that the Enarees, for such is their obviously Indo-European name, were the servants of some goddess and that the whole story of the raid past Aṣkalon was due to some misconception of their position. The expressions in Jeremiah which have been held to refer to the Scythians and confirm the story of the raid are very vague and in some ways singularly inapplicable to the Scythians, fitting the Chaldaeans much better. Be that as it may, the account of the physique of the most noble Scythians shows that they produced the same impression upon Hippocrates as Mongols do upon other European observers; compare especially *spadonibus similes* in Ammianus Marcellinus speaking of the Huns without any apparent imitation of the earlier writer. The representations of Scythians in works of Greek art do not offer anything very peculiar; some of the combats on the things from Solókha show two types, one perhaps a little Mongoloid and presumably Scyth, but a small admixture of Iranian blood (as in the Usbegs) produces a growth of hair which disguises the essential forms of the head. Confident assertions that no Mongol peoples crossed the divide before the great Migrations are refuted by Greek caricatures from Memphis dating from the fifth century B.C., and showing both Mongoloid and Iranian types in Scythian headdresses. Further many Scythian names, especially those of gods, have resisted all Iranian interpretations; true they are probably very corrupt and cannot be explained as Turkish, but it looks as if there were some non-Iranian element present.

IV. SCYTHIAN CUSTOMS

The customs of the Scythians are known to us from Herodotus, Hippocrates and other authorities, supplemented by the data furnished by the tombs of which we shall speak later.

The governing condition of their lives was their essential dependence upon their beasts. Of these horses were the most important not only for riding but as yielding milk for kumys, cheese and dried curd, also for sacrifice. The Scythians were the only nation of antiquity to practise gelding, as the northern horse was less docile than the Arab. Neat cattle were used for milk and for food, also for drawing the great waggons. Both Hippocrates and Herodotus say that they were hornless owing to the cold, but the few representations from Scythic and neighbouring areas do not bear this out. Mutton bones as well as beef bones are

found in the cauldrons deposited with the dead, so they had sheep, but no use was made of pigs. Upon occasion the Scyths hunted wild animals, deer, ibex and hare. They were very fond of all kinds of animals as a decoration upon silver work and the like. Some use they made of vegetable food, grain, garlic, onions and other bulbs. Besides the fermented mares' milk, kumys, they drank wine when they could get it, and drank it neat.

Their habitations are described as waggons with tilts so large as to be like tents; probably they were tents capable of being put up on the ground at any place where a considerable stay was to be made. The women rode in the carts. The Sarmatians used folding tents like the modern *yurta*.

The dress of the Scythians is one of the most interesting things about them. Whereas the early Indians, Greeks and Italians wore clothes draped about the body rather than cut to fit it and sandals on their feet, the Iranians, Scythians, Thracians, Germans and Celts wore coats, breeches and boots. The Persian costume, as represented at Persepolis, is practically identical with the Scythian shown on various metal vessels of Greek work made for Scythian use: the materials are evidently much thicker than those which compose the somewhat similar clothes of oriental archers, Amazons and the like upon Greek pots made in Greece. The true Scythic coat of leather or thick stuff with edgings of fur was double-breasted, coming down to a point in front but rather short behind, and held in by a belt, the trousers of thinner material tucked into boots of soft leather or felt. Coat and trousers are sometimes adorned with spots perhaps representing gold plaques sewn on. The Scyths either went bareheaded or wore hoods more or less like the Russian *bashlyk*, with lappets for tying round the neck and a high point, so high as sometimes to fall over. Herodotus mentions these high caps as distinguishing the Sacae and they are markedly different from the rounder headdresses of the Persians—Skuka, the Saka conquered by Darius, wears a very sharply-pointed cap. Of the women's dress we can form no clear idea: such figures as we have are apparently goddesses and no guide to mortals' attire.

The rich of both sexes wore a great deal of jewelry, especially in the form of gold plaques sewn on to their dress in vast numbers: solid gold and silver were formed into headbands, earrings, neck-rings and necklaces, plaits and chains, bracelets and rings. The poorer people wore beads or bronze armlets. Most of the jewelry, especially the women's, is of Greek work. Mirrors of various types helped the adjustment of this finery: there are many archaic

examples of the round mirror with a handle projecting in the same plane, the later Greek round box-mirror, and a special Scythic type of round mirror with a loop at the back, perhaps developed from a phalera: the loop became an animal or even quite a high projection. This loop type seems to have spread from Scythia to Siberia and China. Combs were of course known and in some cases exquisitely ornamented.

The most characteristic weapon of the nomad was the bow, always the compound double curved bow suitable for use on horseback, much the same as the modern Manchu bow. No well-preserved specimens have survived, but we have plenty of pictures. They must have been about 2 ft. 6 in. long. The bow was mostly kept in a combined case and quiver called in Greek *gorytus*, a form peculiar to the Scyths and such as borrowed from them: many of these, or at least the gold plates with which they were covered, have been preserved. There were also simple quivers. The arrows, about the same length as the bow, were made of wood or reed, with points of stone, bone, iron, or most commonly of bronze; the typical shape has a triangular section. Great numbers of arrow heads, up to 200 or 300, are found buried with a Scyth. Spear-heads, generally of iron, are found in the tombs, but the spear was rather the weapon of the Sarmatian than the Scythian: they also had short darts.

Herodotus says that the Sacae had daggers—he calls the Scythian's sword *acinaces*, the word he uses also for the Persian sword, and this is quite a short weapon; a long sword would be ξίφος. This agrees with the Scythic finds: the longest blades are not much more than 21 inches: and most are rather shorter. The earliest examples are of bronze, later of iron: the hilts are occasionally overlaid with gold and the sheaths likewise. The type is highly specialized and extends not only throughout Scythia and its outliers on the Kama and in Siberia but into Persia. The reliefs at Persepolis shew one set of the palace guards wearing a short sword in a sheath with just such a side projection and chape as the Scythians used. The object was to suspend it out of a rider's way, but the death of Cambyses was caused by the chape of his sword coming off when he was mounting his horse.

Herodotus specially mentions axes (*sagaris*) as characteristic of Scythians, but they are very rarely found, the most noticeable example being in the sixth century tomb at Kelermes. The Scyth always had a hone for whetting his weapons, a rod of schist with a hole at one end and often a gold mount.

Shields were oval or round, often with the figure of some beast

in the centre; other defensive armour was not characteristic of the Scyths: helmets, breast-plates, brassarts and greaves are always of Greek work. In the latest tombs scale-armour appears, and this in various materials was more common among the Sarmatians.

The horse trappings of the Scythians are perhaps the most characteristic of their belongings: they seem to have used saddles but no stirrups; the practical bits and cheek pieces were decorated mostly in the special 'Scythic' style, elaborate trappings for state-horses being more often of Greek workmanship.

Funeral cars are preserved in most tombs, though they are so broken that it is hard to reconstruct them. The car suited for bringing a king's body to the grave would equally suit the small portable standing tent: we find also clay models of other waggons with regular tilts. The cars were decorated with staves ending in bronze figures of animals and hollow rattles to frighten away evil spirits.

Vessels are found in all the graves. The largest are the great bronze cauldrons containing horse and mutton bones; the form seems Asiatic though the make is sometimes Greek. Drinking vessels might have two native shapes, either spherical or very shallow with a high handle, also that of the drinking horn or *rhyton*: but Greek shapes like the shallow bowl with a central boss were accepted and there was large use made of the fine Greek pottery. But the most famous Scythian cups were fashioned from the skulls of their enemies.

The same spirit is shown in their custom of taking scalps and collecting them. It reminds us that these people, for all their interesting art, their appreciation of Greek work, and a certain power of organization which for several hundred years kept them rich and powerful in an exposed country, were in other ways on a level with savages. Their strategy in war was to retire before an invader, confronting him with the desert in which they alone could move with speed and security, their tactics were to hover round an enemy and shoot him down; if he managed to come to close quarters, they would feign flight and when his formation was loosened turn again upon him. Outside the steppe country the Scyths were perhaps less successful than other nomads; their dominion in Asia was soon overturned, and though they raided into Thrace, and into the Caucasus, they never established themselves beyond the mouths of the Kuban and the Dobrudzha: against walled towns, forests, and mountains they were helpless.

The position of women was very different among the Scyths

from what it was among their neighbours, the Sauromatae, who were actually called woman-ruled. The Scythian women were confined to the waggon, so much even that their health suffered: the Scythian magnates could afford to keep their women in purdah. In general among the nomads, the women, though hard-worked and with no legal rights against their men-folk, lead an active life, have much responsibility, and exercise corresponding influence. It is possible that the Scythian women had been seized from a subject race—something unusual underlies the tale that they had remained behind during the twenty-eight years when the men were ruling Asia, so that they and their sons had to be reconquered.

V. RELIGION, BURIAL CUSTOMS

What we know of the Scythian religion is told us by Herodotus. The following deities were common to all: Tabiti-Hestia, who was venerated above the rest, next to her Papaeus-Zeus with Apia-Ge, husband and wife, after them Goetosyrus-Apollo, Argimpasa-Aphrodite Urania, and Ares. Thamimasadas-Poseidon was peculiar to the Royal Scyths. They raised no temples or altars to the gods save to Ares alone: Ares was represented by a sword planted in a mound of brushwood: to him human beings were sacrificed as well as horses and sheep. The list of gods conveys very little to us, as we do not know what aspect of the Greek gods is intended: it fits the gods of the Tartars as well as those of the Aryans. The names, as has been remarked, do not lend themselves to interpretation from Iranian, but the forms are very uncertain. The ritual required by Ares does not suit the open steppe. We hear more of the Scythians' witchcraft than of their religion: the wizards divined the future with bundles of rods, and the Enarees by plaiting bast. If the king fell sick it was supposed to be because some man had broken an oath by the king's hearth: wizards could divine the offender, but if they brought a false accusation they were burned to death on a cart full of brushwood. The oath of blood-brotherhood was taken by drinking wine in which the blood of the parties had been poured. In this matter of wizardry and oaths the Tartar parallels are particularly close. So are those in connection with burials, but in this case the ideas are common to most savage races.

Herodotus says that the burials of the kings take place in the land of the Gerrhi (somewhere about the great bend of the Dnieper). Here when their king dies they dig a great square pit.

After this is ready they take the corpse, stuff it with sweet-smelling plants, wax it over, and put it on a waggon. Their own ears they crop, shear their hair, gash their arms, slit their foreheads and noses, and run arrows through their left hands. So they bring the corpse to the next tribe that they rule over: this joins the train, and so it goes from one tribe to another, each joining in, and when they have gone round all of them they come to Gerrhus last of all. There putting the body into the pit upon a couch, they stick spears into the ground all round it, put beams across the top, and mats upon these to form a roof. Next they strangle one of the dead man's concubines and lay her in the vacant space of the burial pit, so too his cupbearer, cook, groom, servant, and messenger, also horses, and a first share of all his other goods, especially gold cups (they make no use of silver or bronze). When they have done this they heap up a great mound, vying with each other to make it high. After a year's space they go on to do as follows: they take fifty of the king's best attendants (these must be native-born Scyths, he takes whom he will among them, no bought slaves serve him) and strangle them, and fifty of the handsomest horses too, stuff them, set the men on their backs and bits in their mouths and leave them in a circle about the tomb. So the kings are buried. Ordinary Scyths are put upon a waggon, carried round and feasted by their friends for forty days, and then buried.

The examination of the tombs in south Russia yields no circle of strangled horsemen; set up above the surface of the ground they would leave no trace to our day, but the arrangements inside the mound are almost exactly such as Herodotus describes. Only the vessels of the dead man were not merely of gold but also of silver, ivory, or pottery. Curiously enough, the closest analogues are to be found on the river Kuban, north of the Caucasus, a region which is not mentioned by Herodotus as held by the Scyths: but their occupation of it is implied by their having passed the Caucasus in their great invasion of Asia. It is possible that by the fifth century they had lost their hold on it, since the graves mostly belong to the preceding century.

A striking picture of the funeral ceremony in this region has recently been given. For the grave of a Scythian chieftain a clearing was first made in the steppes. A big trench was then dug in the virgin soil with a corridor sloping down into it. Posts were set along the walls of the trench and of the corridor. The trench was covered with a conical and the corridor with a gabled roof: the roof of the tomb chamber was also supported by strong

posts planted in the middle of the trench. The cubical frame of the tomb was probably lined with mats and rugs so as to make an almost exact copy of a nomadic tent. Under the tent another smaller one was sometimes constructed to contain the body of the chief and the treasures buried with him. In the fourth century under Greek influence this tent was replaced by a chamber of dressed stone. Round the central tent other skeletons are nearly always found, the female richly adorned, the male unadorned but furnished with weapons. Round the chamber on the edge of the trench bodies of horses, sometimes several hundreds, were disposed in regular order....From these data we can reconstruct the Scythian funerary ceremonial, essentially a nomadic ceremonial, cruel, bloody, and luxurious. The grave itself was a reproduction of the sumptuous tent in which the dead man had dwelt. The body was borne to the sepulchral tent in procession. The dead chief and the persons sacrificed in his honour, clad in festal attire, accompanied by the funeral furniture, were placed on the funeral cars each drawn by six horses, or on biers carried by retainers. Over the bodies were held canopies attached to poles surmounted by rattles and covered with bells. In front probably went one or more standard-bearers, the standards crowned like the poles of the canopy by emblematic figures in bronze. As the horses also wore bells the ceremony made a vast din intended to drive away evil spirits. When the tent was reached the bodies were laid in the grave, the objects round them: the horses were slaughtered and the corpses laid out, the canopy and car broken and put near the tomb or in the corridor. The ceremony over, the grave was covered with earth and a great barrow raised over it[1]. The rites are almost the extreme expression of the belief that a man could take into the next world everything which gave him pleasure in this. The barbarity has been surpassed only by the Mongols. Mangu Khan died far from the ancestral burial place, and all who met the funeral procession, in number twenty thousand, followed him into the next world.

The oldest tombs are not all on the Kuban; others were about the great bend of the Dnieper, and in this district are concentrated the richest tombs of later centuries, especially from the latter half of the fourth and first half of the third century. In this area the riches are as great but the sacrifices of horses much fewer: enough to draw the funeral car, but not enough to make a really great show in the next world. Also it seems as if the king sometimes waited for his wife to die, instead of expecting her to be *sati*.

[1] Abridged from Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 45.

To give some idea of the richness of these tombs we may take the contents of Solókha, the last tomb excavated before the war, fifteen miles south of Nikópol and ten miles east of Great Známenka in the Tauric Government, in the middle of the 'Gerrhus district.' The mound was about fifty feet high: in the centre had been the tomb of a queen arrayed in all her finery (now stolen) and supplied with drinking vessels, a cauldron, and a gridiron; near by were two horses with gold accoutrements. In the south-east part of the mound, approached by a deep shaft and a covered way, was a larger chamber containing the king's body, by him his sword-bearer, and another servant near the entrance. A little to the west was a second pit with skeletons of a groom and five horses. The queen must have died first and the king was afterwards put into the same barrow. The king lay with his head to the west, his arms by his side. Round his neck was a golden torc 11 inches across, its ends lion heads with enamel; he wore three gold bracelets on his right arm and two on his left. Over him was a pall to which more than 300 gold plaques had been sewn; possibly these came off his trousers. Above his head lay an iron knife with a bone handle, some bronze arrow-heads, and a rusted sword. To its right a rusted coat of mail, a pair of bronze greaves, and a wooden cup mounted in gold, a little lower down a bronze helmet, two great iron spear-heads, a bronze mace and a leathern gorytus. To the king's left lay a gold necklace and two rusty swords, one with a gold haft and sheath. Not far from his right shoulder was found a golden comb of the finest Greek work, its back adorned with a scene representing a horseman in Greek helmet and cuirass fighting two men in Scythian costume. Near by stood seven silver vases mostly of native shapes but excellent Greek decoration.

In niches round the chambers were hidden various objects, in one a row of ten amphorae, in another three bronze cauldrons with beef and lamb bones, in another some gold-mounted object, and in a fourth a shallow golden bowl with a boss in the middle and reliefs all round, and a gorytus containing 180 arrow-heads and adorned with a repoussé plate of very thin silver parcel gilt upon a backing of gypsum. This is interesting not only technically but because the figures of barbarians upon it show a type of face with snub nose and straight hair similar to the Pan or Silen of the coins of Panticapaeum and much less straight features than most representations of Scythians.

All the great tumuli of south Russia once held treasures like this; most were robbed soon after their construction, others in

medieval times: the best chance of survival has been when robbers have plundered one of several tombs in a barrow, and thought they had exhausted its riches. The objects contained are not like the hoards of the Migration period, suggestive of miscellaneous booty. Not all were made by or for Scythians: sometimes things are demonstrably second-hand; but generally they were made by Greeks to meet Scythian requirements—either the shape of the object, gorytus, cauldron or drinking cup, or the scenes that adorn it, combats of Scythians, steppe-life, probably combats of beasts, show their purpose. This proves peaceable, probably commercial, relations between Scythians and Greeks. Herodotus tells us definitely of Scyths so much attracted by Greek life as to earn the enmity of their own people. The commerce was founded on the export of corn through the Bosporan kingdom and to some degree through Olbia, to feed the industrial population of Greece. The Scythians, instead of making merely destructive raids first upon the barbarous populations about them and then upon the Greek cities of the coast, reduced the former to subjection and employed them to raise corn which they sold to the latter, perhaps also exacting a tribute of manufactured goods. Such a profitable position of frankly predatory middlemen gave them the wherewithal to pay for the countless riches with which their princes surrounded themselves in this world and the next; riches which were not confined to the gold and silver which have resisted the destruction of time, but no doubt included slaves, rich textiles, expensive wines and every kind of magnificence.

In this more sophisticated state the rulers seem to have developed a cult of the god, or more often goddess, who had conferred upon them their kingly power. This idea is common to other Iranians and the analogy of Sassanian reliefs enables us to interpret as investitures scenes of a god delivering a sacred cup to a king. The predominance of the goddess is suggested by what Herodotus says of Tabiti: it may be due to local instead of Iranian influences, as a great goddess is the chief feature of religion in the Bosporan kingdom and along the coast of the Crimea. We also get scenes of blood-brotherhood or communion.

It has been claimed that apart from the importations from Greek regions and in earlier times from Assyria and perhaps Iran there was a definitely nomad art, abstract and unrepresentational, a contrast to the figured art of the Mediterranean, Indian and Chinese areas; that this art was the true origin of the figureless Mussulman art and of the art of the Migration period in

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Kuban, *R.*, F 3

Lydia, C 5

Maeotae, EF 3
Massagetae, I 4
Media, G 5
Melanchlaeni, EF 2
Memphis, D 7

Neuri, C 2
Nineveh, F 5
Nogay, FG 1
Nomad or Royal Scyths, DEF 3

Oka, *R.*, F 1, 2
Olbia, D 3
Ossetes, FG 4
Oxus, *R.*, IK 4

Panticapaeum, E 3
Phrygia, CD 5
Ploughmen Scyths, CD 2, 3
Podolia, BC 2, 3
Pontus, E 4
Procontnesus, C 4

Royal Scyths, DEF 3

Sacae, HI 4
Sacasene, G 4, 5
Sapardae, F 4
Sauromatae, EF 3
Scythene, F 4
Sigynni, B 3
Sinope, E 4
Solokha, E 3

Tanais, *R.*, FG 5, 6
Tauri, D 3, 4
Thrace, C 4
Thyssagetae, H 2
Transylvania, BC 3
Tyritae, CD 3

Ural M., IK 1, 2
Urartu, FG 5
Urmia, *L.*, G 5

Van, *L.*, F 5
Volga, *R.*, EFG 1, 2, 3
Volhynia, BC 2

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which figures and beasts are reduced to geometrical forms. That influences akin to the Scythic had the strongest possible effect upon this Migration art and through it upon European art of the early middle ages is becoming increasingly clear. But it seems to be going too far to call Scythic art non-representational. The Scyths appear to have had their own branch of the western Asiatic art of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; other branches were in Mesopotamia, the Hittite country, and Ionia, probably in Transcaucasia and northern Iran. Scythic taste essentially reduced an animal to a decorative system of abstract lines and planes aiming at strong contrasts of light and shade, even of colour, as against delicate gradations of modelling. The animal being treated as decoration its surfaces might be further decorated by smaller animals or animal motifs. Any part of an animal, especially its extremities, might suggest a likeness to some other animal form. So upon the most characteristic piece of Scythic work, the electrum deer from Kul Oba, just outside Panticapaeum, the last tine of the antlers is shaped like a ram's head, and the body bears the figures of a lion, a hare and a griffin. Or else the surface is diversified by the musculature being exaggerated either as a complete double spiral, or in later stages by a coloured inlay making a dot and comma pattern. Weapons and horse-gear show the Scythic style at its best; women's jewelry was almost always Greek or imitated from the Greek. When the nomads no longer imported these, their own style in a later form became dominant and was largely adopted by their neighbours from Siberia to the Atlantic.

In a later volume it will be told how Darius invaded the Scythian land from the west in order to secure his conquests in Thrace, and again how the Scythian power which had successfully resisted him finally succumbed to a general change of circumstances. On the eastern border the kindred Sarmatians, themselves being pressed from farther east, steadily encroached from the line of the Ural to the Volga, the Don and the Dnieper, so that the Scyths intensified their pressure upon the tribes of the middle Dnieper until on this side too central Europe made its weight felt. Meanwhile the grain trade with Greece was less profitable, that country now demanding less and being largely supplied from Egypt. Finally it is likely that the softening of fibre almost always observed in nomad tribes living off tributaries had set in, so that the Scyths were no longer the irresistible savages who had overrun eastern Europe and western Asia in the seventh century. But this, their decline and fall, is part of the history of the Hellenistic Age.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

I. ITS RISE UNDER NABOPOLASSAR

IN chapter v we saw the downfall of the Assyrian empire and the rise of the Chaldaeans; we have now to take up the thread again and trace the fortunes of the new Babylonian power until it, in turn, fell before the Persians.

Nineveh, the bloody city, became a waste, and desolation fell on her thresholds. The enemy had done his work thoroughly, and the terraced mounds, fair palaces, imposing temples, lay ruined, and despoiled of their treasures. The great library of Ashurbanipal, stored with copies of thousands of clay tablets collected from so many sources and with such care, was broken up and the contents scattered broadcast over the ruins (p. 129 *sq.*). The splendour of the Temple of Ishtar, which lay close to the east of Sennacherib's palace, was brought to nought, and none was left to worship in the fane of the mother-goddess whose statue, so proudly dedicated many hundreds of years before by Ashur-bēl-kala, was cast out headless to lie humbled in the dust. Fallen, too, was the second great temple of Nineveh, dedicated to Nabū, which lay near the southern corner of Ashurbanipal's palace, solid of foundation and high of wall, wherein Ashurbanipal in his delight at his victories over the Elamites had commemorated his piety towards the god with stone slabs recording his prowess. The foe in his onslaught had broken them up, shattered the stone flooring, scattered the little library of which the priests were so proud, and left nought but the foundations. The parks with their almond blossoms, their fragrant lilies, their cotton-plants, the gardens where the lions roamed and the storks chattered, all the beauty of Nineveh now lay waste. 'Where is the den of the lions, and the feeding place[1] of the young lions, where the lion, even the lioness walked, the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid?' asked Nahum (ii, 11).

One of the officers who took part in the overthrow of Assyria[2]

[1] Read probably 'cave.'

[2] That is, if it is correct to attribute to this period the letter of p. 195 of the present writer's *Late Babylonian Letters*. There are *lacunae* but the above *résumé* is sound in essentials.

wrote back recounting the story of destruction. He tells how the king ordered him to set fire to the cities and bring woe on city and field. 'As the king, my lord, commanded, so did I.' He set fire to cities, brought woe upon city and field and 'dragged the spoil of the Assyrians into the desert.' Then apparently arose a clamour in the stricken land: 'Why hast thou not delivered thy land?' The army came to the rescue and battle was joined, but the Assyrians met with disaster, and the writer of the letter 'cut off the head of the prince[1].' The commanders of the Assyrians in the threatened area were panic-stricken, and clamoured for tidings of rescue by their king; he had pitched his advance-camp as far south as Baghdad, but fled in terror at the Babylonian approach, leaving the poor wretches to their fate. Nabopolassar, the king who with Cyaxares had brought about this ruin, prides himself on the utter desolation he had caused: 'by the word of Nabū and Marduk, who favour my sovereignty, and by the great, raging weapons of Girra the terrible, who scatters my foes, I conquered Subarum and turned its land to ruin.' Nineveh ceased to exist. The noise of the rattling of the wheels and of the 'prancing horses and of the jumping chariots' was stilled, and in place of the hum of a populous city there was but the little plaintive cry of the golden plover in the umber fields.

But so vigorous a people would not die out without a determined struggle. A remnant under Ashur-uballiṭ escaped and made its way to Harran, more than a hundred miles to the west, where their leader assumed the throne of Assyria, and there they abode for a breathing-space (see p. 130). Cyaxares went back to his land on the 20th of Elul of 612 B.C.; Nabopolassar occupied Nisibis, and took tribute from the land of Ruṣapu, but he evidently did not propose to winter amid the hills, especially as his ally had gone home, and he returned to Babylonia; let the Assyrian wait in Harran. For the moment, therefore, we can break off from our paragraph to appreciate the situation which resulted from the tremendous upheaval and briefly survey the course of events amid which this occurred.

It was a curious turn of Fortune's wheel which had brought the new conqueror to power. Nabopolassar, who had been the son of a nobody, had been sent as Sin-shar-ishkun's general to defend Chaldaea against an invasion of the People of the Sea, and had seized the opportunity of revolting against his royal master. He, a man who was elected by Nabū and Marduk, the gods whom

[1] *Malku*, meant 'prince' (or similar), without the full equivalence of *sharru* 'king' (note also Sayce, *Records of the Past*, new series, v, 146).

he had always held in honour, to rule Babylonia, was, he says, a man of little power, and yet he had thrown off the yoke of the Assyrian who from of old had held sway over all peoples. Indeed, his insistent humility is a little nauseating; so devout did he become that, when he was rebuilding E-temen-ana-ki, he made his sons Nebuchadrezzar and Nabū-shum-lishir help in the work like common fellāḥīn. In all this piety we can foretell the influence which the priesthood of Babylon were to wield throughout the coming brief renaissance of their country; they were a powerful party whom it was well to placate, a fact which the usurper who might happen to be occupying the throne was not allowed to forget.

Nabopolassar was an interloper, not of royal blood, and, as such, a victim of sanctified blackmail. The power of the clerical party was admitted also by Nebuchadrezzar, who took care to hurry home at full speed from the wars in the west the moment he heard that his father had died, although, as it turned out, the priestly party at home was disposed to be friendly towards him. For one thing, the bulk of the army was still under his command in Palestine, where it had served him loyally, and therefore was likely to remain staunch, and it was salutary for ecclesiastics to remember that it would form a very powerful bodyguard which could easily be brought back in case of need, very much to the priestly detriment. For another, Nebuchadrezzar was prepared to assent to a large *bakshish* to the itching palms of the clergy, and he took care to court their favour unceasingly, rebuilding the temples, making Babylon splendid with his edifices, and thus remaining in their good graces. Never had Marduk, the great god of Babylon, received such honour as under this king, and yet, hardly had his son Amel-Marduk reigned a brief two years when revolution came and he was deposed by Neriglissar, a claimant to the true crown. Yet again this last usurper's reign was but a short one, and the priests succeeded in raising the standard of revolt against his son, whom they killed, and, in turn, supplanted by Nabonidus, a scholarly gentleman after their own heart, but again not one of royal blood. Finally, when Cyrus invaded the land, the anti-clerical party, in sympathy with Persia, delivered over the land to the foe, and yet even then the power of the priests was still a factor to be feared, and Cyrus never forgot to enlist their favour on his side in all his actions.

We have now to return to the great power Egypt, which had again begun to recover after the withdrawal of Assyria from its delta when Shamash-shum-ukin revolted in 652 B.C. (p. 122).

Psammetichus (663–609 B.C.) could now again call his kingdom his own, and he, like all the other powers who had a few legions to spare, cast his eyes on the fertile lands of Palestine. He seems to have led an army into Philistia to besiege Ashdod (p. 293), but through the stoutness of the defence was held there for twenty-nine years, by which time Babylon was pressing Assyria hard, putting a different complexion on the political conditions[1]. He was therefore prepared to forget what Ashurbanipal had done against Egypt: Assyria was no longer the Assyria of Ashurbanipal, and it would be impolitic to stand aloof while the last remnants of the ancient kingdom were divided among the spoilers. After all, a weak Assyria might prove a very convenient shock-absorber between Palestine and the rising power of Babylon. Even before the fall of Nineveh, therefore, he helped Assyria against Nabopolassar (in 616) to an evanescent success. Doubtless he had not reckoned on Assyria having to cope with the joint forces of Babylon and Media within the next two years.

With this general indication of the two problems which beset the Babylonian king, at home the menace of a disaffected priesthood at Babylon, and abroad the entry of a revivified Egypt into the arena, we can return to the year 612, and observe the rapid changes which two such factors could bring about. The fortunes of Babylonia were to be as revolutionary as those of the typical Latin-American republic.

The Assyrian occupation of Harran lasted undisturbed for little more than a year. For some reason Cyaxares would not leave his winter quarters of 612, and held aloof during 611, so that Nabopolassar could do nothing more than clear the ground with small campaigns. But in 610, either because the army of Cyaxares had rested, or because Nabopolassar was importunate, or because the Assyrian power was seen to be weakening, or because Egypt had become threatening, the two kings again joined forces, and moved from the upper Tigris on Harran (cf. p. 130).

A gap in the new Chronicle makes it uncertain whether Egypt was able to help Ashur-uballiṭ. In any case, the Assyrians, recognizing their own weakness, evacuated Harran before the enemy's advance, and retired on Syria. The Scythians and Babylonians occupied the town, and the wild hordes of the former pillaged the great temple of the Moon-god, and pressed on towards Palestine. Yet, although they crossed to the west of the Euphrates, theirs was only a transient sojourn. After all, they were merely

[1] The above rests upon Herodotus' statement that the siege of Ashdod lasted twenty-nine years. See p. 295, and note the 'remnant' in Jer. xxv. 20.

barbarians who sought nothing more than the plunder and brides which smoking war would bring. Nabopolassar, for his part, was content to leave a garrison at Harran and another perhaps at Carchemish, and go home.

But in Egypt a vigorous king, Necho, had replaced his father Psamatik. His first act was in continuance of his father's policy, to secure Palestine and join forces with the Assyrians, 'because,' says Josephus, 'he wanted to reign over Asia.' It must have been about this time that Necho cleared his road with the capture of Gaza (so Jer. xlvii); haste, he knew, was essential if he was to re-establish the Assyrian power. He was in no mood to brook opposition from insignificant tribes, and when he found Josiah the king of Judah barring his path at Megiddo, there was little time to parley. Yet he spared time to reason with him (so the version in 2 Chron. xxxv, 21; see pp. 297, 395). But Josiah, who had already given token of his courage as a reformer, trusted in his army and his mountains; he would not budge, and so died a hero for his convictions, and the resistance of his people was brushed aside. Necho then secured his left flank against possible attack from the Phoenicians—if we may infer anything from his hieroglyphic inscription which is said to have been found at Sidon—and, effecting a junction with the Assyrians, pushed forward across the undulating brown lands to the old frontier on the Euphrates. One Babylonian garrison, perhaps, as we have suggested, at Carchemish, was slaughtered, and Necho occupied the city where the Euphrates had been crossed from time immemorial, using it as a base for the next four years from which he and the Assyrians attacked Harran without success. He provided the sinews of war partly by laying Jerusalem under tribute (a method which he doubtless employed with other conquered cities), and assumed the right to select its king.

Babylonia could not tolerate an Egypto-Assyrian occupation so near home, and so in 609 B.C. Nabopolassar advanced to the relief of his outposts; but he was growing old and seems to have met with little success, and hereafter he entrusted the command of his army to his son Nebuchadrezzar.

The next three years are a blank; but presumably from the sequel the Assyrians and Egyptians were forced back on Carchemish, where they awaited the final tussle with Nebuchadrezzar, who in 605 set his army in motion against Necho 'under whom all Syria then was,' as Josephus says.

The probable route taken was up the Euphrates' right bank, for there were ample villages along the river, especially on this

side, on which the army might feed. Moreover, the great problem of crossing the river would thus be avoided; what was an easy matter at Babylon would be a dangerous or impossible operation higher up. If this large army had to cross the Euphrates it would only be by a bridge of boats (for inflated skins do not commend themselves), and once Babylonia was left behind material for making such a bridge could not be found before the troops reached the neighbourhood of Til-Barsip (Tell Aḥmar), some few hours' ride before Carchemish. It was at Til-Barsip that Shalmaneser, in the ninth century, had ultimately found it more advantageous in his Syrian campaign to make his crossing, rather than risk a passage in the face of the enemy, who must have had a permanent boat bridge at the great city of Carchemish above. Sennacherib, again, in the seventh century, built his fleet of boats for the Babylonian campaign at Til-Barsip, which is an indication that the inhabitants of this town had by this time become professionals in such construction. To-day it is Birejik, about a day's ride upstream, which has inherited the tradition of boat-building: that town and Hit (where a very rough kind of boat is made) are the two places in these parts where the inhabitants have this capacity. The Babylonian army could, of course, have towed a boat-bridge upstream, just as they tow boats to-day, but such a laborious proceeding would be avoided by the simple plan of starting on the right bank.

Whether there was any element of surprise in the Babylonian army's movements cannot be said, but, in any case, the higher it pressed up the right bank the more dangerous did the Egyptian position at Carchemish become. The nearer the Babylonians approached Carchemish, the narrower grew the desert between them and the Syrian coast, and the shorter and easier the route which led to the sea, offering a chance of striking at Necho's lines of communication up Palestine. Only a camel rider may pass the trackless wastes from Hit to Damascus; a company may cross from Dēr ez-Zōr by Palmyra; at Meskeneh, some fifty miles below Carchemish, the roads into Syria are easily passable by chariotry. Since the Egyptian commander, if he wished to preserve the *morale* of his army, was obliged to see that his line of retreat down Palestine lay open, it is clear that all the advantage lay with a bold commander like Nebuchadrezzar, once he had reached Meskeneh.

The issue did not long remain doubtful. The two armies met near Carchemish, and the Babylonians inflicted a sweeping defeat on their foe, who 'lost many myriads,' and fled back through

Palestine. The late excavations on the site of this ancient city show how fiercely the defenders had fought until their very homes were burnt. The road to Egypt lay open to Nebuchadrezzar; the moral effect of his victory had been enormous. Jeremiah, the prophet, voices the terror which the great Babylonian had instilled (xlvi). In front of him the disconnected little tribes who might otherwise have disputed his passage were overawed into friendliness; behind, his rear was secured, since the Medes, those ancient allies of Babylonia, whose princess Amyhia Nebuchadrezzar married, were hardly likely to interfere on behalf of the Egyptians. The king swept down on Pelusium in a triumphant progress, with the Egyptians in headlong flight before him. The Egyptian domination of Palestine was at an end (see p. 299).

Then news reached him of his father's death at home, and knowing, as has been said above, how precarious was his title to the throne, he had perforce to dash home by the shortest route. He consigned his prisoners to his friends' care, and with a small escort rode across the desert, probably by the Damascus-Palmyra-Dēr-Hit route, to Babylon, a journey of about a fortnight.

II. BABYLONIAN SUPREMACY UNDER NEBUCHADREZZAR

Events had already shown that Nebuchadrezzar was a vigorous and brilliant commander, and physically as well as mentally a strong man, fully worthy of succeeding his father. He was to become the greatest man of his time in the Near East, as a soldier, a statesman, and an architect. Had his successors been of such a stamp instead of callow boys or *dilettanti* without redeeming vigour, the Persians would have found Babylonia a harder problem. 'All the nations,' says Jeremiah (xxvii, 7), 'shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the time of his own land come.'

Syria and Palestine remained subservient to Nebuchadrezzar. There was no Napoleon, like Ben-Hadad of the ninth century, to weld all the princelings and their driblets of armed forces together in a common bond to eject the invader. One recalcitrant was presently to challenge the king's power: Jehoiakim of Judah, who, although at first he chose discretion as a loyal vassal to Babylon for three years, presently rebelled and threw off the yoke. Taking counsel with his diviners and sorcerers, he relied on their advice, and cast prudence to the winds, albeit Jeremiah, sometimes far-seeing diplomatist and acute student of affairs, sometimes mystic, uttered warning after warning of what would

result from this rash policy. In plain and wholesome fearlessness he urged him not to follow the wise men who said: 'Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon: for they prophesy a lie unto you, to remove you far from your land... but the nation that shall bring their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him, that will I let remain in their own land, saith Yahweh' (Jer. xxvii, 9–11). But the poor foolish king, 'hearing,' so Josephus says, 'that the Egyptians were marching against the Babylonians,' paid no heed and set Babylon at defiance.

Briefly, although it would appear that accounts differ, Nebuchadrezzar's troops and their allies invaded Judah, and ultimately in 597 the Babylonian king besieged and captured Jerusalem. Jehoiakim had died three months before it was taken, and the brunt of Nebuchadrezzar's wrath fell on the head of his son Jehoiachin, now the king. The unfortunate youth and his mother came forth from the city to the king of Babylon in token of surrender; the spoil of the Temple, the royal family, the princes, the craftsmen and the troops were all carried away as prisoners to Babylon, and the king appointed Mattaniah, a young man of twenty-one, whom he renamed Zedekiah, as ruler over Judah. Egypt was powerless to help (2 Kings xxiv, 17). The policy which king Psammetichus I had begun had failed.

Yet Judah still believed that Egypt, so much nearer than distant and vague Babylon, could help her. A new Pharaoh, Hophra (Apries), had succeeded Psammetichus II, the son of Necho, and, burning to reconquer the ancient tributaries of the Mediterranean coast, he invaded Palestine. The Babylonian army, doubtless now little more than an army of occupation, where homesickness and boredom at so long a sojourn in a foreign land would militate against discipline, gave way before him and retreated from Jerusalem. Again the Judaean king's spirits rose in expectation that they had gone for ever; again did Jeremiah cast them down (xxxvii, 7 *sq.*). 'Behold,' warned he, 'Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land, and the Chaldaeans shall come again and fight against this city, and they shall take it, and burn it with fire.' It was of no avail to say that the Chaldaeans would not return; they would certainly return: even though the Babylonian army had fallen back from Jerusalem, it was only a temporary retreat.

Hophra's invasion, temporarily successful though it was, was but brief. He marched into Palestine, taking Sidon by storm, and, as Diodorus says, by the terror which he spread, he reduced the other cities of Phoenicia to subjection. According to one account

he then returned to Egypt, probably because Nebuchadrezzar had again set forth to subdue Palestine, by 587 B.C. reaching Riblah on the Orontes. Then—if we are to include here that part of Nebuchadrezzar's exploits which he describes on his stele at Wadi Brissa (a valley of the Lebanon)—the Babylonians routed a king who had stirred up trouble in the neighbourhood.

Tyre, safeguarded by the sea, appears always to have clung to her independence, both against Egyptian and Babylonian. Josephus says that a few years after the battle of Carchemish Tyre led a Phoenician revolt; according to Menander, Nebuchadrezzar besieged the city for thirteen years in the reign of Ithobalus (Ethbaal), and Ezekiel (ch. xxix) refers to the great difficulty of the operations: 'Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre: every head was made bald and every shoulder was peeled: yet he had no wages, nor his army, from Tyre, for the service that he had served against it.' Presumably Nebuchadrezzar was compelled to recognize that he must 'contain' it only, which he could do with a small force. His trivial success in the Lebanon was probably enough to keep the other tribes of these mountains in check, and so he besieged Zedekiah in Jerusalem for a year and a half, reducing him in the end by starvation. The resistance was a heroic episode worthy of all praise to the garrison, who knew the fate in store for them for having again roused the great king's anger. In the end Zedekiah and his men of war, stealing forth secretly from the city, were discovered and pursued to the plains of Jericho, where they were captured and carried to the royal headquarters at Riblah. The king's eyes were put out, his sons were slain in his very presence, and he was carried blind to Babylon; and a month later Nebuzaradan, who appears to have been conducting the siege, entered Jerusalem in triumph, looted, burned and destroyed the city, and carried off the remnant of its people to Babylon. (On the events, see further, pp. 401 *sqq.*)

Nebuchadrezzar was reaching the zenith of his fame by his campaigns south of the mountainous latitudes of north Syria and Anatolia, where the Median king, Cyaxares, was separately consolidating his empire. While the Babylonians had been pushing across the flatter districts towards the sea, their allies the Medes had fought their way steadily westwards to the Halys, thus covering Nebuchadrezzar's right flank and rear from any possible attack from Asia Minor. Here they met the powerful state of Lydia under Alyattes and tried conclusions with them, but behind the red waters of the river the Lydians were well able to check their

further advance. The struggle lasted for five years (590–585 B.C.) without advantage to either side, and for very weariness the two monarchs agreed to an armistice. They called in as mediators a Babylonian (Herodotus says it was Labynetus, *i.e.* Nabonidus) and the Syennesis of Cilicia. The Halys was fixed as the boundary between the two combatants in 585, and Alyattes cemented the bond by giving his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares. (See p. 512.)

The great campaign of Nebuchadrezzar's later years was directed against Egypt in retaliation for the trouble caused by Hophra. Doubtless the Palestinian wars had resulted in many small expeditions (Jer. xlix, 28 would show, for instance, that Arab nomads of Kedar gave him trouble at one time), but it was Egypt which bore the brunt of his warfare. Hophra, the Egyptian king, who so basely left the cities of Palestine to their fate, brought nothing but evil to his own country, and after his disastrous expedition against the Greeks in Cyrene, a revolution broke out at home, where the people were utterly weary of his incapacity. He sent his general Amasis to deal with the revolutionaries, but they merely elected him as king, and in the end Hophra was practically dethroned, Amasis being elected co-regent about 569 B.C. (p. 302 *sq.*).

The small fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle first published by Pinches shows that Nebuchadrezzar launched an expedition against Egypt in his thirty-seventh year, *i.e.* about 567 B.C. Whether Pinches' ingenious restoration (Amā)su, 'Amasis,' for the lost king's name is correct, or whether Nebuchadrezzar marched against Egypt with any aim other than conquest, we cannot say; the very distance to which he penetrated is a matter of dispute. One tradition says he made Egypt a Babylonian province, another that he invaded Libya, while Jeremiah 'foretold' that he would set up his throne in Taḥpanḥes, but there is no proof that he did so. We might almost assume from the tradition that certain Babylonian deserters built a 'Babylon' in Egypt near the Pyramids, which appears to have existed as an important fort in the time of Augustus, that his army at all events left some mark there (see also p. 304).

Nebuchadrezzar was now an old man. According to Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia* (I, 5, 2), on which we need not place too much reliance, he had subdued Syria, the 'king' of Arabia, and the Hyrcanians, and was attacking Bactria at the time when Astyages the Mede died. With the north, of course, which was under the Medes, he had no quarrel; as for the east, three of his inscriptions

and one of Amel-Marduk were found in the excavations at Susa, but this is no proof that he conquered Persia, for these objects may reasonably be said to have been carried off at any time from Babylon as booty. What we can be certain about is that he established control over the Euphrates valley, Syria, and Palestine as far as Egypt.

As far as we know, he had no affection for literature; the formation of libraries had no interest for him, and he left such pursuits to the priests. His peaceful energies were devoted to building magnificent palaces and temples, and herein he excelled. The fame of his city Babylon which he made peculiarly his own spread far and wide; Josephus records how he adorned the Temple of Belus with spoil and rebuilt the old city, making the Hanging Gardens to please his queen, who was from Media. As it is to-day, partly uncovered of the dust of centuries, the ponderous buildings of brickwork, cream, yellow, red, still stand in towering rampart and bastion, solid wall and foundations, pavement and Processional Way. The vast area of temple and palace, the solemn masses of brickwork, mirrored in the sedgy pools, the loneliness of the ancient ruins of Nebuchadrezzar's city, slowly stamp on the mind of the pilgrim an ineffaceable memory of the grandeur of the Babylonian king's concepts, of his masterly genius in handling common clay, the only material to his hand. The little boy whose father had encouraged him to carry a labourer's basket at the rebuilding of E-temen-ana-ki was in time to create the pinnacles of the great temples, the Ishtar Gates with their wonderful gryphons and bulls, the towering *zigurrats*, which will remain his monument as long as the world cares for Assyriology. (See vol. I, pp. 503–8.)

The priests of Babylon would indeed have been insatiable beyond reason if they had not accepted such practical piety as a full concession to their influence. But the king also adopted a personal *rôle* of humility to Marduk, the patron-god of Babylon, whom they served, and from whose temple they drew their salaries, and he took care that this modest demeanour before his god should be published abroad even from his very accession, as his prayer to Marduk on that occasion bears witness:

> Without thee, Lord, what could there be
> For the king thou lovest, and dost call his name?
> Thou shalt bless his title, as thou wilt,
> And unto him vouchsafe a path direct;
> I, the prince obeying thee,
> Am what thy hands have made;

'Tis thou who art my creator,
Entrusting me with the rule of hosts of men.
According to thy mercy, Lord,
Which thou dost spread o'er all of them,
Turn into loving-kindness thy dread power,
And make to spring up in my heart
A reverence for thy divinity.
Give as thou thinkest best.

In his devotion to Marduk the king restored and beautified the Great Processional Way in Babylon called *Á-ibur-shabum* along which Marduk passed in the great festival of the New Year. It was a broad street, decorated with breccia and limestone, and he left his record in it:

Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I. Of the streets of Babylon for the procession of the great lord Marduk with slabs of limestone I built the causeway. Oh, Marduk, my lord, grant eternal life[1].

Nebuchadrezzar died about August-September, 562 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Amel-Marduk (562–560 B.C.), whom Jeremiah calls Evil-Merodach. He was given little time to prove his worth; the two years of his brief reign are merely enough to show that political conditions were again hostile to the royal house.

His sister had married one of the notables of the land, a man named Nergal-shar-uṣur (Neriglissar), the son of Bēl-shuma-ishkun. His name appears on contract tablets as early as the ninth year of Nebuchadrezzar (about 596 B.C.), so that by the time Amel-Marduk came to the throne Neriglissar must have been well past middle age. He was a rich *seigneur*, one of the 'princes of the king' (Jer. xxxix, 3), with large properties at Babylon, Opis and elsewhere. More than that, in a letter from Erech he is mentioned as holding high military rank[2]; he had already been *rab-mag* in the operations against Zedekiah at the siege of Jerusalem.

Evidently there was a strong feeling against the inefficient son

[1] The name of Nebuchadrezzar became the centre of much romance, notably the story of his madness in the book of Daniel. 'His own inscriptions speak only of a four-year-long suspension of interest in public affairs, which may not be a reference to his malady, though tradition of something of the kind may have lent verisimilitude to the account of it in Daniel' (C. H. W. Johns, *E.Bi.* col. 3371). His religious character is illustrated above; like Ashurbanipal he may have suffered some mysterious affliction (p. 127), and this might have been ascribed to a divine visitation (cf. also p. 425 and note).

[2] Scheil, *Rev. Ass.* 1914, p. 174.

of Nebuchadrezzar, for Neriglissar suddenly led a revolution against the reigning house, and Amel-Marduk was killed. We have no reason to suppose that the priests were consenting parties to this *émeute*; nay, this cuckoo dynasty was ousted from the throne only a few years later. We can fix the time of this revolution to the autumn or winter of 560 B.C., the latest document dated in the reign of the murdered king being written about August of that year, and it is therefore clear that the revolution was timed for the cool weather.

Neriglissar ascribes his accession to the fate which the great gods had allotted to him 'to wield authority over the black-headed people'; and he lays stress, like many usurpers, on the 'true crown' which Marduk had placed on his brow. He does not, however, appear to have courted the favour of the hierarchy of Babylon overmuch, although it is true he spent a little time in building, and brought back the goddess Anunit to Sippar from Gutium (between the Lower Zab and the Diyala), whither she had been carried in some long-forgotten raid. He died *c.* March 556 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Labashi-Marduk, 'who,' says Nabonidus, in ingenuous conceit, 'knew not how to rule.'

III. DECAY AND FALL OF BABYLONIA UNDER NABONIDUS

With a nonentity on the throne like Labashi-Marduk it was the moment for the hostile party to seize the opportunity to oust the usurping line and replace it by one more in accordance with their views. Again the torch of revolution was fired, doubtless after the summer, in 556 B.C.[1], and the new king was murdered, and a man, not of the royal family, named Nabū-na'id (Nabonidus), was elected to the throne shortly after the revolution. He was the son of Nabū-balaṭsu-iḳbi, whom he calls *rubū emga*, 'wise prince,' and he had evidently inherited his father's taste for learning. He was a scholar with a most conservative respect for old records and customs, and was never happier than when he could excavate some ancient foundation-stone. If we may infer anything from his pious feelings towards the city of Harran, where he so magnificently restored the Temple of the Moon, in which, as we know, one of his parents, probably his mother, ministered in the priesthood, he may well have been of north Syrian ancestry, with all a Syrian's devotion to the Moon-god. Indeed, it may be that this concrete evidence of his worship of

[1] On the date see Synchronistic List of Kings (notes).

the Moon brought him under the ban of the powerful priesthood of Marduk at Babylon, and even perhaps led to his being considered an apostate, which would account for his long periods of residence away from Babylon, especially at Teima in north Arabia[1].

Babylon was rapidly nearing her end. With continual internal dissensions barely kept in check, it is a matter for wonder that Nabonidus should have been able to retain his throne as long as seventeen years. Obviously he was not a young man at his accession, for Belshazzar, his son, is mentioned on a contract of the fifth year of Nabonidus, whereon he is called 'the son of the king[2],' and he may well have been, as has been computed, sixty years old when he came to the throne. With the accession of the new king came one of the usual revolts in the provinces, and in 555 a Babylonian force was assembled to quell an insurrection in the west. Moving on Hamath and spending a summer in the cool mountains of Ammananu, the king seems to have spent two years campaigning in Amurru and Edom, not escaping the sicknesses which fall to the lot of an old man in the wars. Yet in spite of this flourish of trumpets, Babylon was falling from her high estate; her ancient rival, Egypt, was in an equally pitiable condition, while her quondam vassals, Palestine and Syria, were powerless; while Arabia, that desert land of sparse nomad tribes without cohesion, bore little menace to anyone. The two powerful empires of the Medes and Lydians were still confronting each other on the banks of the Halys, the latter nation so soon to be absorbed in the rising tide of Persia, the ancient foe of Babylonia. Persia was almost at the very gates of Babylon, and the writing on the wall was unmistakable: 'thus saith Yahweh to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him.'

Persia had gradually risen again. About the middle of the seventh century, after Ashurbanipal had quelled the Elamites, Hakhamanish (Achaemenes) founded the royal Persian line which was to produce the renowned monarchs, Cyrus II, 'the Great,' and Darius. His son, Chispis (Teispes), the first Persian to be called king of Anshan, evidently from his title absorbed the kingdom of Elam, whither the Persian royal family moved. From him sprang the double line of descent through his two sons, Cyrus I and Ariyāramna (Ariaramnes). Henceforth Persia was to be ruled by the descendants of one or the other and, as

[1] So Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 77 *sq.*, cf. p. 222 below.

[2] He is mentioned on a tablet of the first year, but not described as 'son of the king.'

Darius says in the Bisitun (Behistun) Inscription, the kings were to rule 'in two lines.' Cyrus the Great claims descent as 'son of Cambyses I, the great king, the king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king.' The Median king Astyages, still occupied with Lydia, admitted the strength of the rising kingdom of Persia by bestowing his daughter Mandane in marriage on Cambyses I. (See vol. IV, pp. 9 *sqq.*).

Then follows Herodotus' story of Astyages' dream of the spreading vine, interpreted to mean that his grandson would rule all Asia. Anxious for his own future safety, the Median king, when Mandane bore a son, delivered the babe into the hands of Harpagus, with orders that he should make away with it. But a herdsman, to whom it was finally committed, substituted his own wife's still-born son for it, and brought up the royal babe in his own hut as his son, and ultimately the fraud was discovered by the dramatic, if apocryphal, story of the young lad Cyrus playing at being king, a story which has almost an echo of the legend of Sargon about it. Astyages, on the advice of the sooth-sayers, sent him back to Mandane, where he became, as he says, 'a little servant' (*ardu ṣakhru*) of the Median king, presently to revolt with Harpagus successfully against Astyages about 553[1]. Astyages was taken prisoner, Cyrus was accepted by the Medes as king, and so the Median supremacy passed to Persia.

Nabonidus, with the close of his Syrian campaign, withdrew the Babylonian army from Palestine about 553 B.C., with the risk of losing his hold over the sea-coast, but giving an elaborate explanation that this was done in order that the troops might rebuild the temple of Harran. The great temple E-khulkhul, sacred to the Moon, had long suffered from the ravages of the *Umman-manda* of Cyaxares and Astyages, the barbarians who cared little for ancient fanes or other people's gods, and Marduk came to Nabonidus in a dream, bidding him restore this temple. But, urged the king, exhibiting a curious ignorance of events in north Syria, it was surely still in the hands of the *Umman-manda*; how could a Babylonian king interfere with their share of the spoil obtained by Cyaxares? The god answered that the *Umman-manda* were dead or scattered, for in the third[1] year of Nabonidus, Cyrus, the king of Anzan, had defeated them, carried Ishtumegu (Astyages) into captivity, and had spoiled their city Ecbatana. Dutifully the king recalled his army from Gaza, 'on the border of the land of Egypt, from the Upper Sea beyond the Euphrates to the Lower Sea, the kings, princes, governors, and my numerous

[1] So the clay cylinder of Nabonidus; the Chronicle says his sixth year.

troops,' and despatched it to Harran to restore the ancient glories of the temple. Nay more, his own mother, now an old lady within a few years of her death, which occurred *c.* 547 B.C., was a priestess of the Moon there[1]. Whether the withdrawal was prompted by fear of the growing power of Persia is uncertain; but what is clear is that it was flying in the face of the priestly party at home to decorate a temple of the Moon, and particularly one in Harran, for not only was Sin not the national god, but Harran had been the city of refuge whither the Assyrian government had escaped in the day of its downfall. Nay, more, Nabonidus dedicated his own daughter, Bēl-shalṭi-Nannar, to the great temple of Sin at Ur; and again, although he writes of his restorations to the temples of the Sun in Sippar and Larsa, and others to Anunit in Agade and Sippar-Anunit, he must needs boast of his homage to Sin and Ishtar, that posterity may hear. It was a tactless thing to do, and may, as has been suggested above, have been the cause of his subsequent voluntary exile.

With the completion of his temple Nabonidus again took the field, this time against the Arabian township of Teima, leaving the government in his son's hands. Why such a campaign was necessary we do not know, but he went thither with his troops and slew its king. This was the town in which he was presently to spend his declining years; it is not easy to see the causes that prevented him from taking up his abode in Ur, where his daughter was, or Harran, where his mother ministered in his temple. If reasons may be suggested, Ur would be unpleasantly near to Babylon for a heretic, and as for Harran, the fact that we have two different dates given for the downfall of the Medes (p. 220, n. 1) shows that there was some doubt about the completeness of their defeat, and consequently Harran was no safe city of refuge, a description confirmed by the withdrawal of the king's mother to Babylonia, where she died. But, whatever may have been the reason for the king's adoption of Teima, a camel-rider was despatched thither from Babylonia in the fifth year (551), doubtless on the king's business, with a *bakshish* of fifty shekels for the journey. So much we can glean from a little tablet from Erech dated in Adar of this year; a pregnant piece of evidence, for camels and the city of Teima are rarely mentioned in contracts.

Teima, with its three-mile circuit of stone walling, was at least safe. Indeed, it was not an unpleasant haven, as the greatest of

[1] For the account of her funeral see Pognon, *Inscr. de la Syrie*; Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, 1908, p. 135. There is a little uncertainty whether it was not his father rather than his mother.

Arabian travellers describes it, delightful with its green palms, its blossoming plum-trees, its spacious houses, its prosperity. Ancient wells nowadays abound to prove the wealth and energy of its inhabitants; fever and plagues are unknown. By the seventh year (549) Nabonidus was safely and not uncomfortably installed there, hundreds of miles across desert country, while his son was acting as regent at home in Babylon, where the army now was. Here in this Arabian town the old king spent much of the remainder of his life until certainly his eleventh year (*c.* 545); there remains some little survival of the Babylonian influence here in the monument known as the Teima Stone, a relief of a ritual scene with a king, in obvious Assyrian style, albeit with its inscription in Aramaic. An amusing detail of the king's old age appears on a tablet, where it is told that a man who had been specially hired to take some kind of food, doubtless luxuries, to Teima, was compelled to bring it back to Erech, where it was ordered to be sold on the 19th of the tenth month of Nabonidus' tenth year[1]. Indeed, in this note of his domestic details at Teima, his steward may have calculated on the king's departure for good from that city early next year.

There was good reason to be nervous, for the sands were rapidly running out. Cyrus the conqueror was overrunning the north, and it would be the turn of Babylonia shortly. Croesus, who was now on the Lydian throne, was equally uneasy about the foe across the Halys. He turned for advice to numerous oracles, especially to the oracle at Delphi, whence he received the double-edged answer that if he crossed the Halys frontier he would destroy a great kingdom (see p. 521 *sq.*). He chose to accept it as a favourable decision, and his army, which included Ionian troops, crossed the Red River and climbed the downs beyond, thrusting towards the ancient Hittite capital at Pteria, which they took. Cyrus met the Lydian foe in the broad rolling valleys near the city, but neither force secured an advantage, and Croesus then fell back on Sardes, where he disbanded his army, doubtless imagining that the winter snows would check the Persian king. Cyrus, hearing of this, pressed on vigorously to the very capital, and before the Lydian troops could be assembled again routed such as withstood him, driving them within the walls. He laid siege to it, and by the ingenuity of one of his men who discovered a way through the defences, captured it after two or three weeks' fighting (? 547 B.C.)[2]. Lydia thus became a

[1] Dougherty, *Records from Erech*, No. 134.

[2] Or 541 B.C. (Hüsing, *O.L.Z.* 1915, p. 177).

Persian province, and its king so far became Cyrus' friend as to accompany his son subsequently on the expedition against Egypt. With all northern Asia Minor in Persian hands the capture of Babylonia was comparatively simple, and Cyrus set himself to the task.

It has already been mentioned that the Babylonian army after rebuilding the temple at Harran was withdrawn to Babylon, certainly by 550 B.C. The Chronicle records nothing whatever for 548, but the year 547, in which Nabonidus' mother died, marks the date of Cyrus' earlier operations against Babylon. The Persians crossed the Tigris below Arbela, and in the spring of 547 slew a king on the west of the river (possibly Croesus, but more probably nearer home), thus controlling the upper waters of the Tigris.

There is now some indication that Cyrus, thus secure in the north, threatened the sea-coast of southern Babylonia from Elam in the next year (546); at all events, the Chronicle mentions that Elam (came?) to Akkad, and an (Elamite?) governor was appointed to Erech, and if so, Babylonia was caught between pincers. The southern marshes had always been an easy mark for the Elamites; and if Erech was really held by the foe, then farewell to any Babylonian control over the great city of Ur and its temple to the Moon. Indeed, there is no reason to doubt this restoration; from the fact that Cambyses subsequently found it convenient to make his palace there it might even be inferred that Erech was one of the earliest cities in which the Persians established themselves in Babylonia. It is small wonder that the Chronicle records the abrogation of religious ceremonies in Babylon; the empire had become a miserable remnant, hemmed in on all sides, and there were probably neither men for an army nor money to pay them.

Cyrus was by now in control of Ḳutū, or Gutium, the quadrilateral contained by the Lower Zāb, Tigris, the hills of Sulimaniyah, and the Diyala. This district had but lately come under Babylonian rule; Nebuchadrezzar appears to have held some control over the district of Arrapkha near here, and Neriglissar had even recaptured from Gutium a statue of Anunit which had long before been carried away from Babylonia. Now, however, it was ruled by a Persian governor, Gobryas (Gubaru, Ugbaru, in Persian Gaubaruva), who was subsequently to rise to fame.

The people of Babylonia were not under any misapprehension of the future; they at least could read the writing on the wall. Their king was helpless, and their country at the mercy of the invader by 539; moreover there is a pregnant mention of 'the Sea'

(as a danger-zone?) in the Chronicle. Cyrus set his army in motion after the end of the summer, and about the beginning of Tishri (September–October) in 539 B.C. he fought a battle at Opis, and this action was the signal for a general revolt in Akkad. By the fourteenth of the month Tishri he had appeared before the walls of Sippar, which threw open its gates to the invader. The wretched king Nabonidus, now at the eleventh hour back in his land, fled to Babylon; two days later Babylon yielded without a blow to Gobryas and the Persian army, and the king was given up[1]. Little more was needed; the army occupied the great capital, and then Cyrus entered Babylon formally on the third of Marcheswan (October–November) and appointed Gobryas as its governor[2]. The old king Nabonidus was given Carmania to rule, or much

[1] The date 539 for the Fall of Babylon has been reckoned from the latest dates on the contracts of each king in this period, counting from the end of Nabopolassar's reign in 605 B.C., *viz.*, Nebuchadrezzar, 43: Amel-Marduk, 2: Nergal-shar-uṣur, 4: Labashi-Marduk (accession only): Nabonidus, 17 = 66. (Clay, *Pennsylv. Bab. Exp.*, Series A, VIII, 4. See also Pinches, *T.S.B.A.* VI, 486.)

[2] On Dan. v, 30 ('In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain'), see p. 225 n. 2. We know a little more of Gobryas from the tablets. He is called *pikhatu* of Babylon on a tablet dated the fourth year of Cambyses (Pinches, *P.S.B.A.* 1916, p. 29); on another (the accession of Cambyses) he is given the title *pikhatu* of Babylon and *mātu Ebir-nāri*, 'the land across the river' (Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech*, No. 169, l. 22). His title appears subsequently to have been extended to *pikhatu* of Akkad (cf. the seal-impression of his *sipiri*-official, third year of Darius II, Augapfel, Vienna, *Denkschr.*, *Phil-Hist.* LIX, iii, p. 11). A letter, certainly subsequent to Neriglissar (since Nebuchadrezzar and that king are both mentioned on it without the significant courtesy-title of king), sent by Anu-shar-uṣur, who, according to Vanderburgh (*J.A.O.S.* XXXVI, 333), was *ḳīpu* (high official) of the temple of E-Anna in Erech, states that one Kalbi-Marduk is going to speak to Gubarru. Further, it mentions that there are only 121 soldiers left, the rest having deserted or having been killed (Scheil, *Rev. Ass.* 1914, p. 166). The same writer sends another letter (published by Vanderburgh, *loc. cit.*, who appears to be unaware of the existence of the first) about food for soldiers, suggesting the appointment of a man to take charge of the commissariat. But in this case Gobryas is not mentioned. One of the city-gates of Nippur was called by Gobryas' name, *bābu sha Gubarra* (tablet seventh year of Darius II, Clay, *Pennsylv. Bab. Exp.*, Series A, X, No. 128, *r* 14), and Pliny repeats the tradition that the great canal which joined the Tigris to the Euphrates was dug by Gobar, a provincial governor (*Nat. Hist.* VI, 26), *i.e.*, the *nāru sha Gubarri* of Clay (*op. cit.*, No. 80, 13). In the Behistun Inscription Darius states that Gobryas helped him against Gromates. For a detailed account of Gobryas, see Schweïzner, *Klio*, 1923, pp. 41 *sqq.*, 226 *sqq.*

See general remarks to the index of Map 1

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more probably as a place of abode in a new land; and three weeks after the fall of the city commercial transactions had begun to be dated by the reign of the new conqueror[1]. Cyrus, as a wise ruler, left the religious institutions of the people alone, and saw to it that this conquest should be attributed to the invitation of Marduk, the great god of Babylon. Nabonidus had carried off the sacred images of many a foreign nation; Cyrus, recognizing the first fundamentals of an empire, restored them to their shrines in sympathy with the different religions of his new subjects. It was a remarkable act of enlightened vision. (See further, vol. IV, pp. 11 *sqq.*)[2]

And so Babylon fell. The little nations round about could clap their hands at her distress, the virgin daughter of Babylon never more to be lady of kingdoms; but farther west, where men had once spoken of her magnificence and power in the same breath with a proverb of her impregnability, the crash must have roused uneasy anticipations. Cyrus had achieved the impossible: would this rising nation thrust itself next on Europe?

But Babylon the City was for ever to sit silent in the darkness. Presently, when the tide surged back, Seleucia would usurp her title of Royal City; and then one day, when Seleucia was beneath the dust, her fame renascent would centre on Baghdad; but henceforth Mesopotamia was to be the cockpit for all nations to fight in, and Macedonians, Greeks, Sassanians, Arabs, Turks, Germans, and British were to leave their mark on it in turn in the ages to come.

[1] A tablet of the following month is dated by Nabonidus (Clay, *op. cit.*, Series A, VIII, 1, 5).

[2] For the various difficult statements of the history of the period in the book of Daniel reference must be made to the commentaries and the Bible dictionaries; for Belshazzar in particular, see A. A. Bevan, *Encyc. Biblica*, s.v.

CHAPTER XI

THE INFLUENCE OF BABYLONIA

I. LITERATURE: THE STORY OF GILGAMESH

TO define the legacy which the world inherited from the three thousand years of Assyrian and Babylonian history is no easy task.

The Sumerians, preceding the Semitic Babylonians, spoke a language fundamentally different from the Semitic Assyrians, who were cousins to the Hebrews, Syrians, Arabs, and later Ethiopians. To the Sumerian was due the great invention of writing on clay, and the Semite, always ready to absorb benefits, recognized the value of this great discovery, and borrowed the whole Sumerian script of about 550 characters, of which 300 were in common use. Invented in the beginning for Sumerian speech, the syllabary was a poor vehicle for a Semitic tongue, and yet the Babylonians, like the Hittites and several others, adapted it fairly successfully to their own language, in contrast to the Kassites, who preferred to learn the native Babylonian tongue rather than write their own language in it. Then, towards the end of the third millennium, we begin to find Semitic-Babylonian ousting the old Sumerian. The ancient Sumerian legends of the land, the hymns, the prayers, all begin to be found in Semitic versions which are not infrequently adaptations, rather than literal translations. The Semites were now absorbing much of their masters' literature, which was to spread westwards from Babylon, and the more western Semites incorporated the old legends, which thus strayed even to Greece.

The greatest of the Babylonian legends is undoubtedly the Epic of Gilgamesh. Written on twelve tablets according to the later Assyrian edition, it is a composition of great beauty, and there are now portions of tablets of it extant dating back to the end of the third millennium. Even part of the old Sumerian original is represented, and from the divergence between this and the Semitic version it is clear that the legends were sometimes altered slightly to suit more modern taste in style and metre.

As Ashurbanipal's scribes knew it, the story begins with the description of Gilgamesh, the legendary king of Erech, whose name is actually found on a tablet giving a list of the earlier kings

(vol. 1, pp. 366, 666). He is the fifth in the First Dynasty of Erech, living for 126 years, following Tammuz and Lugalbanda (or rather Lugalmaruda), the latter being, if not his father, at least his patron deity in the epic. It was the most popular legend in all Babylonia, for seals were constantly engraved with heroic scenes from his exploits; but he was not regarded as a god of the first rank, although the legend makes him part divine and part human, nor are personal names compounded with his. The legend spread to the Hittites and was translated into their tongue in cuneiform, the incident of Siduri (see p. 231) having survived herein.

Sir Henry Rawlinson suggested that the whole story was a solar myth, but later writers, such as L. W. King, challenged this with some reason, considering the division into twelve sections as a comparatively late arrangement and not as an original series of chapters corresponding to the months of the year. Much of the tradition spread westwards, and Alexander, in the legends which sprang up about him, is often a shadowy Gilgamesh, the fate of Actaeon is the same as that of the shepherd who wedded the Goddess of Love, and the local episode of the Flood of Shuruppak has spread over Christendom as a Deluge submerging the world.

Erech, 'Erech of the Encircling Wall,' is the home of Gilgamesh, who, in these dim forgotten ages, when squalor and brutishness are but mistily remembered behind the glamour of years long dead, lords over men like a wild bull. The splendid city, now a paradise of faerie in the swelling phrases of the *jongleur*, is girt about with high massive walls, and over all, topping the low houses, the arched chambers and the little cabins of reeds, towers the Temple of E-Anna, the House of Heaven, where Ishtar plays the part of Goddess of Love, Mother-Goddess with bountiful breasts, even Goddess of War. As a faithful wife she seeks her husband Tammuz each winter, descending to the Lower World, like Orpheus for Eurydice, and bringing him back with the spring of the year in the mating season, when the desert begins to put forth its emerald carpet. As a Goddess of Love, her rites are crude and lustful, a fit token of a fiery country. As a Mother-Goddess, she offers her bounty of milk with both hands across the world from Babylon to Carchemish, be it as a little clay figure or life-size image; as a Goddess of War, the Semite Anu-banini of Gutium had early pictured her on the cliffs of Sir-i-pul in triumph over his wretched captives.

But Gilgamesh, 'the shepherd of Erech, strong, splendid and wise,' is a cruel tyrant who persecutes his flock, leaving no maid

to her mother, forcing youths to his labour. So runs the first chapter of the story, setting the open-mouthed listeners against the hero; presently this shall be lost in the fresh hues woven into the web, as another strand of legend is shot across the embroidery. The land groans under his oppression, the sound reaches high heaven, and the gods in their pity turn to Aruru:

It is thou, O Aruru,
Who hast created the seed of mankind—do thou make his fellow,
So that the twain, when he pleaseth, shall quarrel, and Erech have freedom.

Aruru gives ear, and models a man of clay and gives him life, and thus the wild man Engidu comes into the world, 'his body all hairy, his locks like a woman's.' He is a strange primitive creature—compared by some to Adam—who spends his days among the wild animals of the plains, sporting with them in the water, living as one of them, and rescuing them from the toils of the hunter. One of these hunters meeting with him suddenly is startled by his uncouth appearance, and hastens to his father to ask for advice, for he knows now who has prevented the game falling into his hands. The old man advises him to bring one of the singing-girls from the great Temple of the Goddess of Love in Erech, that she may entice this savage from his deserts by her wiles. Then the hunter goes to Gilgamesh who repeats the old man's advice.

So, not without art, does the story-teller lead up to a meeting between Engidu and Gilgamesh. The hunter and the girl journey together into the desert to the haunts of Engidu, and there lie in wait, until at last he comes. She, with every art of coquetry known to the *hetairai* of the temple, goes forth alone to meet him, and so, after the fashion of the wild, he mates with her. But, with this ephemeral venture into matrimony, comes that strange old Eastern superstition, reaching back into far ages, that his mystic innocency has been lost, and were he to look into the crystal or the ink now, Engidu would see nothing of the future. The beasts, aforetime his friends, eye him now with terror, and flee at his approach; as a compensation for this, he is allowed to sit at his mistress's feet, while she tells him of the delights of civilization, mocking him for wasting his life, and baiting her trap by daring him to fight Gilgamesh. So, playing on his imagination, in the end she lures him to Erech. She shall see what he will dare—why, those who are born in the open are the strongest of all!

In the city he is dumbfounded by the strangeness of all that his astonished eyes see. The very bread and wine set before him by the girl are a revelation, nor can the editor of the Epic resist

a sly dig of contemptuous civilization at the savage; Engidu, forsooth, had only been wont to suck the milk of the cattle!

> Engidu saw the food set before him, he gazed and he stared,
> How to eat bread he did not understand, nor had he the knowledge
> How to quaff mead.

'Taste, O Engidu,' says his woman, 'taste the bread, the wonted use of the country, the treasure of life.' Caliban is an apt pupil, especially when seven cups of wine have put a valiant spirit into him. He becomes the patron of the shepherds, killing the lions, catching the jackals, and in the end comes the encounter with Gilgamesh, but with a climax unforeseen by the gods.

The tyrant of Erech, restless on his couch one night, leaves his chamber to wander through the streets of his city. Engidu meets him, and the two grapple and fight, wrestling like bulls. So strong does each prove that in the other a respect for his foe is born, and after the tulzie they become fast friends, and with this ends this chapter of the story, for there is no further reference to the tyranny of Gilgamesh, who is now the hero of the legend whom the listeners' sympathy henceforward follows.

The next episodes lead gradually to the great problem of life, death, and what is to come after death. The story-teller draws his hearers on to a primitive philosophy, pictured in the attitude of Gilgamesh when his friend Engidu dies, told with a simple and dramatic pathos: the death of his comrade, and the hero's astonishment at the lifeless corpse gradually rising in a crescendo of terror lest the hero, too, should become like this dead thing. Then follows that great problem, the quest of mankind, eternal life.

These fresh strands leading to Engidu's death begin with high adventure. The two comrades set forth to fight a monster called Khumbaba or Khuwawa, who lives in a cedar-forest. It is an exploit fraught with great danger, and the mother of Gilgamesh, in her anxiety for her son, climbs her roof and upbraids the Sun-god for implanting this restlessness in her son's breast:

> Why didst thou give this restlessness of spirit
> Which now obsesseth Gilgamesh my son,
> That so thou touchest him and straight he runneth
> By distant pathways leading to Khumbaba,
> To meet new warfare all unexercised?

The very elders of the city counsel prudence; let Engidu be the guide and go before Gilgamesh. On their way a vision comes to one of them:

> Thunder was roaring in heaven which earth with her echo resounded,
> Sombre the day in its travail, bringing forth darkness widespreading,

Blazed forth the lightnings—from heaven were kindled the fires celestial,
Pestilence sated its maw, yea Death was filled to o'erflowing.
Sank then to darkness the glare of the sky, sank also the fires,
Crashing to earth, the great molten masses turned into cinders.

With the acceptance of the dreams as omens, they encounter the monster in his cedar-forest, where his daily prowlings have worn smooth pathways, and slay him, hewing off his head in triumph. With the successful issue of this combat comes a little interlude.

Gilgamesh is washing himself after his exploit, and the goddess Ishtar, letting her eye fall upon him, is overwhelmed by his manly beauty and, although a goddess, she bids him marry her. 'Marry thee, forsooth!' says Gilgamesh, 'not I! Why, forsooth, thou art a back door useless to keep out the wind, a palace which falls on the heroes within it, a hunter's pit ready to engulf the unwary, pitch which defiles, a leaky skin bottle, a tripping shoe!'

Then follow his abusive taunts and a recital of her previous husbands, how evil befell each one of them. Was there not Tammuz, the husband of her youth, the Roller-bird whose wing she broke, the Lion who was trapped, the Horse whom she rode almost to death, the Shepherd whose own dogs tore him (like Actaeon), the Gardener whom she transformed by her black magic?—'and me thou wouldst love and make me like them!'

Hysterical at his refusal, Ishtar makes her way furiously to heaven, to her father Anu, and bursts forth into reviling against Gilgamesh. Let Anu create a mighty bull to avenge her insults! The god, very human and very Eastern in his terror of a woman's tantrums, grants her request, and the next exploit of Gilgamesh and Engidu is their slaying of the bull. Ishtar beholds the deed, and ascends the walls of Erech; Engidu tears out the member from the carcase, and flings it at her. 'Could I but reach thee, I'd serve thee like him!' and she is left to mourn with her women for the dead bull.

But alas! now Engidu falls sick, perhaps through the curse of Ishtar, and Gilgamesh is distraught with anxiety for his friend, and muses on their good comradeship together, how they captured the bull, how they killed Khumbaba:

O, what is this slumber
That hath o'ertaken thee? thus art thou dark, nor art able to hear me.
But he raised not his head, and his heart, when Gilgamesh felt it,
Made no beat.

Terrified by the sight of death, the hero cannot endure the thought that he, too, will die; he must set off on a journey to Uta-Napishtim, to whom the gods have given eternal life, a

journey dangerous and difficult. The Sun-god, touched with compassion for the poor bewildered hero, warns him that he cannot find the life which he seeks, but the other only answers:

Shall I, after roaming the desert, up and down running,
Lay my head in the depths of the earth, and throughout the years slumber?

'Let mine eyes see the light of the Sun,' he pleads. Then he comes to the Scorpion-man and Scorpion-woman, who are sentinels of the mountains wherein the sun travels by night, and through this dark passage must he go until he emerges to daylight beyond, where the maiden Ṣiduri is seated on a throne. Alarmed at the appearance of this rough travel-stained man she flies to her sanctuary; in his dire necessity to learn his road he pursues her, threatening to burst her door if she will not listen to him. Then only does she speak to him comfortably—what is the use of his seeking to escape the common lot?

Gilgamesh, why dost thou run? inasmuch as the life which thou seekest,
Thou canst not find, for the gods in their first creation of mortals
Death allotted to man, but life they retained in their keeping.
Gilgamesh: full be thy belly,
Each day and night be thou merry, and aye hold holiday revel....
Let thou thy head be clean washen, and bathe; and the little one cherish,
Holding thy hand; and let also thy spouse be rejoiced in thy bosom,
This is the mission of man.

Nevertheless she tells him what she knows. Uta-Napishtim lives across the sea, the Waters of Death; he must seek Ur-Shanabi, the boatman who may help him to cross them. Again with this guidance the hero starts off.

He finds the boat of Ur-Shanabi on the margin of the waters, and here we have to infer from a lacuna that he destroys an essential part of the boat, which he must replace with a hundred and twenty poles. They launch the boat, and Gilgamesh punts her with his poles, and, that the dread water may not touch him, he throws away each pole at the end of his thrust[1]. Uta-Napishtim is waiting for him on the other side, and in answer to the hero's request for eternal life, tells him the whole story of the Flood.

Shuruppak, the modern Fara, was the scene. The gods decided to bring a flood upon the world, but Ea, who was privy to their counsels, gave warning to Uta-Napishtim who was living there. Even he dared not warn him personally; he went therefore to the reed-hut in which Uta-Napishtim dwelt, and addressed his speech, not to the man, but to the hut: 'O Reed-hut, give ear,

[1] This seems to be the explanation. The small skiffs of Basrah are punted with a pole when they go upstream.

O Wall, understand!' and then bade the man pull down his house and build a boat, which, doubtless, in the early period when the story was invented, was merely a reed-raft such as is used to this day in Mesopotamia (cf. vol. I, p. 497). On this he was to place his family and goods, and if any asked him why, he was to say Bel had cursed him and he could no longer dwell there. So did he, and entered his boat, and then the heavens opened, the rains poured down, the floods rose, and all the land was blotted out, the deluge lasting for six days; and when, on the seventh, Uta-Napishtim looked out of the window, all mankind had returned to their primitive clay. The boat grounded on an elevation called Mount Niṣir, and after seven days more Uta-Napishtim let loose a dove, which flew back because it could find no resting-place: then he loosed a swallow, which also returned, and lastly a raven which flew away and returned not. Then he came forth from the ark and offered a sacrifice to the gods.

When Bel arrived on the scene he beheld the man who had escaped with his life, and burst into anger; but Ea, acting the part of mediator, soothed him, so that in the end the wrathful god let Uta-Napishtim dwell with his wife at 'the mouth of the rivers'; they have now become as gods.

But how can Gilgamesh become like these? There is no solution, says Uta-Napishtim. Yet as he leaves the shore despondent, Uta-Napishtim calls to him, telling him that there is a magic herb at the bottom of the sea called 'the-Old-Turned-Young.' The hero, attaching a stone to his feet like the modern divers of the Persian Gulf, leaps into the water, finds the plant, and he and the boatman set forth on their way home. Then, as he stops near a pool of water, a snake darts forth and seizes the plant which it carries off, and Gilgamesh is left without his elixir, and he must perforce return home empty-handed, his quest fruitless.

Here the Epic should really end, but actually on the twelfth tablet we are given the picture of Engidu raised from the dead, to tell his friend of the Underworld. There is no escape from death and Hades.

II. THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR, THE CREATION EPIC, AND OTHER LEGENDS

Hell is described both in the Gilgamesh Epic and in the Legend of the Descent of Ishtar. Ishtar, whose husband Tammuz, the god of vegetation, dies every year with the summer droughts, goes down to Hell to seek him, a theme which dates back far

into Sumerian times; and there are many hymns extant in Sumerian from which the wailing women can keen their laments. For the Underworld is a place of earth, dust, mud, where ghosts live miserably, and such forgotten shades, as are no longer fed by their descendants, must seek their food and drink amid the heaps of offal and the gutters. Thither the goddess descends, knocking at the outer gate, and the porter announces her arrival to the Queen Ereshkigal, whose very name held so much magic that Greek sorcerers used it in their charms. Ishtar has come to Hades like a mortal; naked she came into the world, naked she must leave it, and at each of the seven gates the porter takes away a garment. Ereshkigal mocks her as she stands naked before her, and the unhappy goddess loses her temper and is punished with every bodily ill the queen can inflict. But with the absence of the goddess of love, all creation on earth is at a standstill; and unless Ereshkigal can be won over to release her, the world will come to an end. So Ea creates a kind of clown who is to descend into Hades, and by amusing the wrathful queen obtain the Water of Life from her. But she fathoms his intention, and curses him, but relents (why, exactly, is not clear), and forgives Ishtar, over whom Namtar, the god of pestilence, pours the Water of Life, so that she may return to earth with her husband. With the return of the faithful goddess, nature again becomes fruitful.

It is a beautiful legend which spread all over the Near East. Every year the women wailed for Tammuz, just as they wail at Muharram to this day with their shrill rapid utterance *Ali, Ali, Ali, Ali!* working themselves up into a frenzy.

From the Legend of Gilgamesh we can turn to the Epic of Creation which played so great a part in the Festival of the New Year. It was celebrated at Ashur, where the god represented was Ashur, and at Babylon, where Marduk played the chief *rôle*. It was a ritual which takes almost the character of a Passion Play, enacted during the first eleven days of Nisan, the first month of the year, including a recital of the career of the principal god in the drama of creation, the king himself taking part. The ceremonial tablets lay down the exact ritual to be observed in the temple, and the whole Epic of Creation containing the current theological beliefs about that great problem, the Beginning of All Things, was recited by the High Priest on the fourth day.

Before ever the heavens were made there existed Apsū and Mummu (and) Tiamat. Herein we meet at once the first difficulty; are there two or three beings? Later on in the Epic there is no

doubt that Mummu and Tiamat are different monsters, but there does not appear to be that ease of distinction in the prologue, nor is it conventional to have three factors in primeval creation. However this may be, the original parents of the world appear to have been waters which mingled together, perhaps the great salt sea of the Persian Gulf and the wide brackish lakes of the southern Babylonian marshes, so stirred by the sea-tide that the daily ebb and flow up the river may have given rise to a belief in a great monster beneath, fertilized by the sea. For Tiamat, the *tĕhōm* of Genesis, the great dragon of *tāmtu* the sea, still seems to be vaguely pictured in the mind of the modern Arab in Basrah, who explains an earthquake as made by the monstrous buffalo of the *jinn* beneath the earth. Out of the primeval deeps gods were born, the mysterious Lakhmu and Lakhamu, who in turn spawned Anshar and Kishar; and then from Anshar came Anu, who ultimately is the Sky-god, and from him Ea, who perhaps first is Lord of the Earth, and then of the Waters. But now Apsū goes with his messenger Mummu to Tiamat (now they are clearly three) to plot against this multitude of noisy gods, to destroy them that they may again have peace. Ea, who is all-wise, tired of their iniquity, falls on Apsū and Mummu with magic, killing one and binding the other, and gives the divine world time to produce the great tutelary god of Babylon, Marduk (or, in the Assyrian story, Ashur), who is born of Lakhmu and Lakhamu in Apsū, now the name of the Hall of Ea, which is the sea.

Now rises Tiamat to avenge the defeat of Mummu and Apsū, creating a brood of wicked and devilish monsters, choosing as their leader Kingu; and with the bruit of this evil spawn Ea is stricken with fear, and hurries to take counsel with Anshar his father. Now is the time for a true champion! Anu is the first to take up the challenge, but the sight of the enemy sends him scurrying back in terror, to cast down the other gods to the lowest depths of fear. Marduk, then, let it be; prepare a feast, summon the gods, let us exalt to supreme power this god, if only he will champion us, for a god such as he can destroy or create at pleasure! Wherefore, to prove their confidence, the gods display a robe at the feast. 'Command, and it shall vanish; again command, and it shall re-appear.' A poor trick, a trivial miracle, but one such as has always arrested Semitic interest; the conjurer succeeds, the champion proves his power. 'Go and cut off the lip of Tiamat,' and with this exhortation Marduk prepares his armour, and swoops down on the monster in his Chariot of the Resistless Storm, riding the whirlwind. The twain meet in fierce

combat, the god, a very St George, casting a rampant wind into the mouth of the Dragon, and shooting her through and through; how the devils who helped her scattered to the four winds, hoping to escape his net, all unavailing! Marduk, triumphant, cleaves the dragon in twain, making one half the heavens wherein he set the stars and great lights, fixing their courses and their stations: and then comes the great creation, Man. Man shall be made, so that the service of the gods may be carried on, perhaps that he and his like may provide each day the divine daily food, offerings, wives. 'Blood will I form, bone will I make,' says Marduk. 'I will create man.' But Ea offers counsel. Kingu is the chief god who revolted against heaven, and he is now a prisoner; slay him, take his blood, and out of it make man. With the creation of man there is little more of anthropological interest, for woman is not included, and the text goes on to tell of the founding of Babylon, the city of Marduk, whose praise is hymned now throughout the rest of the Epic. It is an extraordinary poem, obviously (as even these few lines show) built up over several foundations, demanding long and patient disentanglement, but for our purpose here it is enough to give it as a legend of later Babylonian times.

There are many other legends. Etana, the hero of Kish, is carried up to the skies by an eagle; Adapa, the fisherman of Eridu, who provides food for his town in the marshes, breaks the wing of the south wind and in consequence is carried off to heaven to give an explanation of his crime (vol. I, p. 400 *sq.*); Irra, the god of pestilence, is the subject of a story which appears to contain a reference to an invasion which actually occurred (*ib.*, p. 473); the Zū-bird steals the Tablets of Destiny. Throughout the legends we see lurking incidents which call to mind the Greek stories, of Gilgamesh as Heracles, of Actaeon, of Ganymede, of Orpheus. Hebrew literature is still fuller of reminiscence, for the Flood is taken over almost bodily, and the Chaos-dragon was very well known.

III. DIDACTIC AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

From the legends to the Wisdom-literature is but a step. One of the most striking series of tablets in cuneiform is the so-called Lament of a Babylonian Job, the plaint of a sufferer attacked by demons, who in vain invokes the gods and consults the priests. He has always performed his religious devoirs, and yet, forsooth, he has been submerged by this woe: how, then, may one know what is pleasing to the gods? Written in a style superior to that

of an ordinary incantation text, the pitiful protests of the suppliant sometimes remind us of the finest Hebrew literature. More didactic is the tablet which enjoins counsels of wisdom and moderation, to shun the company of harlots, to speak little and to be slow in rising in an assembly, to reverence one's god each day. We might almost include here the Tablet of the Horse and the Ox, in which each animal discusses his superiority over the other.

The religious literature is enormous. Much of it is based on the principle that if a man has fallen sick he has broken some *tabu*, wittingly or unwittingly, and it is for him to call in the aid of a wizard to relieve him (cf. p. 90). The breach of *tabu* may have called down either the wrath of the gods, or it may have left the unfortunate man open to the attacks of some demon or ghost, whose name is legion. For this purpose was written the large number of incantations which use the 'atonement-magic,' whereby the evil influence can be transferred from the man to some other object, and here may be included the *Shurpu* series, and many of the texts for exorcising devils, as well as the series *Maḳlu*, which provides for counter-sorcery against wizards and witches who have cast their spells upon the sick man.

At all periods the great temples resounded with choirs singing hymns in praise of each deity, for the Babylonian had all the Semitic genius for written song. Yet we find an unpleasing humility in his supplications, to which he hastened to give voice as soon as he had become terror-stricken at the menace of bodily ill. Never was devil so likely to turn monk as the Babylonian devotee! Yet, on the other hand, there is often a simplicity about the prayers which is not unpleasant:

> O goddess of men, goddess of women,
> Thou whose counsel none may learn,
> Where thy glance falls, live the dead,
> The sick are healed, the sore made whole
> Seeing thy face! So I, in stress,
> Of sorrow sighing, woe, cry unto thee,
> Thy servant!
> O my lady, look on me,
> Accept my prayer![1]

[1] The long poem of over a hundred lines from which this extract is taken is a prayer to Ishtar, which is justly regarded as 'one of the finest Babylonian religious compositions that has yet been recovered' (L. W. King). It ends, characteristically enough, with directions for the performance of certain sacrificial ceremonies, burning of incense, presentation of a drink-offering, etc.

The ritual for all classes of priests is also carefully laid down with most meticulous formality. Mesopotamia seems to have always been thoroughly under the thumb of the priests, and it might almost be said that superstition had made men's lives a burden, except that in modern days we find the Arabs holding so many similar beliefs, and yet undismayed by them. The king as head of the state was hedged about with religious formalities; he would ask oracles whenever he was undertaking a new expedition. But the innumerable omen-tablets which forecast events from the most trivial acts of daily life show how the common people trusted such Books of Fate, and it was clearly not only the king who tried to peer into the future.

History in a nation so proud of its bloodthirsty exploits became a fine art, and from the earliest times of Sumerian writing the kings glorified themselves in their records, both on stone and on clay (see above, p. 111 *sq.*). Ashur-naṣir-pal had his inscriptions cut across the very pictures on his sculptures, but this fashion did not remain in vogue much later, and the best period of Assyrian art, the seventh century, is free from this ugly practice. It is clear that careful record was kept of events long past and of kings long dead, for the Assyrian monarchs are always able to provide dates for the exploits of their predecessors, with at least the appearance of accuracy. From the first, as soon as they had learnt to grave on stone, the kings left their records behind them, either on door-sockets in the palaces, or boundary stones, or on the face of mountain-rocks in far distant corners of their kingdoms. Yet the vainglorious story of conquest which every Assyrian monarch bequeaths of himself to posterity is a bloody record of cruelty and terror, and the disgusted reader loses sight of whatever literary excellence there may be in it in his loathing for the complacent story of slaughter. It is pleasanter to leave the endless tales of barbarism, which one might have hoped would never be surpassed, and turn to the records of more peaceful pursuits.

IV. ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

The domain of legend and fiction, of ecclesiastical literature and of bombastic prose, yields pride of place to science. With our increasing knowledge of the extraordinary capacity of the Babylonians comes a very real and great respect for their ability, which far outranged that of the other Semites who appear almost as provincials alongside this high civilization; and we can give

unlimited admiration to the genius which plays so large a part in laying the foundations of modern science. The Babylonian observations of the stars were the beginning of astronomy; their knowledge of drugs, of our medicine; their patient lexicography is wonderful in its untiring care; their codes of laws are masterpieces of common sense and discrimination.

It was to astrology, rather than astronomy proper, that the Babylonians first owed the reputation which their knowledge of the stars had gained for them. Naturally they drew presages from the actions of the heavenly bodies; but the very fact of their seeking such omens made them very observant astronomers, and however much we may sneer at the fantasies into which astrology has led mankind, to it is due the whole of the science of astronomy. When the men of Babylonia were observing the movements of the planets in order to forecast the future, they were laying the foundations of a sure philosophy which was already taking a very definite and scientific shape in the reign of Cambyses, and eliminating the old omen-search. By the end of the third millennium they had already recorded observations of Venus. It is not, however, until we reach the period of the Assyrian kings of Ashur and Nineveh that we can begin to appreciate what an enormous hold astrology had had in the past over the Babylonians. This period represents the culmination and decadence of astrology proper; with the downfall of Assyria we see the passing of what may be called 'rule-of-thumb' methods of an astrology groping towards the greater science which thoroughly deserves the name of astronomy under the later period, which survived in actual cuneiform until 10–9 B.C.[1]

At the same time, the star-gazers had early settled the duration of the year with its two equinoxes, and its difference in its solar and lunar periods. The ordinary year was lunar, the months being easily observable thus by anyone; but this compelled the insertion of an extra month from time to time, to make the period equal to the solar year. This must have originated with the Sumerians, but the fixed period for the insertion of intercalary months did not come in until the sixth century, when an eight-year cycle was in vogue which subsequently became a nine-year cycle. Indeed, in Hammurabi's time we find the king writing to Sin-idinnam (twenty-first century B.C.), saying: 'since the year hath a deficiency, let the month which is beginning be registered as a second Elul,' clearly indicating how indefinite the duration of the year

[1] This is Kugler's assignment of Rm. IV, 356 (*Sternkunde*, I, 104), the date being lost.

was in his time (cf. vol. I, p. 147). Out of this observance of years and months arose the sexagesimal system for which the Babylonians were famous, and which was to lead ultimately to the division of the day into twelve *bēre* or double hours, each of which represented in arc 12 *ammatu* (30 degrees), and each *ammatu* (of 2° 30′) 24 *ubanu*. These measurements, even by the *ubanu*, were employed in reckoning astronomical distance, certainly in the seventh century B.C., and some of them long before[1].

By the seventh century there was an established system of observatories throughout Assyria for recording the movements of the heavenly bodies. Reports were regularly sent to the king, partly with the object of foretelling the future (which is explained to him hereon by formal and perfunctory quotations from the old astrological books), partly with the intention of foretelling the duration of the lunar month from the previous position of the sun and moon, which had now become an important study. The seven planets included the sun and moon; the word at this time is *Lu.Bad*, the comparison being to 'sheep'; and the entry of these and other stars into the two halos of the moon, called 'sheep-fold' and 'cattle-pen,' is a copious source of omens. 'Planets,' explains one astronomer to the king, 'are those whose stars traverse their own path.' The Ecliptic had by now been divided into the twelve signs of the Zodiac, which are almost the same as those in use to-day, some of the constellations having been marked out as early as the fourteenth century. Every possible incident, astronomical or atmospheric, was observed for its possible portents, even earthquakes playing their part.

Of the practical capacity of the astronomers to calculate eclipses at this period it is not easy to decide. They predicted them, it is true, and watched to see if their predictions were fulfilled. But it is not until the later time, after the fall of Nineveh, when the eighteen-year *saros* period shows itself, that there is an approach to real astronomy, when their knowledge of the eclipses, of the changes of the sun and the moon, is remarkable; and even by the middle of the second century they had no knowledge of

[1] This division of time, as well as the year of twelve months, has survived in our reckoning, the only difference being that we have divided the day and night into 24 hours instead of 12. The Babylonian sexagesimal method is obvious from the cuneiform writing; the single wedge, besides meaning 'one,' has the value *shushshu*, 'sixty' (σῶσσος), which is expanded into the *neru*, 600 (νῆρος), and *shaṭu*, 3600 (σάρος). We owe our certain knowledge that the *bēru* (ὥρα) was two hours in duration to an astrologer who reported, of an equinox, that day and night, each of six *bēre*, were equal.

the precession of the equinoxes. The details given on these later tablets show the immense care and trouble which were taken in their studies of the heavens, which was to be the mother of modern philosophy.

V. MEDICINE, GRAMMAR, LAW

Practical medicine must rank as high as astronomy in our assessment of Babylonian knowledge, and, if it be maintained that astrology was only a means to lead to astronomy, then we must give the physician the higher place. The texts from Ashur (which must certainly be put no later than the eighth century) show a systematic practice in medicine, a very wide and close knowledge of disease, and a deep knowledge of drugs—animal, vegetable and mineral. Above all, it must be explained that the practice of medicine proper in Assyria, as taught by the medical treatises, has one broad distinction from the methods of the demonologist. It deals definitely in a practical way with disease, reducing the mumbo-jumbo of the exorcist to a minimum, whereas in the magical texts, although drugs are frequently used, their employment is entirely subservient to the Word of Power and the knowledge of a personal devil. Five hundred pieces of tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum (perhaps equivalent to one-twentieth of the whole) represent the knowledge of the physician, empiric, of course, but practical; the greater part of the receipts have no concern with magic, but take the form 'if a man has such and such a disease, then do thou give him to drink (or, apply) such and such drugs, and he will recover,' a form retained in Syriac and late Hebrew medicine. Naturally, few tablets, except an occasional letter, instruct us in the use of the surgeon's knife, but several introduce us to the use of instruments, and of course even in the third millennium we find careful enactments made in the Hammurabi Code for surgeons' fees, and compensations to patients injured during treatment.

Diseases and ailments of every part of the body are dealt with in these texts, from the crown of the head wherein scabies is treated with sulphur, to feet which cannot walk. Arsenic, antimony, and copper were used for various forms of ophthalmia; mercury, alum, and other mineral drugs as yet unidentified for other diseases. Of the vegetable drugs we may reckon as the commonest the turpentines, followed by an enormous pharmacopœia, including rosewater (as a medium), the gums, oils or other products of cedar, cypress and laurel, myrtle, tamarisk, and

juniper; gums or gum-resins, such as styrax, galbanum, myrrh, liquidambar, asafoetida, opopanax; the narcotics hemp, opium, *lolium temulentum*, mandragora, and some of the *solanaceae*; the stomachic value of many of the *umbelliferae*; the peculiar use of the anemones and chamomiles, licorice, mustard, numerous alkalis, and perhaps a form of iodine from sea-weed; the medicinal value of fruits (juice or skins), pomegranate, lemon, apple, medlar.

The following table will show the approximate number of drugs in use:

Drugs	Species	Frequency of mention Percentages
Vegetable	250	80
Mineral	120	10
Others	180	10

(without counting the various alcohols, fats and oils used as vehicles or solvents).

Of the instruments, a tube of bronze is recommended for blowing a compound of myrrh, styrax and 'salt of Akkad' into the eyes, or styrax in oil into the urinary organs; a bronze spatula or blade for applying drugs to the eyes. Cloths and leather (vellum, parchment) are prescribed for poultices.

It was doubtless the necessity for medicines which led to the Assyrian philologists' care in tabulating the plants; and speaking generally they adhered to a botanical order of their own in composing these lists. Most interesting are the herbalists' little comments interspersed amid the columns: how opium is 'like mandrake' (in its narcotic effects), and 'is gathered by women and children,' as it is to this day; that a poppy 'is (called) a rose by the common people,' as it is by the modern Arab; that cannabis (hemp, *binj*) is 'an antidote to sorrow'; that sumach is 'a dye for leather,' as well as 'an appetizer.'

From the plant-lists of the doctors to the other catalogues is but a step. Every possible word appears to have been included in these texts, with its Sumerian equivalent: gods and stars, stones, minerals, metals, wooden objects, besides a mass of lexicographical material, either as Sumerian glossaries, or as double-column lists of Assyrian synonyms. The Sumerian student could refer to numerous dictionaries of this kind, nay, there were even Sumerian phrase-books for him.

A nation which controlled so large an empire must needs codify its laws. The Sumerians appear to have done so: Hammurabi engraved his on stone on the magnificent column found at Susa (vol. I, pp. 492 *sqq.*); the Assyrians equally tabulated theirs. The

latter have been already discussed (pp. 104 *sqq.*), and it is unnecessary to re-introduce the subject here except as a reminder. The laws are, however, very different from their Babylonian predecessors, and the contrast between the two codes shows vividly the changes which the centuries had brought about.

As practical mathematicians the Babylonians of the First Dynasty (twenty-second century) have left us tablets which indicate no small capacity for geometry. In one, for instance, we find a series of problems concerning this calculation of areas presented to students of surveying, with diagrams: '1 *Ush* square, within it a square I have inscribed. The second square stands square (upon the first); 4 squares 1 circle I have inscribed. That field calculate (?).'

Lastly there are two classes of literature which tell us so much of the daily life, the immense quantity of contracts, and the letters. The demands of a business-like people make their scribes adepts at letter-writing, their attorneys careful in legal expression, their merchants shrewd in the essentials of an agreement. From the third millennium onward we find numerous records of sales, marriages, adoptions, all duly set forth and formally witnessed, indicating a long and gradual evolution from previous practice. Officers in the time of Hammurabi were able to write a concise letter to their king; by the middle of the next millennium letter-writing in cuneiform between foreign potentates throughout the Near East had become a habit (cf. vol. II, p. 297). The letters of the later Assyrian period are numerous and cover all subjects, including the letters of Sennacherib himself who was conducting a campaign in the north while yet a prince, giving a *précis* which describes the events at various Assyrian outposts on the border. Moreover, there have survived from the late Babylonian period a great many private letters written by merchants, priests, officers, and even women. Except for the larger royal letters of the middle of the second millennium, it may be said that there is a marked tendency to reduce the size of the letters, although not perhaps the actual amount written. The letters of the Assyrian empire are half the size of those of Hammurabi's time, and twice that of the letters of the Babylonian Renaissance. It is an indication of the introduction of the postman, limited in his capacity as a weight-carrier; indeed, although the Persians are said to have instituted a messenger service, the very word *angaros*, 'messenger,' owes its origin really to the Babylonian *agiru*, 'hireling.'

VI. THE DECAY OF THE BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION

And now, in summing up the relative position which the ancient dwellers of Mesopotamia hold amid the nations of the world, and the heritage which is the treasure amassed by their tremendous energy and efficiency, we have to watch the flickering light of the brilliant torch which they lighted die out. The ingenious cuneiform characters pressed in clay, not only by the Assyrians, but by many nations round about them, survived the Fall of Babylon, but not for long; decay set in, not decay of the language so much as the gradual disuse, first of the every-day speech, and then of the writing, which lingered on nearly to the Christian Era, kept alive by a small community tenacious of the ancient glories of their land under a few conservative priests, astronomers and attorneys. The story of its fall into oblivion is as pitiful as that of other lost tongues and scripts, the obvious cause being the subjugation of the Babylonians by foreigners from which they were never sufficiently powerful to free themselves. Persians and Macedonians introduced strange languages into the land in a way none had done since the coming of the Sumerians, and with these conquerors came a horde of foreign soldiery and merchants, so that the queer old legend, which the Jews in their philological juggling had seen depicted in the very word Babel, was now a reality, for Babylonia had become a melting-pot of foreign tongues, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Persian, Greek, a veritable *macédoine* of jargons. Conversely, the immense armies raised to fight the wars of the Persians drained the land of its native inhabitants.

It is the ordinary private letters, almost always written on business or professional subjects, which are the first documents to disappear from the cuneiform. Numerous before the Persian conquest, and existing even to the end of the reign of Darius, they drop out in the beginning of the fifth century; and it is this which indicates the first decay of the spoken language. In that variegated tapestry which cuneiform has woven we can follow two strands coloured by these little common letters. Every great period of vigour in Assyro-Babylonian history—Hammurabi, the later Assyrian empire, the Babylonian Renaissance—is marked by a corresponding encouragement of letter-writing, communications written not only by the king but by private people or officials. Under a successful ruler the country has ease, comfort, leisure; agriculture and trade increase, and business, no longer

upset by foreign inroads, is carried on in security, and trade-intercourse between city and city is a necessary result. But when this peace, so essential for civilization, is rudely broken, and husbandmen, merchants, and particularly scribes, are hurried away to defend themselves in disastrous wars, letter-writing naturally ceases; there is little for patron or client to discuss, few are left who have reason to write, and still fewer who are able to write or even read. It is therefore reasonable for us to postulate that a period of national depression in a land where only a part of the population can write will be marked by a woeful lack of private correspondence. That is the first strand which blends its colours in the last fringes of the cuneiform web.

But the second is still clearer and more sombre. In the East, when a foreign invader speaking a different language from the defeated race occupies the conquered land permanently, the older inhabitants must of necessity sink into an inferior position. Everything combines to give the victors an advantage, their rights of conquest, their position as rulers, their very language which is now that of the upper classes. Only those of the old native population who barely hold their ancient lands by favour of the victors have need to carry on extensive business; only those who will trouble to learn the new speech can occupy positions of government. In the end the old landowners will be ousted, or at best bought out; their ancient language will live only as a means of intercourse between the lowest, it will be mummified, and will be preserved by the regretful conservatism of a dying stock.

So did it happen probably in Babylonia. The spoken language was moribund early in the fifth century B.C., and the unsuccessful revolt of Nidintu-Bēl gave it the *coup-de-grâce* (522 B.C.). There does not seem to be any reason to suppose that private correspondence was forbidden by the Persian censors, at any rate before the revolt; the Persians seem to have been so open-minded in their respect for foreign prejudices that they were probably content to ignore the opportunities for mischief and sedition which more primitive oriental races, swaddled in the incunabula of an arrested development, always ascribe to this mystery of writing. But, at all events, the letters cease about the beginning of the fifth century, and then within the next hundred years legal contracts and similar documents come almost entirely to an abrupt end, although a few do, it is true, survive in cuneiform to the last, a fact easily explicable, for there will always be professional scribes or attorneys whose business it is to know enough of the old language

to be able to refer to ancient records. But with letters it is different, for no professional scribe will risk sending a letter in a dying language if there is any probability that the recipient cannot find someone to read it for him.

It is strange, however, that Persian cuneiform should have had no effect in helping to prolong Babylonian. The explanation probably is that not only are the scripts distinct, but that the two languages are more so. Indeed, Babylonia shows no trace of acceptance of the conqueror's writing, the immense gulf between the extant literature of the two peoples showing how little they had in common. Of the Babylonians we have untold treasures in every branch of written document; of the Achaemenians there is hardly anything but a few monumental records. For that reason Babylonian cuneiform outlived Persian, which, as far as can be seen at present, springs into being suddenly, lasts for a mere couple of centuries, and then dies. So high a place did Babylonian hold even during the reign of Darius, at least academically, that the Persian king chose it as one of the three languages in which to perpetuate his exploits on a mountain side far out of reach of the ordinary traveller in a land where Babylonian was hardly known. But pregnant of meaning is the discovery that, not only has a fragmentary copy of the inscription been found in Babylonian at Babylon, but even one in Aramaic at Elephantine. Xerxes still used Babylonian when he wished to set up a trilingual inscription; and so, later, did Artaxerxes Mnemon. By this time it had probably reached the place of Latin in modern ecclesiasticism or monumental inscriptions.

From the beginning of the fourth century onwards until nearly the end of the first century B.C. the lamp was kept alight partly by the guilds of faithful priests, who carried on the old forms of worship after the universal manner of priesthoods with all the ancient formulas, partly by the astronomers, and partly by the professional scribes whose skill throughout this period is shown by some few hundred contracts. These poor relics show that there existed in the land down to the end what may probably be correctly described as a little community: the pathetic, exclusive remnant of an extinct power, who for the most part rejected new gods, and held to their old patronymics, Marduk-shum-iddin, Marduk-zir-ibni, even to the first century, and (since their contracts are written in good Babylonian) perhaps retained the ancient language. Nor have the astronomers and priests been more generous in their bequests to us, and here, too, our heritage is woefully sparse, for where the century of the Assyrian zenith

has left us tablets in thousands, the whole period of the four centuries before Christ can offer them at best but in scores. Indeed, hardly a tablet has been left to represent cuneiform for almost the whole of the fourth century, a miserable period of invasion, of great unrest, wretched palace intrigues, and the murders of kings.

With the rise of the Seleucid power in 312 B.C., however, there came what may be considered as a tolerant revival of the encouragement of ancient ritual and astronomy. As early as the time of Cambyses, if not before, astronomy had begun to oust her more charlatan mother astrology, and now, from the time of Seleucus Nicator (312–280), who did so much to raise Babylonia (along with the other parts of the East) from the slough of decadence into which it had sunk, we find a large series of tablets recording astronomical observations of high scientific merit, down to the latter half of the first century B.C. Indeed, we can trace a renascent flicker of the old love of historical records in an astronomical tablet of the next king, Antiochus Sōtēr (280–260), dated in 'the thirty-eighth year of Antiochus and Seleucus' (273–2), wherein are given little details of current events; how in 275–4 the king left his wife (probably Stratonice, who had been his father's consort) with her retinue in Saparda (Sardes?), whither they had come, very likely to avoid the hot weather, and fought 'the Egyptians across the River'; and how Bactria sent a present of twenty elephants. Herein, too, Seleucia is mentioned, the city so shortly to eclipse Babylon, now lying so flat and deserted opposite the great arch of Ctesiphon; there is also mention of Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah, but it is Seleucia which is called 'the Royal City.' Most interesting of all is the little note that in Babylon they paid current prices in Greek copper coins. Indeed, Antiochus has left one record in cuneiform which stands out as unique for the period, a clay cylinder modelled on the old style, which he caused to be written to record his restorations at the old Temple of Nabū at Borsippa. Herein he calls himself the eldest son of Silukku (Seleucus) the Macedonian, and mentions Astartanikku (Stratonice) his wife, and describes Nabū, the god of Borsippa, as 'son of E-Sagil,' the first-born of Marduk, child of Erua the queen. It is a last and very solitary specimen of a royal cuneiform document. But in spite of this artificial stimulus to cuneiform revival (if such it was), originality was confined to the astronomers; the only other serious cuneiform (besides the handful of contracts mentioned) were some few editions of old religious and ritual tablets made from time to time throughout the Seleucid

and Arsacid Eras down to 84 B.C., if not later. Hereon we find attention drawn to the piety of the copyist, together with the date; indeed, so keen was one priest that he made copies of texts in Persia which had long before been carried away from the Temple at Erech, and mentions it with pride in his colophon:

> Documents relating to the rules of the cult of the supreme divinity, to the sacred rites, to the observances of the (royal) ceremonial, as well as the divine (cult) of Bit-Rēsh, the great sanctuary of E-Anna, and of the temples of Tir-Anna; to the functions of the exorcists, choir, and musicians, and the servants of every kind behind the... without reckoning the acolytes, according to the tablets which Nabopolassar, king of the Sea-Country, had carried off from Erech.... Kidin-Ani, of Uruk, an *urigallu* of Bit-Rēsh, having seen these tablets in Elam, and copied them in the reign of Antiochus and Seleucus the kings, and brought the copies back to Erech.

Down to the last there existed at Erech an encouragement of cuneiform which we can only describe as academic.

Lastly must be mentioned the tablets which contain scrawling Greek transliterations of Babylonian words. Such as have survived show cuneiform on one side and Greek (assigned to the second century B.C.) on the other, and their peculiarity is that they are meant to be turned over horizontally and read like a western book, and not read vertically, as was done with all Babylonian tablets from time immemorial. If any inference can be drawn from this, it is that the Greek at least was written by a Greek and not by a Babylonian who had been accustomed to handling tablets. The following is a quotation from one in the British Museum about palm-trees:

iṣᵘgishimmar-dumu-dumu	*ta-a-lum*	γισιμαρ δομ θαλ
iṣᵘgishimmar-dumu-dumu	*sha-kin-nu*	γισιμαρ δομ σακιν

It remains only to give the exact dates of the latest tablets. In dating them the Seleucid Era (312–311 B.C.) was used alone until Seleucus IV, when a tablet is found given with the double dating 68 (Arsacid) and 132 (Seleucid), *i.e.* 179 B.C. One of the latest double dates in existence is on an astronomical tablet dated at Babylon, 213 and 277, *i.e.* 35 B.C. It may be that cuneiform struggled on to the end of the century; Kugler has ingeniously calculated the year 10–9 B.C. as the date of an astronomical text, and Strassmaier reckons 6 B.C. as the date of a tablet dated '242 Ar-ka-a the king' (which must, he thinks, with reason, be for Ar-sha-ka-a). Hence, we may fix 10–9 and 6 B.C. as probable final dates for cuneiform, and 35 B.C. as one of the latest definite years in which a tablet was written (cf. Schnabel, *Z.A.* 1924, p. 66).

VII. THE DEBT OF EUROPE TO BABYLON

What, finally, does Europe owe to Babylon philologically? We do not yet know our full indebtedness to the great people who occupied the Land of the Two Rivers for so many thousands of years; reference has already been made to astronomy (p. 239), but philology, also, is constantly showing us a Sumerian parentage for words of which the pedigree has long been lost.

The Greek rovers and merchants, long before the Fall of Babylon, had been founding colonies round the Mediterranean littoral. Indeed, curiously enough, Greek pirates in the beginning of the seventh century were better known to the Assyrians than Lydia itself. Sennacherib drew 'Ionians' like fish from the sea, but Ashurbanipal declares that an ambassador from Gyges of Lydia in his time was so foreign that none knew his language; although it would appear that after that first introduction Semites, chiefly Aramaeans, drifted westwards to Lydia, judging by the bilingual inscription discovered at Sardes. But the Greeks, trusting in the sea, preferred the coastlines to the interior, although the Egyptian delta, it is true, attracted them as far as Naucratis. Yet, although Greek travellers voyaged up the Nile, or Psammetichus added Greek mercenaries to the army, the earlier settlements of Greeks were never far from the sea (cf. pp. 291 *sqq.*). For them home, or the way home, was represented by the sea, summed up in the joyful shout 'The Sea!' of the war-worn exiles of the Ten Thousand. The depths of Mesopotamia had little attraction for them; stray Greek travellers, physicians, historians, or soldiers of fortune might find their way there, but there is little record of others until comparatively late. The poet Alcaeus had a brother Antimenidas in Nebuchadrezzar's service, and even before him, Aristomenes, the hero of the Messenian wars (p. 557), proposed visiting Sardes and Ecbatana to win over the peoples to his cause, while in 520 Democedes, the physician, was taken as a prisoner to Susa, where he acquired a great reputation. It is doubtless with the Macedonian invasion that the Greek influence came in; their art was introduced, even the Greek stage at Babylon not being omitted, where one Dioscurides had built a theatre, and the invaders even made attempts to learn the native language, as we have seen.

Yet it is not so much to the Greek rover that we owe our loans from Babylon, as to the Phoenician merchant and the 'wandering Aramaean,' each an Autolycus among Semites, who cajoled the men of Javan with his queer desirable treasures, gold, frankin-

cense and myrrh, weighed them out with his own weights, sold them in his own pots, and taught the wondering purchasers their Eastern names. Did they bring into Europe the twelve-month year, the week, the hour, the Zodiac and its stars?

Look down the list of words taken over into Greek, and the most striking of all is χρυσός, 'gold,' found in Homer (ninth century?), from the Assyrian *khuraṣu*; at least three (or perhaps four) other words in Homer have Assyrian similarities: χιτών, a tunic (*kitu*, flax; *kitinnu*, linen); κρόκος, the crocus (*kurkanū*, turmeric); πέλεκυς, an axe (*pilakku*); perhaps ὥρα, 'hour' (*bēru*, 'double hour'). If these affinities be true, then gold and wrought copper or bronze axe-heads, saffron-dye, and the minor division of the day (from lands where it is still customary to calculate distance by time) show how the traffic and small-talk of the merchant spread.

After these, appearing before the end of the fifth century, come:

ἄγγαρος, *agru*, *agiru*, a messenger, whence Fr. 'hangar.'
γύψος, *gaṣṣu*, 'gypsum.'
κάμηλος, *gammalu*, 'camel.'
μνᾶ, *mana*, 'mina.'
πλίνθος, *libittu* (= *libintu*), a brick, our 'plinth.'
σίκλος, σίγλος, *shiḳlu*, 'shekel.'
σινδών, *sudinnu*, a kind of cloth.
Ῥόδον, *amaridu* (*amurdinnu*), 'rose' (seventh century at latest).

And at various times we find:

ἀμμωνιακόν, *ṭābat Amanim*, 'sal ammoniac (?).'
ἀργεμώνη, a kind of poppy, *argamannu*, 'red.'
βδέλλιον, *budulkhu*, 'bdellium.'
βήρυλλος, *cf. burallu.*
βράθυ, *burashu*, 'pine.'
ζιζάνιον, *Ziz.A.An.*, 'spelt.'
θέρμος, *tarmush*, 'lupin.'
ἴασπις, *iashpu*, 'jasper.'
κάβος, *ḳabbu*, a measure.
κανών, *ḳanū*, 'reed.'
κάρδαμον, *kudimeranu.*
κάροινον, *karanu*, 'wine.'
κεράσός, *karshu*, 'cherry.'
κόρος, *gur*, a measure.
κυλλῆστις, *kunasu*, 'spelt.'
κύμινον, *kamunu*, 'cummin.'
λῆδον, λήδανον, *ladunu*, 'ladanum.'
μανδραγόρας, the *Namtar-ira* plant, 'mandrake.'
μάρρα, *marru*, 'hoe.'
μύρρα, *murru*, 'myrrh.'
νάρδος, *nardu*, 'nard.'
νάφθα, *napṭu*, 'naphtha.'
πῶρος, *pūlu*, a kind of limestone.
σάκκος, *shaḳḳu*, 'sack.'
σάμψυχον, *sassaku*, 'marjoram.'
σανδαράκη, *shindu arḳu*, 'sandarach.'
σάνδυξ, *sāmtu*, *sāndu*, 'cinnabar.'
σάτον, *she'u*, corn.
σήσαμον, *shamashshammu*, 'sesame.'
συκάμινος, *musukanu*, 'sycamine-tree,' 'mulberry.'
τερέβινθος, *shurmēnu*, 'terebinth.'
ὕσσωπος, *zūpu*, 'hyssop.'
χαρρουβά, *kharubu*, 'carob.'

Among the Latin we may probably place ambubaiae (*imbubu*, a flute); armeniaca (*armanu*, apricot); asa (foetida, *Ash*); laserpitium,

lasirbitu; nux (*nushkhu*? almond); papaver, *Pa. Pa* (poppy or opium).

This list is not to be regarded as either complete, or free from uncertain identifications; but it may be set forth here as an example of what careful comparison has so far suggested.

The treasure of the Babylonian sages lies close to the surface for those who seek it in Christendom. We have seen how Astronomy has inherited the lore of its stars and constellations, the division of time even down to the hour, the sexagesimal system which gives the 360 degrees, the 60 minutes, the 60 seconds. Medicine is rich with the tradition of the great medical schools which passed on their empiric doctrines with their pharmacopœia. The Law dare not deny its debt to Hammurabi's code, nay, it must concede even the invention of the seal which stamps the contract. The religion of Babylon has passed on its legends, from the very 'babble' of babes and the Noah's Ark of the nursery to Nimrod of the hunting field and St George with his Dragon of the hostelry; from the mandragora of Shakespeare to the winking marybud which enshrines the name of the great Mother after its ancient forebears, the daisy of Venus, the 'flower of Dilbat'; and from the Seven Gates of Hell which have led to the Seventh Heaven. Throughout the magico-religious literature of the priests is a wealth of evidence that the Babylonians, like other Semites, put their trust in the atonement-sacrifice which conjures the demon forth, the vicarious sacrifice by which a man may escape from his sins. Their fame in casting horoscopes, in calculating the future from a thousand and one little incidents in a man's life, resounded throughout the west, whether seriously quoted by Diodorus or mentioned jestingly by Horace to Leuconoe. Can any one for certain deny that a hundred light superstitions of to-day, from the New Moon to the Three Magpies, ring like true Babylonian? Their very astrology was at the base of the star-lore which guided Melchior, Caspar and Balthazar to the Founder of Christianity. Everywhere to-day the old wisdom of the Chaldaeans is quick to offer its counsel and its solace to the unthankful debtor of the present, whose civilization is so interwoven with its discoveries and errors.

CHAPTER XII

THE ECLIPSE OF EGYPT

I. THE XXIST DYNASTY

LEAVING the history of the Assyrian empire and of the contemporary Hittite, Syrian and Armenian states, and the vicissitudes of the short-lived Neo-Babylonian rule, we turn westward to Egypt. This land no longer holds the premier place that it held in the periods which the earlier volumes surveyed; the story that we have to tell is of an Egypt the shadow of a mighty past. We are now no longer dealing with the land of mighty kings and statesmen, great builders and warriors: with the close of the imperial period the glamour of Egyptian history has departed. The authority of Thebes and her imperial god is no longer respected beyond the confines of Egypt, her ambassadors are kept prisoners in Syrian dungeons and rot there with none to rescue them (vol. II, p. 192). No Syrian tribute comes any more into the coffers of Amon, and when the temple of Khonsu is completed no more great fanes rise within the temenos of Karnak. For over a century Egypt lies torpid and inactive within her own borders, till a new dynasty of kings, who at least at first were warriors for a moment, shows a flash of the old energy and tries to reassert Egyptian authority in Palestine, in alliance with disaffected elements in that country. The attempt fails, but the dynasty (the XXIInd, Bubastites, from *c.* 947) shows more energy at home than the preceding XXIst, which had fallen heir to the shrunken empire of the Ramessids. Temples once more arise, but their architecture and decoration are poor in comparison with those of old days, and though the Bubastite Osorkon could do fairly well at Bubastis, when Tirhakah the Ethiopian (*c.* 689–664) tries to erect a hypostyle hall at Karnak that will rival that of Seti, he fails egregiously; from want of money or want of skill his architects abandon the attempt. The Bubastites in their turn had abandoned themselves to torpor, from which only the advent of the Ethiopian kings—half-negro, half-Libyan—from the south and the shock of imminent Assyrian attack awaken degenerate Egypt to reality. For the first time for a thousand years foreigners invade her soil, and traverse it from end to end (675–663). It is a second Hyksos invasion. Asiatics

carry fire and death throughout the land and desecrate the temples with their unclean presence.

Only the exhaustion of Assyria herself will save Egypt from complete destruction, and the poor respite of a century is allowed her in which to build up her culture anew in the Saïte renascence before the Persian in his turn seizes upon her and establishes his alien rule where Assyria had only ravished and burned (525). She struggles vainly against the foreign domination with the occasional help that the Greek enemies of Persia give her, till Alexander absorbs both Persia and her into the new Greek empire of the Near East (332–1 B.C.). Then for two centuries under Greek kings and with Greek inspiration she seems as an independent kingdom to rival the old glories of the Ramessids, foreign empire comes once more to her, wealth flows into her coffers, great and new temples arise. And at last Rome swallows up all the world, Egypt becoming the imperial province and granary of Italy, while her ancient glories and her religion become the theme of wonderment and jest to tourists from the metropolis on the Tiber. So Egypt expires, a driveller and a show.

It is no inspiring theme, yet an absorbing one, that the chronicler of the decadence of Egypt has to deal with, a history of growing impotence and degeneracy, until in the eighth century B.C. the Greek first appears in the land, and the extremely interesting drama of the gradual growth of Greek influence begins that ended with Greek domination under the Ptolemies. The tale is even less inspiring in the earlier period than in the later. For three centuries and a half, till the days of Piankhi (270) and the Ethiopians, not a single figure, with the momentary exception of Shishak, attracts much attention. The details of what we know of the internal history of Egypt during this period are trivial. This king makes some feeble addition to a temple: that king puts a pompous inscription somewhere about nothing that matters in particular. Under the XXIst Dynasty we shall be reduced to the chronicling of little but royal marriages and deaths, and the various removals of the ancient royal mummies, which the priest-kings seem always to have been carrying about from one place to another in an aimless manner as ants do their larvae, in the vain hope of securing them from outrage at the hands of the covetous and now unruly fellahin. Poverty and indiscipline pervaded the land; its destinies were in enfeebled and despondent hands. A great contrast, this, to the brave days of old. Egypt was now no longer the arbitress of Asia, but the broken reed, 'upon which if a man lean it shall pierce his hand.'

We have seen the decadence fast approaching under the successors of Ramses III, till the last *fainéant* Ramessid ends his life as the puppet of his mayor of the palace—the high-priest Ḥrihor. It is Ḥrihor who then takes his place at Thebes as king and completes the temple of Khonsu, which he had begun as the minister of Ramses XI, with whom he appears as the king's equal on the temple walls (vol. II, p. 194 *sq.*). The Theban priest-king was, however, although probably of royal blood, and perhaps a descendant of Ramses VI, not recognized as the rightful Pharaoh in the north. There for many years a viceroy had ruled, whose wife Tentamon was probably the daughter of the last Ramessid, and she with her husband (or he alone, if she were already dead) succeeded in the north. This king, Nesubenebded (in Greek 'Smendes')[1] by name, ruled in the seat of his vice-royalty, Tanis in the Delta, the city that the Delta-loving kings of the XIXth Dynasty had made their northern capital (*c.* 1100–1090). Smendes alone was regarded as the rightful Pharaoh by the Egyptian annalists, and Manetho chronicles him and his Tanite successors alone as the kings of the XXIst Dynasty.

The Theban priest was an usurper. But though Ḥrihor soon died or had to surrender his royalty to Smendes, his family were all-powerful at Thebes, and from time to time they reasserted their claim to the kingship: his grandson actually ruled the whole land for many years as king between two of the Tanites and probably in agreement with the Tanite family. In fact we can perhaps assume a regular 'rotativist' arrangement made by the son of Smendes with the Thebans by which he was to be succeeded by the Theban high-priest, Paiankh, son of Ḥrihor, and he again by a Tanite. If made, the arrangement broke down, and at the close of the dynasty a Tanite and a Theban reigned side by side, both bearing the same name: the land was officially split in two, as it had been in reality from time to time before under this dynasty. Unity, indeed, was not restored until Shishak, the half-Libyan warrior-prince of Bubastis in the Delta, seized the throne—whether legitimized or not by marriage with a Tanite princess.

At Ḥrihor's death, or resignation of his usurped crown, a very few years after his accession, Smendes ruled the whole country for a time till his death[2], and Paiankh, the son of Ḥrihor, was nothing more than high-priest, though his wife Henttoui,

[1] The Egyptian name was probably pronounced something like 'Smindid'.

[2] He restored buildings of Thutmose III at Karnak, which he can only have done after Ḥrihor's death.

daughter of Smendes and Tentamon, bore the queenly title. When Psibkhenno or Psousennes[1] I, the son of Smendes, died after a reign of probably about twenty years (*c.* 1090–1070 B.C.; Manetho gives him forty-one, but this is probably an annalistic confusion with the historical forty-... years of his successor), his son-in-law and nephew, the Theban high-priest Painozem, the son of Paiankh, succeeded as king in right of his wife Makerē'-Mutemḥet, and reigned for at least forty years (*c.* 1070–1030 B.C.).

In his twenty-fifth year, probably[2] (*c.* 1045 B.C.), a curious event occurred. The king, although a Theban, had in all probability continued the royal residence at Memphis and Tanis, his sons Zedkhonsef'ankh, Masaherti and Menkheperrē', who apparently succeeded each other as high-priests of Amon, being responsible for Thebes. In this year some sort of revolt seems to have occurred at Thebes, during the absence of Menkheperrē', now high-priest; it looks as if some other person had usurped the high-priesthood in his absence. He accordingly returned to Thebes with ships and troops, restored order, and by his prayers obtained an oracle from Amon that the 'servants,' against whom the god was wroth, and whom he (Amon) had banished to the Oasis (of Khargah), were pardoned by the god, and should be brought back to Egypt; further, that in future none should ever be banished to the Oasis, but that all murderers should be executed. Possibly Menkheperrē' had previously banished armed rebels to the Oasis, with the result of further trouble, and this, now quelled, he sought to obviate in the future—and probably to placate public opinion—by pardoning the exiles with a threat of capital punishment should any more murderous *émeutes* occur: a case of 'not guilty but don't do it again.' The episode throws a curious light on the methods of government of the XXIst Dynasty.

Menkheperrē' seems to have been a person of some energy, and at his father's death (*c.* 1030 B.C.) he made himself king, a proceeding probably by no means viewed with favour by the Tanite prince Amenemopet, who considered himself now in turn to be the rightful monarch[3]. Not long after his accession—

[1] The name, probably pronounced Psiusheno (in Greek Ψουσέννης), means 'the star appearing in Thebes.'

[2] Gauthier (*Livre des Rois*, iii, p. 25, as against Maspero and Breasted) regards this as perhaps the twenty-fifth year of the Tanite Amenemopet. See the Appendix, p. 758.

[3] On the chronological data and the reconstructions here adopted, see the Appendix, p. 758.

probably in 1020 B.C.—Amenemopet seems to have imposed his authority on Menkheperrē', who records the sixth and seventh years of a king who is probably Amenemopet. Later on, however, the Theban again became semi-independent, and about the tenth year of Amenemopet talks of his forty-eighth year, but as high-priest not king. Then he died, and his sons, Nesubenebded and Painozem, who followed him in succession—the first only ephemerally—acknowledged the royalty of Amenemopet and were nothing more than high-priests. Amenemopet was also long-lived, for his forty-ninth year is recorded, and this would make his reign last from *c.* 1020 to *c.* 970 B.C. He was followed by Situm or Siamon, a Pharaoh of some moderate force of character, apparently, against whom the Theban high-priest made no attempt to assert any claims to royalty. Painozem died in the sixteenth year of Siamon (who probably reigned about twenty years, 970–950), and was succeeded, *c.* 950 B.C., by the ephemeral Ḥor-Psibkhenno, who was supplanted two or three years later by Shishak, the founder of the XXIInd Dynasty (*c.* 947).

Meanwhile Painozem, the high-priest (*i.e.* Painozem II), had been succeeded, *c.* 954 B.C., by his son Psibkhenno II, who assumed royal titles, and seems to have reigned about twelve years, till about 942 B.C. he either died or was deposed by Shishak, who placed his son Iuput in the vacant high-priesthood, the line of Ḥrihor thus ceasing to enjoy the Theban papacy. Iuput records his high-priesthood in the fifth year of his father, *c.* 942 B.C., probably immediately after his succession to Psibkhenno II. It was, therefore, apparently about five years after his accession that Shishak was able to enforce his will on Thebes and secure his recognition as king of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

We know most of the regnal years mentioned above from the records inscribed on the wrappings of the royal mummies (found at Dēr el-Baḥri in 1881), noting the dates in the various reigns of this dynasty when the mummies were taken out of their tombs and removed to secret resting-places for safety from robbers. The date is always carefully written on the wrappings. And but for the discovery of the mummies and these records we should know little of the 'priest-kings' but their names. As it is we possess the actual bodies of Painozem's mother (?) Henttoui and his wife Makerē'-Mutemḥet, the princess of Tanis; of Masaherti his son, and of Isimkheb his daughter, the queen of her brother Menkheperrē'; of Nesikhonsu the wife of Painozem II (the high-priest), and of Nesitanebishru their daughter. We look on the broad peasant-woman's face of Henttoui, we observe

the adipose geniality of Masaherti—he took after his grandmother—and we can mark the pathetic youth of Nesitanebishru; but we do not know these people's lives as we know those of their royal predecessors of the Imperial Age.

Of the Tanite kings we know practically nothing but their names. They were probably wealthier than the Thebans. Amon no longer drew tribute from his towns in Syria, Cyprus and Cilicia (Alashiya?), but we hear of great Phoenician merchants, like him of Tanis, who traded to Phoenicia with many ships (vol. II, p. 378), and we may be sure that the Tanite Pharaohs derived wealth from shares in these undertakings, even if they were not merchants as well as princes themselves, as possibly some of the Delta-princes of later days were (see pp. 269, 292). There was peace on the borders of Egypt at this time, and the traffickers flourished who exchanged the linen-yarn and the trained chariot-horses of Egypt for the valued wood of Lebanon, the spices of Araby, or what not[1]. This was the period, first of the domination of the Philistines over Canaan (*c.* 1080–1000 B.C.), and then of the kingdom of David and Solomon (*c.* 1000–933 B.C.). While the Philistine domination continued, the hardy peasants of Mount Ephraim were kept under; and later under the settled and civilized Israelite kingdom peaceful commerce was safe, for Solomon, like the Nabataeans of later days (cf. p. 357), derived much of the power that made him able to talk as an equal to Egypt from his control of the trade-routes from Egypt to Babylonia and from the Red Sea to Syria—the lord of Gaza, of Eziongeber, and of Damascus was a powerful guarantor of peace and commerce.

Whether the tyrants or *serens* of the Philistine cities (see vol. II, p. 290) acknowledged any political overlordship of the Tanite Pharaohs we do not know, but it would seem unlikely that they did so in the days of their pride. When, however, they had been abased by David the case would be different; they now seem to have turned to Egypt for aid against Israel, nor was it denied them. The Pharaohs Amenemopet and Siamon then reigned (*c.* 1020–950 B.C.), and there is evidence that they extended their

[1] Cf. 1 Kings x, 28 and Deut. xvii, 16. The present writer sees no reason to doubt the genuineness of the received text in the Book of Kings, since it is known that not long after this time the breeding of horses was actually carried on on a large scale in Egypt and horses were among the most valued possessions of the Delta-princes (see p. 273). Also the strength of Egypt was in her chariots and horsemen (2 Kings xviii, 24). See, on the other hand, p. 357.

protection to the people of the Shephelah or Low-land. No tribute was paid to David by the Philistine cities, and there is no evidence that either he or Solomon regarded them as subjects, though they employed Philistine warriors as mercenary guards, as the Pharaohs had done before them. But an Egyptian suzerainty, previously non-existent, now becomes apparent; and the Israelite monarchs would sufficiently respect the still imposing *panache* of Egypt to shrink from challenging her will. Nay, rather they were desirous of marriage-alliance with her, which would give prestige to their new royalty. Evidently they abandoned Philistia to her, and so we read that in the reign of Solomon Gezer was chastised by Pharaoh with fire and sword as his own vassal who had revolted from him, and afterwards was given by him to Solomon, his son-in-law, who had married an Egyptian princess. Gaza, which is traditionally assigned to Solomon's kingdom, may similarly have been presented by the Egyptian king, perhaps as the dowry of his daughter. Who the Pharaoh concerned was is disputed in both cases. In all probability he was neither Hor-Psibkhenno nor Shishak—as has been thought—but Siamon. Possibly the Egyptian, knowing his real military weakness, was not sorry to hand over these vassals to Solomon in a dignified manner.

II. THE XXIIND DYNASTY

The general Egyptian suzerainty in Philistia continued, however, and was maintained by the Bubastites. Egypt's civilization was one to be admired and aped, her court was the school of polite manners, the refuge of dispossessed princes from Palestine, the daughters of her kings were given in marriage to enslave with their beauty, their ancient refinement, and the equally ancient political wiles of their preceptors at home, the minds of the Syrian kings and chiefs. The king of Edom, Hadad II, who was overthrown by David, had taken refuge at Tanis from the conquering Israelite, and married Pharaoh's wife's sister. Their son, who was born in Egypt, bore what may possibly be an Egyptian name, Genubath. Jeroboam, too, fled to Egypt, and from this fact we can easily suspect the hand of Egyptian intrigue in his revolt against Rehoboam. (See p. 358.)

Shishak, who was now on the throne of Egypt, was an ambitious soldier, who as the founder of a new dynasty was desirous of acquiring prestige. The Egyptian suzerainty in Philistia gave him the opportunity of doing this by an attack on Solomon's kingdom: he had his foot, so to speak, in the door of Palestine.

But the prestige and power of Solomon, now in his old age, were still, probably, too great for an attack to be made upon Israel while he lived. When he died, probably about twelve years after the accession of Shishak, and Rehoboam his son alienated his subjects by his tyranny, the way was clear. Jeroboam divided the kingdom by his opportune and no doubt collusory secession; and Shishak came up against Jerusalem in the seventeenth year of his reign (*c.* 930 B.C.) and took it. Then he returned to Egypt with the spoil of Solomon's Temple, with the golden shields and golden lavers, and all the rest of the glorious treasures that Hiram's workmen had wrought for Zion, and he poured them all into the coffers of Amon of Thebes, who once more for a moment seemed to have regained his ancient power and wealth.

In the great inscription commemorating the exploit which Shishak set up at Karnak, we identify with ease a number of places in Palestine whose names are well known to us in the Bible: Rabbith, Ta'anach, Shunem, Beth-shan, Rehob, Hapharaim, Mahanaim, Gibe'on, Beth-horon, Aijalon, the river Jordan, Megiddo, Socoh, Beth-anoth, Sharuhen, 'Ain Paran, and 'the field of Abram,' *P-hekel-'Abram*, a name of great interest. Whether all the places, with others, such as Aruna and Yeraza, which are mentioned by Thutmose III, in reality submitted to Shishak we do not know: something must be allowed for official pomp. Oddly enough Jerusalem itself is not mentioned in the list of towns, unless it is meant by the enigmatical 'Yudhmelek.' This, however, may stand for *Yod-hammelek*, 'the King's Hand,' although in this inscription the definite article is never given in its Semitic form, but is always translated into Egyptian, as in the case of 'the field of Abram,' above. But as the inscription is incomplete the name of Jerusalem may have been destroyed. In any case this list is of much value in that it shows us that all these well-known places existed as fortified towns in the days of Solomon and Shishak.

The Egyptian king made no attempt to rivet his authority on Israel and Judah: such a course would have been too expensive. He left the two kingdoms to their mutual rivalries, satisfied that in the interests of Egypt the empire of Solomon had been broken up. And in fact Shishak had secured his main object, the prestige and permanence of his dynasty. The Bubastites could now strut in the clothes of the Ramessids with an air impossible to the Tanites or the priest-kings. Nevertheless Egypt, but for a temporary increase of wealth obtained by what was frankly nothing

but a piratical raid on another's goods, was no stronger, and the decadence pursued its way unchecked.

Shishak, as the Hebrew chronicler calls him, was a local prince of Libyan descent, and, like his ancestors and descendants, bore a Libyan name. In Egyptian it is spelt *Sha-sha-n-ḳ*, which the Assyrians vocalized as 'Shushinku,' and we conventionally call Sheshenḳ or Sheshonḳ. A stele found at Sakkārah by Mariette, now in the Louvre, gives us his genealogy. We have seen (vol. II, pp. 166, 176) how in the days of Merneptah and Ramses III there had been great movements of Libyans into Egypt, which the Pharaohs claim to have repelled with loss. But as a matter of fact there is no doubt that, whether defeated or disarmed or not, a large number of the undesired immigrants remained in Egypt, and their chiefs seem to have been persons of some wealth and power, who, acknowledging fealty to the king of the land, soon took an important place in his kingdom and at his court. Some actually carved out lordships for themselves or gained them by marriage. Now, among others, a certain Buiuwawa some time during the XXth Dynasty had become possessed of Hininsu (Heracleopolis Magna, the modern Ehnasya) in Middle Egypt. Here his descendants remained its chiefs, and filled in succession the office of priest of the local god Harshafi, his son Mauasan being the first to do so. Mauasan's great-grandson, Sheshonḳ, married a royal princess, the king's mother Mehetnuskhet; his son Namilt, the princess Thentsepeh[1]. Their son was the great Sheshonḳ.

Sheshonḳ, the grandfather, and Namilt, the father of the king, were very important personages indeed. Allied directly by marriage with the Tanite or the Theban house (more probably with the former, though possibly with both), they were among the greatest princes of the realm, and this, coupled with their evident possession of great wealth, gave them commanding authority and influence. Although by now almost wholly Egyptian in blood, and legitimate chiefs of an important Egyptian canton, they still kept up their ancestral barbaric state, and continued to be known as 'the great chiefs of Mashauasha' (or 'Meshwesh,' commonly shortened simply to 'Ma'), the tribal name that survived in classical times as that of the Libyan tribe of the Maxyes (vol. II, p. 276). When thieves plundered the divine offerings of

[1] The name Namilt is thus vocalized by the Assyrian form 'Lamintu,' which even reproduces the local dialectical metathesis of *l* and *n*, just as the throne-name of king Amenemhet III, Ne-ma'a-Rē', is graecized as Λάμαρις (vol. I, p. 309).

the tomb of Namilt, the father of king Sheshonk, at Abydos, this serious outrage on so great a noble was solemnly brought to the notice of Amon by the king himself at Thebes. As no mention is made of the high-priest, in all probability the high-priest Painozem II was now dead, and the king in question was Psibkhenno II, the son of Painozem, who assumed royal honours, either on his father's death or after that of Siamon (p. 255). Otherwise Painozem would certainly have appeared. Amon graciously delivered his oracle, by the nodding of the head of his miraculous image, as usual, condemning to death the perpetrators of the outrage, and the king sent a statue of 'Osiris, the Great Chief of Ma, the Great Chief of Chiefs, Namilt, deceased,' northward to Abydos, with a great army in order to protect it, 'having ships without number, and the apparitors of the Great Chief of Ma, in order to deposit it in the august palace. Thus was established the offering-table of Osiris, the Great Chief of Ma, Namilt, justified, son of Meneth[illegible]uskhet, who is in Abydos.' There follows a statement of the mortuary endowment of Namilt's tomb, with its total of lands, slaves, garden, and treasure in silver, which is of much interest as showing the funerary state of a great chief of this period. The king takes great credit for the handsome manner in which he carried out these arrangements to the honour and glory, not only of Namilt, but of his father Sheshonk, who had also been buried in great state at Abydos, and is described as deceased in the inscription; and from it we gain a good idea of the importance of these 'Great Chiefs of Ma,' who so shortly were to become kings of Egypt.

Sheshonk, the son, can have showed little gratitude to Psibkhenno for what was practically an enforced service, and in a few years he sat in the stead of both Tanite and Theban. We know nothing of the details of his revolution except that probably it was not until his fifth year that he could act as king in Thebes, and appoint his son, Iuput, high-priest (*c.* 942, see above, p. 255). Iuput kept up the tradition of semi-independence to some extent, and it may be pointed out that this tradition remained active for two or three centuries, so that, later, we find a Theban dynasty, the XXIIIrd, rivalling the Bubastites of the XXIInd towards the end of their rule, even as the priest-kings had rivalled the Tanites. Further, under the Ethiopians and Saïtes we shall see that the priestly ruler of Thebes, then usually a woman, the 'Adorer of the God,' as she was called (see p. 268), has a semi-papal position; and although no doubt much of the temporal power was exercised through ministers or stewards, yet, being a

member of the actual royal house, the ruler could be controlled by the Saïte king, whose authority was never set aside at Thebes as it had been under the Tanites. But in this later time the old tradition of Theban greatness had entirely disappeared, since the destruction of Thebes by the Assyrians in 663 B.C. (see p. 285). Moreover, in Saïte days, we hear no more of the 'Royal Sons of Ramses,' the title given to the numerous collateral descendants of the kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, who under the XXIInd formed an important aristocracy rivalling in dignity, though not in power, the 'Great Chiefs of Ma.' In the welter of the struggle between the Ethiopians and the Assyrians, they had disappeared, and Thebes thus lost her old nobility.

Of the reign of Sheshonk, the one great event after its beginning was the taking of Jerusalem, which has already been described, with the great inscription at Karnak that records the campaign. The only other interesting inscription of his reign is one found in the Oasis of Dakhlah which records the settlement of a dispute about a well which, it seems, had agitated the Oasis so seriously that the king sent a high official of Libyan origin, 'the son of the Chief of Ma and prophet of Hathor of Diospolis Parva,' Waiuheset (a Libyan name), to settle the matter, which he did by a trial before the god Sutekh, Lord of the Oasis, and an appeal to his oracle. The Oases appear prominently at this time; they seem to have become a part of Egypt, and were used, as we have seen, as places of exile for political prisoners. Under the XXIInd Dynasty they are regularly mentioned as ordinary Egyptian territories. They may first have been so regarded after the Libyan immigration, and the Libyan connection of this dynasty may have caused special interest to be taken in them.

Sheshonk had married the princess Karoma, possibly a Tanite. He died *c.* 925 B.C., after a reign of about twenty-two years, five years after the capture of Jerusalem, and was succeeded by his son Osorkon I (*c.* 925–889 B.C.), who married the daughter of Hor-Psibkhenno. In this reign the only event that interests us is one that for obvious reasons is not recorded in Egyptian inscriptions, namely the defeat, about 895 B.C., of 'Zerah, the Ethiopian,' by Asa of Judah. In the opinion of the present writer, there is little doubt that this 'Zerah' was Osorkon, the name having been corrupted from 'Oserakhon' (see further, p. 360). Egypt made no further attack on the Palestinian kingdoms, but sank into an apathetic sloth, which, however, was wealthy and comfortable enough, to judge from this Osorkon's list of the

magnificent gifts which he bestowed on the gods, chronicled by him in the temple of Bubastis.

Osorkon married Makerē', daughter of Hor-Psibkhenno, the last Tanite, and was succeeded by his son, Takeloti I (*c.* 889–865 B.C.), who, about 880 B.C., revived the ancient custom, characteristic of the XIIth Dynasty, of associating his son with himself on the throne. Osorkon II, his son, now began his reign, which terminated thirty years later, about 850 B.C. He is notable in Egypt only from the great festival-hall which he erected at Bubastis in honour of his first *Sed*-festival (cf. vol. I, p. 268), which he celebrated in his twenty-second year (*c.* 859 B.C.). But the most remarkable event that occurred during his reign happened outside Egypt; the great battle of Ḳarḳar in 853 B.C., when the confederated kings Ahab of Israel, Irkhuleni of Hamath, and Ben-Hadad of Damascus fought at Ḳarḳar in the Orontes valley with Shalmaneser III of Assyria. And it may be that Osorkon of Egypt also took part in this fight, since a thousand men of 'Muṣri' are mentioned by the Assyrians as assisting the confederates, and excavations at Samaria have revealed traces of relations between Osorkon and Ahab; though it is otherwise supposed that they were from Muṣri in the Taurus (pp. 22, 140, 362).

In any case this was a portent, the first appearance of the conquering Assyrian on the borders of Palestine. Already in the reign of the first Osorkon Assyria had begun to stir, and in 892 B.C. the starting of the new list of *limmu*-officials (see p. 3) had inaugurated the accurately dated history of the later period. It was the first sign of a new age, the first sign of a new organized power: the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, had arisen on the eastern horizon, but none had marked it. And then, while the Bubastites slumbered on, Assyria burst into the west under the leadership of the cruel conqueror Ashur-naṣir-pal (884–859 B.C.), who reached the Orontes valley and the sea about the year 875, but did not attack Israel and Judah. Twenty years later, his son Shalmaneser III signalized his accession to the throne by again carrying war into the west, and the battle of Ḳarḳar followed (853 B.C.). It may be that Egypt was stirred by the tales of Ashur-naṣir-pal's ferocious conquests, and that some fear of the possible consequences to Egypt, should his son extend the brutal Assyrian's conquests yet farther, impelled Osorkon to send his small contingent to the aid of Ben-Hadad and Ahab.

Twelve years later, in 841, Shalmaneser received the tribute of Jehu, which he commemorated on the 'Black Obelisk' from Calah, now in the British Museum; but Syria still resisted, and

it was not till the end of the century that regular tribute was imposed on both Syria and Israel by Adad-nirari III. In Egypt Osorkon II might well pray, as he did in a statue-inscription at Tanis, that his descendants, 'the hereditary princes, the high-priests of Amon-rē', king of the gods, the Great Chiefs of Ma and Kehak, the prophets of Harshafi,' might continue to rule Egypt in peace and safety. The omens were not favourable for his country, or for his family, though that was fated to perish through inanition and internal dissension rather than at the hand of a foreign enemy.

It has generally been supposed that Osorkon associated with him on the throne a son named Sheshonk, who is usually known as Sheshonk II, and who died before his father; and that after the death of this son he associated with himself another, the king Takeloti II. Now, however, it is thought that the latter king reigned somewhat later, and that the Osorkon who was his father, and with whom he was associated, was Osorkon III. Takeloti, second son of Osorkon II, will then not be he. The eldest son, Sheshonk, may, however, very well have died during his father's reign, as in all probability he is not identical with the real Sheshonk II, Si-Baste Setep-en-Amon, who succeeded him (without any co-regency), and reigned some twenty-five years (*c.* 850–825 B.C.)[1]. His reign was marked by a new division of the kingdom into two parts, as under the priest-kings. The natural tendency of Upper and Lower Egypt to separate politically, while still regarding themselves as one in race and religion, could never be checked for long, and weak government at the seat of power, whether in the Thebaïd or in the Delta, meant the temporary secession, at least, of the other half of the nation. Takeloti I was the last powerful king of the Bubastite dynasty: after his time civil dissensions began. Sheshonk I, as we have seen, left Thebes in the hands of his son Iuput, as high-priest. The Theban pontiff was now usually a royal prince: often the son of the reigning king. Inevitably there grew up a Theban cadet branch of the royal house, connected by marriage with the 'Royal Sons of Ramses' (p. 261), and no doubt with local descendants of the priest-kings, which soon showed separatist tendencies, like those of the priest-kings. This led to a fierce feud with the 'Great Chiefs of Ma' at Heracleopolis who maintained the royalty of Bubastis.

[1] This is evident from the inscription of Pediesi (see p. 264), who traces his descent from Osorkon II through the 'hereditary prince' Sheshonk, *i.e.* the king's eldest son, who died as crown-prince.

III. THE XXIIIRD DYNASTY

At the end of the reign of Osorkon II, and possibly as a repercussion of the battle of Ḳarḳar, the high-priest Harsiesi, already associated on the throne with Osorkon, made himself king at Thebes, and was succeeded there by Pedubaste, the Petoubastis of Manetho and founder of the XXIIIrd Dynasty. This dynasty, then, will not have followed the XXIInd, but must have been contemporary with it. Pedubaste was evidently contemporary with Sheshonk II; his sixth year was the same as the twentieth of another king, who can only have been the successor of Osorkon II. He, therefore, succeeded Harsiesi about 838. He certainly was contemporary with a king Iuput, who must have followed Sheshonk II for a short time (*c.* 825–821). We know nothing of these monarchs but their names inscribed upon statues of priests and nobles dedicated in the temple of Karnak, or in the records of the height of the Nile at Thebes in various years during their reigns. From the way in which the royal names are mentioned it would seem that the two royal houses were not inimical to one another in spite of the feud between Thebes and Heracleopolis, or, at least, that the Thebans deemed it politic to commemorate the senior line at Bubastis as well as their own.

Probably about 821 B.C. Sheshonk III, Si-Baste Setepenrē‘ Nuter-Ḥiḳon, ascended the Bubastite throne and reigned for fifty-two years till about 769, his successor being Pimai. We know the true relation between Sheshonk III and Pimai from the inscription at the Serapeum of Memphis of a certain Pediesi, a great-grandson of Osorkon II, who records the burial in the second year of Pimai of an Apis-bull, then twenty-six years old, which was born in the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III. It was probably about 763 that Pimai was succeeded by ‘O-kheperrē‘ Sheshonk IV, the last or penultimate Bubastite, who reigned at least thirty-seven years, and probably died or was deposed about 725.

Meanwhile, at Thebes Pedubaste was probably succeeded about 815 by the high-priest Takeloti (his son?), as king Takeloti II, Ḥez-kheper-rē‘ Setepenrē‘ Si-Esi Nuter-Ḥiḳuas. He reigned at least twenty-five years, and was followed by his son, Osorkon III, Si-Esi Nuter-Ḥiḳuas, who is probably the same person as Takeloti's son the ‘Royal Son of Ramses’ and high-priest Osorkon, who was in office in the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III (*c.* 782 B.C.) as high-priest, and probably therefore did not become king till about 780. Takeloti II was still living in Sheshonk's thirty-

ninth year, as the inscription of Osorkon (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, 777) shows. From the fact that, as we shall see later, the twenty-second year of Sheshonk III was probably not more than two or three years later than the fifteenth of Takeloti II, we may assume that the latter king actually reigned about thirty-five years, from 815; and as Osorkon became high-priest in his father's eleventh year, the date of his inauguration will have been about 804 B.C.

This new arrangement of the kings does not therefore necessitate the assumption that Takeloti was the high-priest for at least fifty-four years, as was the case when Takeloti II was assumed to have been the son and successor of Osorkon II. The inscription on which this belief was founded commemorates rather the co-regency of Osorkon III and his son Takeloti III. From it it appears that the twenty-eighth year of Osorkon III was also the fifth of Takeloti III Si-Esi Nuter-Ḥiḳuas, who will then have become king about 757 B.C. Osorkon probably died about 750. Takeloti III built at Karnak a temple of Osiris Ḥiḳ-zet, 'prince of eternity,' in concert with a fourth Osorkon and another king named Rudamon. The latter probably was the brother of Takeloti III and the last of his line (750–740 ?). Osorkon IV Si-Esi Nuter-Ḥiḳon, possibly a son of Takeloti, either assumed the title Ḥiḳon, 'Prince of Heliopolis,' in opposition to the northern king Sheshonk IV, or was associated with Sheshonk IV and actually crowned at Heliopolis[1]; though if so it is curious that Sheshonk was not commemorated also in the temple of Osiris Ḥiḳ-zet. He may well have survived Sheshonk, and was probably the 'king Osorkon' mentioned by the Ethiopian conqueror Piankhi who about 721 B.C. subdued Egypt and founded the next dynasty. He certainly reigned then at Bubastis, not at Thebes (p. 273). Here we seem to have an association of the two royal families.

We gain some information as to the condition of Egypt at the beginning of the eighth century B.C. from the important inscriptions of the high-priest Osorkon (afterwards Osorkon III) at Karnak. From these it would appear that Osorkon only became high-priest after he had defeated an enemy (no doubt Heracleo-

[1] The phrase Ḥiḳon, 'Prince of Heliopolis,' may be taken generally now as referring to the Bubastite king, and Ḥiḳuas, 'Prince of Thebes,' to the Theban. Usually, also, Si-Baste, 'son of Bastet,' seems to refer to the northern king, and Si-Esi, 'son of Isis,' to the southerner, though this distinction cannot be pressed. The above account, accepting the contemporaneity of the XXIIIrd Dynasty with the XXIInd, is based chiefly on Daressy's researches. See p. 760, and *Anc. Hist. Near East*, p. 468.

polite) near Heracleopolis and Hermopolis, and had expelled a rival priest from Thebes, or, possibly, even burnt him alive in the temple: the description is not clear on the point. Then, in the fifteenth year of Takeloti II (801 B.C.) there was another 'rebellion.' It was associated with an eclipse of the moon: 'when heaven had not yet devoured the moon, a disaster from heaven came to pass in this land; likewise the sons of rebels threw disorder into south and north: there was no rest from fighting against them. . .and those who followed his father (*i.e.* Takeloti II): years passed when none ceased from attacking his fellow, and no father took thought to protect his offspring.' The attack of the 'rebels' came from the north—we see from the rest of the inscription that Osorkon was obliged to retreat southwards—and Thebes was occupied by the enemy 'of his father' king Takeloti. How long the exile in the south continued we do not know, but it was evidently brought to an end by the diplomacy of the high-priest, who persuaded 'the followers of his father' to some act of conciliation of the northern forces which brought him and his father's court and his family and retainers back in peace and state to Thebes.

It is significant that in addressing the court the high-priest is made to attribute the disaster to the wrath of the northern god Rē', who is therefore to be appeased with offerings. We can hardly doubt that Takeloti's enemy was either the Chief of Heracleopolis, or the king Sheshonk III, or both, perhaps in alliance with a rebellious noble family, or combination of noble families, in Thebes itself. One condition of the return may be deduced from the fact that Osorkon's inscriptions are henceforward dated with the regnal years of Sheshonk III, from the twenty-second year (probably about 799 B.C.) onwards, so that the fifteenth year of Takeloti II, when the revolt broke out (and Takeloti's years cease to be quoted), may probably be placed only a year or two earlier. The regnal years of Takeloti II seem now to have been used only for purely family matters, such as the inscription dated in his twenty-fifth year (B.C. 796?), containing a confirmation by her brother the Theban high-priest, Osorkon, of a grant of certain lands to the king's daughter, Karoma.

An inscription of the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III, recording the installation of Ḥemisi, priest of Harshafi and nomarch of Heracleopolis, at Thebes, is interesting as showing that then the high-priest's brother, Bekneptah, was chief commander of the army of Heracleopolis, and that the two brothers had 'overthrown all who had fought against them.' As we know from the genealogy of Horpasen, the high-priest of Harshafi and commander of

troops in the time of Sheshonk IV, that his ancestors had held this position rightfully for six generations since the time of his forefather, king Osorkon II, it is evident that Ḥemisi and Bekneptah were interlopers. Accordingly it is clear that the Theban high-priest had now obtained temporary control of Heracleopolis itself, but still recorded his acts in the name of the Bubastite king, not in that of his father. After the (probably nearly contemporary) deaths of the two old kings, he assumed the royal dignity, threw off the nominal dependence on Bubastis, shown by the using of Sheshonk III's regnal years, and used his own regnal years, associating Takeloti III with him on the throne. For the remainder of the period before the coming of Piankhi, the two halves of the kingdom remained separate; Thebes still recognized the primacy of the north, and Heracleopolis was recovered by the northerners, as we see from the inscription of Horpasen.

The only other inscription of interest at this period is that of the chief caravaneer of Pharaoh, a Libyan, named Ueshtihet, son of Neustilkeniu (or some such barbarous name), who in the nineteenth year of Sheshonk IV presents 5 *stat* of land to a temple of Hathor as a votive offering for his own life and health and happiness under the favour of the lord, the great chief of Libya, the Great Chief of Ma, Ḥetiḥenker. Ḥetiḥenker no doubt governed the western Delta and probably also the Oases. It will be noticed how all-pervading Libyan names are, from the Pharaohs with the names of Sheshonk, Takeloti, and Osorkon, to the humble caravan-leader Ueshtihet. The Great Chiefs of Ma and their crowds of retainers and adherents form the aristocracy of the country and still keep their Libyan names and titles, although by now they must have been almost entirely egyptianized. The dynasty reminds us of that of the foreign Kassites in Babylonia, long before (vol. I, pp. 565 *sqq.*).

The Libyan infiltration did not stop short at the frontier of Egypt proper. It penetrated also into Nubia and the Sudan, where we now find another subsidiary royal house of Libyan-Bubastite origin, like that of Pedubaste and his successors at Thebes. Under the XXIInd Dynasty we hear nothing of it, unless the high-priest Osorkon took refuge with it on his retreat from Thebes about 801 B.C. (see p. 266). We have no evidence for its existence until somewhat later, when the general Pashednebast, son of Sheshonk III,' is found ruling in Nubia about 780 B.C. His relationship to the Bubastite king is significant, as it already points to opposition between Nubia and Thebes.

A chief named Kashta, possibly his grandson rather than his son, attacked and conquered Thebes, probably about 745 B.C., no doubt bringing the reign of Takeloti III to an end, and enforced the adoption of his daughter, the Ethiopian princess Amonirdis, upon Shepenopet, the 'adoratrix of the god' or high-priestess of Amon, a daughter of Osorkon III. This act gave the family of Kashta stronger claims to royalty after the speedy disappearance of Rudamon, the nominal successor of Takeloti, and ensured the succession of Amonirdis to Shepenopet as high-priestess.

It is noteworthy that the *Ḥem-nūter-tepi* or High-priest of Amon now disappears in favour of the *Tēinūte* (*Duait-nūter*) or 'Adoratrix of the God,' who henceforth takes his place at Thebes. This rank of chief-priestess had existed before, but now we find the holder exalted to the position hitherto held by the High-priest. It is thought that this change was brought about by the masterful Osorkon III when he became king. He did not propose to allow one of his sons or any other man to hold the extremely powerful position of the High-priest of Amon, who could and constantly did reduce the king to a position of subservience, and finally himself assume the crown; accordingly, he abolished the High-priesthood and inaugurated the series of royal High-priestesses with his daughter Shepenopet, whom Kashta afterwards compelled to adopt Amonirdis, so that the Theban power should pass from the royal family of Osorkon to his own. In this way it passed to his son-in-law, Shabaka, and so on, giving the Ethiopians valid claims to the throne.

Kashta probably had no time before his death to conquer the north-land; but after the death of Rudamon the Thebaïd as far north as Siūt became directly subject to his successor or associate Shabaka. These princes of Napata in far-off Nubia were probably as much Nubian in blood as Libyan. A new factor was thus introduced into Egyptian politics. Nubia, it must be remembered, was wealthy. Since the loss of the Asiatic empire, the treasury of Amon at Thebes had drawn most of its wealth from the gold-mines of Nubia. Now that Napata, which for seven hundred years had been the capital of the Egyptian dominion of Nubia, had become the seat of a royal dynasty, much of this wealth, which during the last century or two had no doubt been exported to Thebes in ever-lessening quantities, would now remain in the country. The Ethiopian kings had money, while the Egyptian dynasts of the north were penniless: Osorkon II being the last king of the Bubastites who had wealth enough to build a great temple. To their wealth the Ethiopians owed much of the power of resistance

they showed to the Assyrians. Whether they were 'blameless' or not, they at least received the adherence to which gold-masters are accustomed, even if they are black or, at any rate, chocolate-coloured.

In the north anarchy reigned. The last active king of the XXIInd Dynasty, Sheshonk IV, died, as we have seen, about 725 B.C., leaving the throne perhaps to an associate (?), Osorkon IV, who reigned at Bubastis (pp. 265, 273). The various chiefs of the Delta, most of them of Libyan origin, were practically independent, and some of them actually about this time assumed royal dignity, like 'the Chief of Ma,' Tefnakhte of Saïs, who also held the northern capital, Memphis. Moreover, south of Memphis the other descendants of the 'Great Chiefs of Ma,' Namilt of Hermopolis and Pefnefdidibast of Heracleopolis, also proclaimed themselves kings, as did a certain Iuput in the Delta east of Bubastis. Of these kings the most important was Tefnakhte. And he was no doubt the wealthiest. His importance and wealth were owing to the geographical position of his principality of Saïs on the Canopic branch of the Nile, where had now been established the *entrepôt* of the new Greek trade with Egypt (see p. 276); it was the source of the prosperity and power of Saïs, whose princes both enriched themselves with the dues on Greek merchandise, and controlled the further path of this commerce to Memphis. Tefnakhte was probably the first Saïte to hold Memphis; and henceforward the two are connected as one principality in the hands of his family, which afterwards gave the XXVIth Dynasty to Egypt.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ETHIOPIANS AND ASSYRIANS IN EGYPT

I. THE INSCRIPTION OF PIANKHI

THE Nubian chief Kashta had died about 742 B.C. and had been succeeded by a prince Piankhi, a man of great energy and decision. Having held the Thebaïd in peace for twenty years, he was emboldened by the death of Sheshonk IV and the resulting state of affairs in the north to make a bid for monarchic universal power in the Nile valley, and the restoration, in his person, of the unified kingship of Egypt from Napata to the Mediterranean. His pretext was supplied by the power of Tefnakhte of Saïs, who seemed to be about to threaten the Thebaïd, and was certainly generally recognized as over-king in the north in succession to Sheshonk IV, so that he and his successor Bokenranef were included by Manetho in his list of Pharaohs as the Tnephachthos and Bocchoris of the XXIVth Dynasty. Tefnakhte's chief abettor seems to have been Namilt of Hermopolis: the shadow-king Osorkon (p. 265) was evidently a mere puppet, and was probably relegated to Bubastis. Other chiefs allied with him were the barons of Khriaha (the Egyptian Babylon), of Athribis, Busiris, Pasepdu, Mendes, and Sebennytos[1].

The last, Akanesha by name, is obviously a Libyan, and is called a 'Great Chief of Ma,' as is also Zedamonef'onkh of Mendes, though his name is Egyptian. Pefnefdidibast of Heracleopolis, the ancient seat of the Ma, did not follow with the stream, and refused to acknowledge the over-lordship of Tefnakhte, so that he was besieged in Heracleopolis by the Saïte king and his confederates, and probably appealed to Thebes for aid. Purema and Lamersekni, the Ethiopian commanders in southern Egypt, sought leave from Piankhi to move, 'sending to His Majesty daily, saying "Wilt thou be silent, even to forgetting the names of the Southern Court, while Tefnakhte advances his conquest and finds none to repel his arm?".' Piankhi accordingly sent an army, which after great lustrations and propitiatory

[1] With the name Khriaha the modern el-Ḳāhira, Cairo, may have been originally connected, though in its present form it is the Arabic appellation 'the Victorious.'

ceremonies at Thebes, advanced northwards, defeated Tefnakhte at Perpega, near Heracleopolis, and relieved the city.

We know of these events from the extremely interesting triumphal inscription of Piankhi recording this war, set up by him at Napata, and now in the Cairo Museum. It gives a very clear notion of events, and is phrased in a particularly terse and picturesque style without the bombastic, and often meaningless, phraseology of many royal records. After the relief of Heracleopolis, Tefnakhte retreated to the north, while Namilt of Hermopolis doubled southward to his own city, where he was soon besieged in his turn. The Nubian commanders evidently did not consider it safe to pursue Tefnakhte with so redoubtable an enemy as Namilt in their rear. Piankhi was not pleased to hear of the course of events:

Then His Majesty was enraged thereat like a panther (saying) 'Have they allowed a remnant of the army of the North-land to remain? allowing him that fled from them to escape to tell of his campaign? not causing their death in order to destroy them? As Rē' loveth me, as my father Amon praiseth me, I will myself go down stream that I may reverse what he (Tefnakhte) hath done, that I may make him abandon fighting for ever!'... And when the army which was there in Egypt heard of the wrath which His Majesty felt towards them, they fought against Pemje in the Oxyrhynchite nome, they took it like a flood of water, and told His Majesty. His heart was not satisfied therewith. Then they fought against Tatehne, great in might. They found it filled with soldiers, with every valiant man of the North-land. Then the battering-ram was employed against it to overturn its walls: a great slaughter was made of them, one knows not the number, but among them was the son of the prince of Ma, Tefnakhte. And they sent to His Majesty about this; but his heart was not satisfied therewith. And then they fought against Ḥebennu: its inwards were opened, the soldiers of His Majesty entered into it. And then they sent to His Majesty, but his heart was not satisfied therewith. On the ninth day of the month of Thoth His Majesty arrived on his journey downstream to Thebes. He accomplished the feast of Amon at the feast of Opet. His Majesty went on in his journey downstream to the city of the Hare nome (Hermopolis). His Majesty comes forth from the cabin of the boat, bridles the horses and mounts on his chariot: the terror of His Majesty reaches to the uttermost parts of Asia: every heart is in fear of him. His Majesty came forth rushing to hate his soldiers, he raged against them like a panther (saying) 'The length of your fighting is delaying my commands: let the year accomplish its end in giving my fear to the North-land and in inflicting on them a high defeat, evil in striking!' He had made for him a camp to the west of Hermopolis and besieged it daily. A mound was made to dominate the wall: a wooden tower was built to lift up the archers to shoot and the slingers to hurl stones to kill men among them each day. Days passed and Hermopolis was foul to the nose, deprived of her sweetness. Then Hermopolis threw herself on her belly, doing obeisance in presence of the king.

The above passage gives a good idea of the style of this interesting inscription, and only the stock phrase about the fear of the king reaching the Asiatics interrupts the flow of the narrative, whose verisimilitude is its great charm. Gifts of all kinds, enumerated fully, were brought out to appease the king, and finally Namilt's queen appeared to plead with Piankhi for the safety of her lord and his city, which were granted her. Namilt then came out, leading a horse with one hand and holding a sistrum in the other, as he is depicted on the stela. Piankhi entered the city and rebuked Namilt for his bad care of his horses —a curious personal touch; but as Hermopolis was besieged for months, it is no wonder that the horses were starved, which does not appear to have occurred to Piankhi or his historiographer.

Pefnefdidibast now sent the usual presents of gold, silver, and horses, and Piankhi set his army on the march northward. A town near Lahun, at the entrance to the Fayyūm, which had been fortified against him, surrendered at his summons with another son of Tefnakhte, followed by Mēdūm: 'Behold! His Majesty sent to them saying: "There are two ways before you: choose as ye desire: open, and ye live: close, and ye die. My Majesty does not pass by a closed town." Whereat they opened upon the instant, and His Majesty entered into the inwards of that town.' The ancient fortress of Itht-Toui surrendered with equal promptness. And then the king reached Memphis and came up against it. Tefnakhte had hastily introduced into the city by night a garrison of 8000 men, but, intending to avoid being besieged himself, did not await the assault of Piankhi, but at once escaped northwards under pretext of marshalling the forces of the Delta. 'He sate himself upon a horse, he asked not for his chariot: he went downstream in fear of His Majesty.' The garrison of Memphis refused to surrender, but Piankhi took it by means of a stratagem. As the river was high, the shipping of the city, moored along the river-wall, rode high. So Piankhi embarked his troops on his own ships which he laid alongside those of his enemy; the troops then boarded the enemy vessels and passed over them on to the wall. 'So Memphis was taken as by a flood of water; the number of men slain therein is unknown...now afterwards, at dawn of the next day, His Majesty sent troops into the city, to protect the temples of the god.' Piankhi then landed, a solemn service of purification was held, and he made his reverence to Ptah.

The Delta princes submitted and Piankhi proceeded by way of Khriaha to Heliopolis, where as king he entered the sacred

benben-chamber of Rē', and so asserted his right as Pharaoh. And here king Osorkon came from Bubastis 'to see the beauty of His Majesty.' Pediesi of Athribis now invited the king to his city: 'my treasury is open to thee, I will give thee gold as much as thou desirest; malachite shall be heaped upon thee, many horses of the best of the stable and the first of the stall.' Piankhi's special love of horses, as evinced at the taking of Hermopolis, was evidently appreciated: and no better gift for him could be devised. Then Pediesi gives this order:

'Every one of the chiefs if he conceals his horses and hides his obligation shall die the death... say, have I concealed ought from His Majesty of all the possessions of my father's house... bracelets of gold, necklaces and collars wrought with precious stones, amulets for every limb, chaplets for the head, rings for the ears, all the adornments of a king... garments of royal linen.... Go to the stable that thou mayest choose as thou desirest, of all the horses that thou willest.' Then His Majesty did so. Said these kings and princes to His Majesty: 'Dismiss us to our cities that we may open our treasuries, that we may choose as much as thy heart desires, that we may bring to thee the best of our stables, the first of our horses!' Then His Majesty did so.

The troops of Pediesi now marched under the banner of Piankhi, and Tefnakhte, having burnt his ships and his treasury, surrendered, after which he was admitted to the king's peace. None, however, of the surrendered kings ('the wearers of uraei') and princes were admitted to the royal presence, except Namilt, as he alone among them did not eat fish, 'and fish is an abomination unto the palace.' That is to say, Piankhi and Namilt held fast to the Egyptian prohibition of fish as food for priests; the Ethiopian, no doubt like most of the Pharaohs, had been admitted to priest's orders, and probably regarded himself as in some sort high-priest of Amon at Thebes, if, as is probable, he was the husband of Kashta's daughter Amonirdis, the adopted daughter of the high-priest Shepenopet. The inscription concludes:

Then His Majesty sailed upstream with a glad heart, the shores on either side of him rejoicing. West and East, they seized the sistrum, jubilating in the presence of His Majesty, psalming and jubilating as they raised the song 'O twice mighty ruler, Piankhi, mighty ruler: thou comest, having gained the dominion of the Northland. Thou makest bulls into women. Happy the heart of the mother who loves thee and the man who begat thee. Those who are in the valley give praise to her, the cow that has borne a bull. Thou art unto eternity, thy might endureth, O Ruler beloved of Thebes!'

So the inscription ends. It has been treated fully, since it is one of the most interesting ancient historical inscriptions that exist in any country, and is invaluable as a source of information as to the conditions of the time.

II. EGYPT, PALESTINE AND ASSYRIA

Piankhi now returned to Nubia. But the regent, or chief commander, whom he presumably left in charge in Egypt, soon found that he had taken over a foreign complication of a formidable kind. The generals of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser V had finally conquered Israel a year before Piankhi's expedition. Hoshea of Israel, who had foolishly defied his Assyrian over-lord, was besieged for two years in Samaria, which finally fell shortly after the murder of Shalmaneser and accession of Sargon to the Assyrian throne in 722 B.C. Hoshea was blinded, and his whole land and people annexed. Assyria was now almost at the gates of Egypt. In the O.T. we read that Hoshea had sent messengers to So or Seve, *king* of Egypt, and that the king of Assyria found conspiracy in him (2 Kings xvii, 4). No such king is known to us from Egyptian sources, but it has been supposed that he was one of the many dynasts of the Delta. Although he is not mentioned among those who submitted to Piankhi in 721, he is evidently the Sib'e, *turtan* (chief general) of Muṣri (Egypt), whom Sargon defeated in the battle of Raphia in 720, when Egypt assisted those Syrians and Philistines who, in spite of the lesson of the destruction of Samaria, had revolted again almost immediately in concert with the remnant of Israel (see p. 57). Unfortunately we have no Assyrian accounts of the earlier events in 725. If, then, the reference in the Book of Kings is placed correctly we should have expected to find this Seve or Sib'e mentioned among the dynasts who submitted to Piankhi. But the contemporary Assyrian record very explicitly does not call him king in 720, but merely the *turtan* or commander-in-chief of the Egyptian king. In spite of the fact that he is not mentioned by Piankhi, he might of course have been a Delta chief (not 'king': we know from Piankhi's inscription who the 'kings' were who wore the uraeus) whom Piankhi made his commander in Egypt. But it is probable that Piankhi would leave in command in Egypt one of his own Nubians, such as Lamersekni or Purema, rather than a Delta chief of doubtful loyalty, and it is at least possible, in spite of objections, that this Sib'e was none other than the Ethiopian prince Shabaka who succeeded Piankhi as king five years later. He will then have been left by Piankhi in control of Egypt.

We may suppose that it was the Egyptian revolution which occurred after the fall of Samaria, apparently betokening the accession of an energetic warrior-king who would be able to

afford valuable, perhaps decisive, assistance, that emboldened the Syrians to fly to arms again in 720 B.C. And Piankhi's *turtan* Sib'e —whether Sib'e was Shabaka or no, Piankhi, not Tefnakhte or Osorkon IV, must have been the Pharaoh whose *turtan* Sib'e was —confident in the success of the expedition into Egypt, and totally ignorant of the Assyrian power as he would be, was no wise loth to give them encouragement. The result was the total defeat of the Egyptians under their presumably Ethiopian commander at Raphia: Sib'e fled 'like a shepherd whose sheep have been taken,' and the wrath of the provoked victor was only appeased by lavish gifts from 'Pir'u' or Pharaoh. Of this naturally we hear nothing from Piankhi, but the result was evident. Shabaka, if it was he, must have retired precipitately to the south, and the Delta was abandoned to Tefnakhte, who emerged from his obscurity and was again king. He, it may be (rather than the puppet Osorkon IV, who now probably disappeared), was the Pir'u who placated Sargon with what the Assyrian deemed tribute. Thebes of course remained subject to Piankhi: there is no trace of Tefnakhte in the south.

Now, if Sib'e was Shabaka, it is certain that the reference in 2 Kings xvii, 4 is misplaced, and must belong to the year 720 and the campaign of Raphia rather than to 725 and the campaign of Samaria. And even if he were not, but still was (as is most probable) an Ethiopian, we must come to the same conclusion. The fact that when he was king the Assyrians rendered his name correctly as 'Shabaku' has been regarded as a cogent argument against the identification with Sib'e or Seve, but this is not really decisive, as on his first appearance neither Syrians nor Assyrians may have heard his name correctly, and in the Book of Kings the original erroneous or rather truncated form has survived. It must be remembered that we do not know the meaning of the Libyan or Nubian (not Egyptian) name, Shabaka (or Shabiku, Greek Sabakon or Sebichos), or of that of his successor Shabataka (or Shabitoku); a shortened form 'Shaba' may well have been in use. It is also remarkable that in the Septuagint (the Lucianic recension) for 'So, king of Egypt' is substituted 'Adrammelech the Ethiopian, living in Egypt.' By some confusion an Assyrian name has been substituted for that of So, but he is definitely described as an Ethiopian. All authorities are agreed that So (or Seve) and Sib'e are the same person; and, if he was an Ethiopian, as is on all grounds most probable, the biblical description of him as 'king' is at all events an error. And the present writer is still inclined to regard him as none other than Shabaka, who had not yet become king,

and who had been left behind by Piankhi in command in Egypt[1].

Tefnakhte thus is now again king, and about 718 he was succeeded by Bokenranef, who took the throne-name Uaḥkerē', pronounced something like 'Vohkere,' the Greek Bocchoris. As the eighth year of Tefnakhte is recorded, he must have dated his accession at latest from 726–725, the last year of Sheshonk IV. Tnephachthos and Bocchoris are the first Egyptian kings of their own time of whom the Greeks of the new age preserved the memory. Greek civilization was now arising out of the dark age that succeeded the crash of the Bronze Age Minoan or Keftian culture that had been so well-known to the Egyptians of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The new age of expansion, trade and colonization was under way, and Milesian traders were already frequenting the Nile-mouths. The western mouth at Canōbus was that most frequented by them, as affording either a clear run and landfall from the Aegean, or a route along the Libyan coast less liable to Phoenician interference than the eastwise coasting route. Owing to increasing Greek trading-ventures the Canopic branch of the Nile was now becoming of greater importance than the Pelusiac, which in Ramessid and Bubastite days had given access to the trade of Phoenicians. Now, however, the 'grave Tyrian trader, from the sea descried at sunrise an emerging prow': the Ionians had successfully invaded his ancient trade domain; and the Egyptian, not less than the Tyrian, now

> Saw the merry Grecian coaster come
> Freighted with amber grapes and Chian wine,
> Green bursting figs and tunnies steeped in brine,
> And knew the intruders on his ancient home,
> The young, light-hearted masters of the waves.

On the Canopic Nile lay Saïs, and she commanded the further passage to Memphis. The whole country, too, was the domain of the lords of Saïs. The wealth that enabled a prince of Saïs to

[1] The conclusion has often been disputed. It was at first generally held, *e.g.* by Rawlinson and Oppert, that So was Shabaka, but latterly this has been generally rejected. (W. M. Müller, *E. Bi.* col. 4664; Steindorff, *B. z. Ass.* I, pp. 339 *sqq.*; Alt, *Israel u. Ägypten*, pp. 56 *sqq.*; Rogers, *Hist. Bab. Assyr.* II, 306; Peet, *Egypt and the O.T.* p. 171; Olmstead, *Hist. Assyr.* pp. 204, 207.) But in view of the arguments adduced above, the old identification does not seem so very improbable after all. The present writer therefore maintains his view, as expressed in *Anc. Hist. of Near East* (5th ed.), p. 471 *sq.*, with the modification that he finds it necessary to admit the correction of 2 Kings xvii in view of the date of Piankhi's expedition, which, it now seems certain, must be placed, not in 728, as was formerly thought, but in 721.

rank as the first of the dynasts of the Delta and to seize Memphis came from the dues and profits on the new trade with Greece, from the import of oil and wine from Greece, and from the export to Greece of wheat and barley, as well as from the Libyan sheep whose fleeces were so useless to the linen-wearing Egyptian but most valuable to the Greek. Close to Saïs the Milesians established their emporium, which afterwards became Naucratis (p. 292). Memphis and Saïs were no doubt already known to them as the chief cities of Egypt, and Bocchoris was reputed in tradition, preserved later by Diodorus, to have been a fabulously rich and wise prince whose father (Tnephachthos) had been a great warrior. It was reported of him that he brought more precision into the law of contract; thus by his amendments 'those who have contracted a debt without a written agreement, and deny that they owe it, after taking an oath are freed from the debt' (Diodorus i, 79). Bocchoris was in fact a business king. Nemesis pursued him, as she does all favourites of fortune, and he was captured by Sebichos (Shabaka), Manetho tells us, and burnt alive. In his reign, according to a native tradition preserved in demotic screed, a lamb spoke and prophesied the Assyrian conquest and enslavement of Egypt, and the removal of her gods to Ninua (Nineveh). There is no doubt that he was the Pir'u who, when Ashdod revolted under a Greek adventurer (the 'Yawāni'), from Cyprus (?), in order to remove all suspicions of his intentions in that matter, sent the Assyrian Sargon tribute in 715 (p. 58), and that he was deposed and no doubt killed by Shabaka, about 712. Consequently the tradition may be correct. With him the XXIVth Dynasty, of two kings only, came to an end.

Shabaka was probably associated with Piankhi about 715 (?)[1], and three years later invaded Egypt and recovered the whole of his kingdom. For fifteen years he remained quiescent, without challenging (once more?) the arms of Assyria, but at length he openly defied the king Sennacherib in support of the revolt of Lulī of Sidon and Hezekiah of Judah. The sequel in the battle of Elteḳeh, near Ekron, a repetition of the defeat at Raphia, is well known (700 B.C., pp. 72, 390). The Assyrian record tells us that the army of the kings of Muṣur, the soldiers, the archers, the chariots and horsemen of Melukhkha (Nubia) were overthrown, the 'sons of the kings of Muṣur' were taken, and the army retired in disorder to Egypt. Shabaka, now an older and a wiser man, had apparently remained at home. The siege and capture of Lachish, commemorated in the reliefs now in the British Museum, followed. Hezekiah

[1] Brit. Mus. No. 24,429 (unpublished) possibly implies that Piankhi was still king in Shabaka's 15th year (*c.* 700 B.C.).

was shut in Jerusalem 'like a caged bird,' bitterly ruing the trust that he had placed in that 'staff of bruised reed, even Egypt, on which, if a man lean, it will pierce his hand: so is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, unto all that trust in him!' as the *rab-shaké* had told him in the hearing of the people on the wall. And of a truth the kings of Assyria had destroyed the nations and their lands and cast their gods into the fire.

Before the surrender of Hezekiah to his generals Sennacherib had returned to Assyria. It is generally assumed that the famous disaster to his army at Pelusium, which is chronicled in 2 Kings xix, 35, and by Herodotus and Berosus, and usually considered to have been a decimation by plague (the rats and mice of the Herodotean story are plague-bearers, the beasts of Apollo Smintheus), now occurred, in 700, and that it was the motive for Sennacherib's return and the mild treatment of Hezekiah. The mention of Tirhaḳah as the Egyptian king in the biblical story (*v.* 9) cannot, however, be referred to 700, unless this is another mistake of the same kind as before, and Tirhaḳah was the *turtan*. This is not impossible, of course, but another explanation is that this event happened some fifteen years later, when Tirhaḳah was king, and that Sennacherib then went down to Palestine upon an expedition not mentioned (for obvious reasons) in his Annals, and that the famous disaster happened then. We have no hint that Sennacherib ever besieged Pelusium or made the slightest attempt to invade Egypt, whereas he may have fought her in South Palestine later. Moreover, Hezekiah would hardly have sent rich gifts and tribute to Sennacherib at Nineveh, as he did, if the Assyrian had first lost his whole army and had had to fly. According to yet another view, the disaster really happened, not to Sennacherib, but to Esarhaddon, who in 675 attacked Egypt, when, as the Babylonian chronicle tells us, 'the troops of Assyria went to Egypt: they fled before a great storm[1].' The substitution of the name of Sennacherib (Sanacharibos) for that of Esarhaddon may be a case of the common replacement of a less-known name by a well-known. This view has much to commend it, though the reference in 2 Kings xix, 7 ('I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land') applies to Sennacherib, not to Esarhaddon; at all events it tallies with the theory of an unsuccessful expedition about 687 or 686 rather than with that of 700.

It has also been suggested that the name of the Egyptian king in the Herodotean version of the story, Sethōs, is derived from

[1] See p. 74, and Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Hist. Texts*, pp. 5 *sqq*.

the title of a priest of Ptah (Hephaistos) at Memphis, and that the real Egyptian king was one who also held such a Memphite priestly office[1]. But it is simpler to suppose that it is merely a traditional confusion of the old name Seti in a wrong setting.

Shabataka (Shabitoku) succeeded his father Shabaka as king of Egypt not long after the defeat of Eltekeh in 700, and possibly in consequence of it: an Ethiopian king who suffered defeat may well have received short shrift as a means of diverting the wrath of the gods from his people[2]. We know little of his reign, which was totally undistinguished; and it is not certain whether his predecessor and he ruled from Napata or from Thebes.

His successor, Taharḳa (689–664 B.C.), the Tirhaḳah of the Bible, Tarḳu of the Assyrians, and Etearchos or Tarakos of the Greeks, no doubt reigned at Tanis and Thebes, with (for a time at least) a shadowy co-regent Piankhi at Napata[3]. Taharḳa was the nephew of Shabaka, and, therefore, the cousin of Shabataka, whom he murdered, possibly when the king was in Egypt (Eusebius says that he killed 'Sebichos' who here must be Shabataka). As a young man of twenty, he tells us in an inscription at Tanis, he accompanied a king (apparently Shabaka) when he occupied the northland (in 712). This would make him forty-three years of age at his accession. He had remained in Egypt during the whole of the reigns of Shabaka and Shabataka; and this fact makes it not impossible that he may have been in command of the Egyptians at Eltekeh, though we have no confirmation of the biblical statement which, as we have seen, may have been a scribe's error. To his court at Tanis he summoned his old mother, whom he had not seen for twenty years, and he tells us how magnificently he caused her to be received like Isis, the mother of Horus. His residence at Tanis was no doubt determined by the necessity of constant watch on the frontier now that the Assyrian was so near, and the advisability of keeping touch with any rebel who could be encouraged to be a thorn in the side of Assyria, now so powerful that the possibility of an actual invasion and attempt at conquest of Egypt could not be

[1] Herod. ii, 141. So F. Ll. Griffith (*Stories of the High-priests of Memphis*, p. 5). But if the name were Sethon, as he thinks, the accusative would surely be Σεθῶνα: it would not be indeclinable.

[2] The highest monumental year of Shabaka is the fifteenth (Brit. Mus. Statue No. 24,429): Shabataka is said to have reigned twelve years. The date 710 for Shabataka's accession (Meyer, Z. *Aeg.* 1905, p. 125) is no longer tenable.

[3] On the identity of this Piankhi, see the Appendix.

disregarded. Some have supposed, as we have seen, that such an attempt did perhaps take place not long after his accession; on this see below, and cf. pp. 74, 85.

III. THE ASSYRIANS IN EGYPT

Sennacherib's son and successor, Esarhaddon (681 B.C.), was a man of very different temper from his father. He was more civilized, but at the same time more impetuous. He saw the necessity of peace at home in Mesopotamia if Syria and Palestine were to be held against the opposition of an Egypt which never ceased to claim the west-lands as an ancient dominion which had been unrightfully usurped, once by the Hittites, and now by Assyria. Reversing his father's policy of repression in Babylonia, he freed his hands and prepared to invade and conquer Egypt. The advisability of such a policy must always be a moot point. His initial efforts were unsuccessful. An attempt at invasion in force in 675 was broken up by a great storm, which drove away the Assyrians in panic flight. We have seen that there is reason to suppose that this may have been the real occasion of the disaster traditionally ascribed to Sennacherib, in which case the army of Esarhaddon will have been besieging Pelusium, when some fierce Mediterranean tempest overwhelmed their camp and rendered their bowstrings useless with rain and sea-water, so that they had to break up and retreat in disorder. Whether pestilence followed or not we do not know; but it is possible that a great storm sufficiently explains the disaster which was so celebrated in ancient legend.

In the next year Esarhaddon made another attempt. His generals were more successful, getting into the Delta (no doubt farther south), and besieging the city Sha-amēlie, 'The City of Men,' presumably Andropolis near Saïs in the western Delta, if it is not simply a name for Pelusium. In any event, it would seem that in 674 Esarhaddon was successful in forcing an entrance into the Delta, and the speed of the campaign of 671 would indicate that during the intervening three years the Assyrian foot was kept in the door, and Tirhaḳah was prevented from recovering the eastern Delta, or at least Pelusium. In 671 the final blow fell. Taharḳa had incited Baal king of Tyre to revolt. 'In the tenth year,' says the Babylonian Chronicle, 'in the month Nisan, the army of Assyria went to Egypt. On the 3rd, 16th and 18th of Tammuz, three times, a battle was fought in Egypt. On the 22nd, Mīmpi (Memphis), its royal city, was captured. Its king saved himself (by flight). His brother was taken alive. Its booty

was carried off, its people were plundered, its goods they carried away.' A swift record of a swift campaign. The old-fashioned dilatory methods of the Egyptians were no match for prompt and decided generalship. Taharḳa fled to Napata. The whole country as far south as Thebes submitted. Esarhaddon claims to have conquered Upper Egypt and Nubia as well as the Delta: 'Baalu, king of Tyre, who relied on Tarḳu, king of Kūsi: all his cities and his property I took from him. I conquered the land of Muṣri, the land of Paturi(si), and the land of Kūsi. Tarḳu, its king, five times with the spear I fought, and all his lands I ruled[1].' Muṣri is the Egyptian Delta only; Paturisi is the Egyptian *Patoris*, 'the Southland' (the biblical Pathros, Pathrusim), and Kūsi is Ethiopia or Cush.

It is, however, very doubtful whether Esarhaddon actually passed Syene into Cush in person. North of Syene, at any rate, all the local chiefs sent gifts to Esarhaddon, who either graciously confirmed them in their posts or substituted enemies of the Ethiopians for their friends. No attempt was made to occupy the country south of Heracleopolis, and the Upper Egyptian princes were not interfered with. These were Ziḥa (Zedḥor; Teōs or Tachōs) of Siyautu (Siūt), Lamintu (Namilt) of Khimūni (Khemennu; Hermopolis), Ispimātu (Psimut) of Tāini (Thinis), and Mantimankhi (Mentumeḥet) of Ni' (No-Amon, Thebes). Among the Delta chiefs the Assyrian scribe reckons the prince of Heracleopolis, Niku (Nechao) of Mīmpi (Memphis; the Hebrew Noph)[2] and Sāi (Saïs), Pishankhuru (Pshenḥor) of Natkhu (Natho), Paḳruru of Pishaptu (Per-Sopdu), Bukkunanni'pi (Bakenefi) of Khatkhiribi (Hat-to-her-ibet, Athribis), Nakhke of Khininshi (Ḥininsu or Ḥnes, Heracleopolis, the modern Eḥnasya or Aḥnas, the biblical Hanes)[3]; Puṭubishti (Pedubastet) of Ṣa'nu (Zoan,

[1] Messerschmidt, *Keilinschr. v. Assur* (1911), I, No. 75, ll. 8 *sq.*

[2] The Assyrian transliteration shows that the Egyptian pronunciation of the name Mennofer was now something like 'Memfi,' which the Greeks, turning the *f* into an aspirated *p*, made Memp-his, while the Assyrians turned it into a simple *p*, as neither nation possessed the *f* sound. The Hebrew name Noph, in which the element *men-* is dropped, is evidently older, and was adopted when the Egyptians still sounded the *o* in the element *nofe(r)*.

[3] In spite of the fact that all the other names in the list are of places in the Delta, the present writer, in common with Breasted (*A.J.S.L.* XXI, 250), does not find it necessary to suppose, as does Spiegelberg, that this Ḥininsu was not the well-known Ḥininsu in Middle Egypt, the headquarters of the Libyan chiefs of Ma, and in some sort the metropolis of Upper Egypt after Thebes, but another (unknown) place of the same name in the Delta. Spiegelberg's theory (*Ägyptologische Randglossen zum alten Testament*, p. 36) is that,

Tanis); Unamunu (Unamūn or 'Wenamon') of Natkhu; Kharsiyēshu (Harsiesis) of Ṣabnūti (Thebnūter, Sebennytos); Pūaima (Purema) of Pindidi (Mendes); Susinḳu (Sheshonḳ) of Pushiru (Busiris); Tabnakhti (Tefnakhte) of Punubu (Per-neb); Bukunanni'pi (Beknenefi) of Akhni; Iptikhardēshu (Ptaḥ-erdi-su) of Pikhattikhurunpiki (Per-Ḥathor-nebt-tep-eḥe, Aphroditopolis), and Nakhtikhuruansini (Nakhte-Ḥor-en-shenu) of Pishabti'a (Per-Sopd-'o), with two who bore Assyrian names, Sharruludari of Ṣi'nu (Pelusium) and Bukur-Ninurta of Pakhnūti. The Assyrian transliterations of the Egyptian names are very interesting and important as supplying the contemporary vocalization of their pronunciation. The two Assyrians were possibly Egyptians who were honoured with Assyrian names: for the former we may compare the name of the prince of Askalon set up by Sennacherib (p. 72). All the princes are called *Shar*, 'king,' though none of them, with the possible exception of Niku of Saïs, could lay claim to Pharaonic dignity. Since the days of Shabaka there had been no more real Pharaohs, 'who wore the uraeus,' in the Delta. The leaders of the Delta chiefs would seem to have been Niku of Saïs and Paḳruru of Per-Sopdu in the Wadi Ṭumīlāt.

Esarhaddon had made an easy conquest, and seems to have thought that it would easily be held. It was probably now that he sent ambassadors to Taharḳa in Nubia (Kusi), no doubt to negotiate a treaty, but they returned without an answer[1]. In the next year (670), there were already symptoms of conspiracy against Assyria, probably more in the interests of individual Delta chieftains than in those of their rightful lord, Taharḳa. Esarhaddon determined to secure his conquest more firmly, but on the way to Egypt with his army he died (669). The new king, Ashurbanipal, was too busy with other matters to pursue his father's plans at once, and, as soon as he heard of the death of Esarhaddon, Taharḳa emerged from the south like a whirlwind, occupied Thebes, retook Memphis and put the garrisons left by Esarhaddon in the Delta-cities to the sword. He then reigned in the north for a year and a half till, in 667, Ashurbanipal was at

as cities were sometimes duplicated both in name and worship in Upper and in Lower Egypt, this may also have been the case with Ḥininsu, which in this instance may have been the Heracleopolis in the Sethroïte nome, near Tanis. But it seems more natural to conclude that the real Heracleopolis was so well known and was such an important place at this very time, that it, more than any other place, is represented by the Ḥininsu of the Assyrians and the Hanes of the Jews.

[1] Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen* (1901), p. 18.

last able to proceed to Egypt. The country was easily invaded, and Ashurbanipal defeated Taharḳa at Karbaniti (an Assyrian name meaning 'Town of the Freewoman,' and no doubt a translation of the Egyptian name), and took Memphis without further fighting. Taharḳa again saved himself by flight to Napata, but this time the Upper Country was not spared the sight of Assyrian soldiery: a Phoenician fleet, brought up the Nile to Memphis for the purpose, transported the Assyrian king and army southward to Thebes in forty days, and the city was occupied without opposition. No harm was done to it: the prince Mentumehet no doubt had made a politic submission. He and the other nominees of Esarhaddon were confirmed in their appointments by Ashurbanipal, who then left Egypt in their charge: 'Muṣur and Kusi, which my father, my begetter, had defeated, I set again in order.'

Mentumehet is well known from his monuments at Thebes as a faithful servant of Taharḳa, and his temporary submission to Ashurbanipal was no doubt well known to be due to no thought of treason but to a desire to save his city from destruction. His portrait-statue, now at Cairo, makes a favourable impression: it is one of the finest of Egyptian portraits. At this time the archaistic feeling was taking strong hold of Egyptian artists, and with it the old appreciation of true rather than conventional portraiture was being revived, so that the portrait-statues of this age are among the finest that the Egyptians ever produced.

Mentumehet and his fellow-dynasts of Upper Egypt were not in such daily fear of the Assyrians as their colleagues in the Delta, and with them it was of greater importance to keep on good terms with their rightful king in Nubia, which the Theban chief certainly succeeded in doing. Taharḳa probably soon returned to Thebes from Napata after Ashurbanipal had departed, and immediately the Delta-dynasts started to intrigue with him with a view to 'a division of the land with him,' in other words another restoration of his supremacy. The Assyrians discovered the correspondence, and Niku of Saïs and Sharruludari of Pelusium were sent in chains to Nineveh, while Paḳruru of Pisopdu (on the Wadi Ṭumīlāt) possibly succeeded in escaping to Thebes. The people of Saïs, Mendes, Pelusium and other towns were treated with great severity by the Assyrian generals; great and little they were killed, their bodies hung upon gallows and their flayed skins exhibited on their city-walls.

Ashurbanipal himself, however, now adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Delta chiefs and tried to make them feel

loyalty to Assyria. Niku was honoured at Nineveh and sent back to Saïs in state, while his son Psamatik (later the king Psammetichus I) was given the Assyrian name Nabu-shezibanni, and made prince of Athribis. Taharḳa was now quiet for the rest of his life, which was apparently passed at Napata: 'the terror of the sword of Ashur, my lord,' says the Assyrian king, 'cast Tarḳu down in the place whither he had fled (*i.e.* Napata), and his dark fate came to him.' On his death (at the end of 664 B.C.) he was succeeded by his nephew and brother-in-law, Tanuṭamon, the son of Shabaka, who had been associated with him less than a year before, and was apparently ruling in northern Nubia, perhaps even at Syene, though hardly at Thebes as has been supposed.

Immediately after the death of Taharḳa Tanutamon repaired to Napata, where he took over the government and at once marched to recover Egypt in accordance with the indications of a dream, which was interpreted by the soothsayers as promising him the dominion of the north as well as the south. On a stele which he erected at Napata he tells us how he invaded Egypt with his army, and was received with pomp at Elephantine and Thebes, where no doubt the prince Mentumehet must have submitted to him. At Memphis

there came forth the children of rebellion to fight with His Majesty. His Majesty made a great slaughter among them; their number being unknown. His Majesty took Memphis and entered into the temple of Ptah Risanbuf. ...Now after these things His Majesty sailed north to fight with the chiefs of the North. Then they entered their strongholds as beasts crawl into their holes. Then His Majesty spent many days before them, but there came forth none of them to fight with His Majesty. Then His Majesty sailed southwards to Memphis.

Eventually, however, the recalcitrant chiefs came in and submitted, headed by the pro-Ethiopian Paḳruru of Pisopdu. No mention is made of Niku, Ashurbanipal's nominee, prince of Memphis, who no doubt had been slain at the capture of the city. His death at the hands of the Ethiopians is definitely stated by Herodotus (ii, 152), who, however, confuses Tanutamon with Shabaka. His son Psamatik fled to the Assyrians. Tanutamon does not tell us the issue of his adventure: Ashurbanipal does. 'Afterwards (*i.e.* after the death of Taharḳa) Tandamane, son of his sister, sat on his royal throne. Nī' (Thebes) and Unu (On, Heliopolis) he made the places of his strength and he gathered his forces to fight my army of Assyria, which was collected in Memphis. He shut them in there and cut off their escape.

A messenger came to Nineveh and told me thereof.' And Ashurbanipal moved at once (663 B.C.). See p. 115.

On my second campaign I directed my way to Muṣur (Egypt) and Kusi. Tandamane heard of my campaign, and that I trod the soil of Egypt. He abandoned Memphis and fled to Nî' (Thebes) to save his life. The kings, viceroys, and burggraves, whom I had set in Memphis, came to me and kissed my feet. After Tandamane I pursued my way and came to Nî', the place of his strength. He fled to Kipkip (in Nubia). That city (Thebes) in its entirety I conquered with the help of Ashur and Ishtar. Silver, gold, precious stones, all the possessions of his palace, many-coloured clothing, linen, great horses, men and women attendants, two high obelisks of shining orichalcum 2500 talents in weight, the door-posts of the temple-door, I took from their bases and removed to Assyria. Heavy booty, beyond counting, I took away from Thebes. Against Muṣur and Kūsi I let my weapons rage and showed my might. With my hands full returned I to Nineveh, my residence-city, in good health.

What the prophet Nahum said with regard to this in his prophecy against Nineveh is well known (iii, 8–10).

Such is the chief contemporary account of the taking and sacking of Thebes by the Assyrians in 663 B.C. The reality was even worse than the description. There is no doubt that the city of Amon was given up to fire, sword and rapine: a fate that probably it had never known before in its history. We probably have traces of the catastrophe in the burnt ancient houses at Karnak which were discovered some years ago, and in the Assyrian helmet which was found in the Ramesseum. And from the inscriptions of Mentumehet we can see how terribly Thebes had been smitten. The nomarch had no doubt fled before the arrival of Ashurbanipal, with Tanutamon, and returned when the coast was clear, to find his city a reeking shambles and his temples outraged and despoiled. He tells us how he laboured to restore the defiled and damaged temples. But Thebes never recovered. Henceforward it was no longer a capital city; the government of Patoris ('the south-land') was transferred to Hanes or Ḥininsu, Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt; the headquarters of the old Libyan chiefs of Ma. Thebes was not even a city at all, nothing but what it is now, a collection of temples with separate villages clustering round them. Such was the Thebes of the Saïtes: in spite of the high-sounding titles of the 'Adoratrix of the God,' its portion as a chief city was henceforward only nominal and make-believe.

Napata was too far to give laws to Egypt: when Thebes was destroyed the Ethiopian kings no longer had a 'place of their strength,' a *point d'appui* in Egypt: and the southern power could

no longer counteract the heavier weight of the north under a unified northern power. Tanutamon still asserted his authority at Thebes in his third year (661), but henceforward we hear no more of him. He set up a stele at Napata to record his conquest of Egypt, but naturally did not record his speedy expulsion. His successors, Atlanersa, Senkamenseken, Aspelta, and the rest, never emerged from their safe refuge in 'Kipkip,' and made no claim to rule in Egypt north of the First Cataract.

IV. EGYPT'S INDEPENDENCE UNDER PSAMMETICHUS I

Ashurbanipal had left Egypt in the charge of Psammetichus (Psamatik, or Nabu-shezibanni as he called him), the son of Niku, who had returned to Egypt with him. From being sub-prince of Athribis, Nabu-shezibanni had succeeded to his inheritance of Memphis and Saïs after the death of his father (663). He was now invested with the rule of all Egypt under the Assyrian overlordship, and from this year he dated his reign as Pharaoh. As Taharḳa had died only two or three months before (p. 288), he presumably regarded his father, Niku, as having taken over the Pharaonic dignity then and as having passed it to him—though Niku's right to it was but as the successor of Tefnakhte whose claims were of a very dubious character—and indeed, as a matter of fact, the new royalty of the Saïtes rested upon nothing but the will of Assyria. As Psamatik already uses his royal style in his third year (661–660), and in the ninth year (655) we find his first inscription at Thebes, it would appear that sometime between 661 and 655 his authority was finally acknowledged there and that of Tanutamon rejected. In 655 he legitimized his claims to Thebes, by imitating the precedent of Kashta (p. 268), and causing his daughter Nitocris to be adopted by Shepenopet II, the 'Adoratrix of the God' and sister of Taharḳa, who herself had been adopted by Amonirdis, the daughter of Kashta. Shepenopet had already adopted another Amonirdis, daughter of Taharḳa, but she probably died or was put away in favour of the child of the new king for reasons of state.

Henceforward he was acknowledged king from the sea to Syene. Probably the Assyrian king did not object to this assumption of the full Pharaonic dignity by his vassal, since to the Assyrians this would not necessarily imply independence of them, though to an Egyptian of course it would. In any case Psamatik succeeded in staving off any renewed invasion. Ashurbanipal was henceforward too busy with the Elamite wars and with revolts

in Babylonia to trouble about Egypt so long as tribute was paid by Psamatik, and it is probable this was done for a good many years, perhaps regularly until about 651, when the Assyrian garrisons in the Delta were probably withdrawn owing to the revolt of Babylonia under the prince Shamash-shum-ukin. From the account of Herodotus we might suppose that Psamatik expelled these garrisons by force with the help of 'the brazen men' (pp. 115, 293) sent to assist him by Gyges of Lydia. There may have been some fighting in which the Egyptians were helped by the Anatolian and Ionian mercenaries who were now well known in the Levant, and even in the Babylonian armies. And it is probable that 'Gugu' king of Lydia, who was not always on good terms with Ashurbanipal, may have lent Psamatik some of his subjects for this purpose, probably about 654 B.C., when it would seem that he finally quarrelled with Ashurbanipal. It should however be observed that there is no reference to his help of Egypt in the Assyrian annals (see also pp. 116, 507). Still, as we shall see later, Psamatik never regards himself as the enemy of the Assyrians: rather the reverse. He was their friend and ally, so long as they respected his independence, which Ashurbanipal was now constrained to do. Psamatik and his 'brazen men' were too formidable to be attacked after the exhausting Elamite wars. The garrisons disappear from Egypt, the tribute was dropped, and Psamatik, Pharaoh from Nathu to Yēbu, from the Delta to Elephantine, tacitly resumed the international position of the great Egyptian kings of the past, as the first king of the XXVIth or second Saïte Dynasty.

In this account of the period of Assyrian invasions, a series of dates have been adopted which do not always coincide with those that will be found in former histories. The dates of the reigns of the XXVIth Dynasty kings are known with certainty from the Persian conquest in 525 backwards, so, since we know that Psamatik I was succeeded by Niku 'II' (Pharaoh Necho, the second Nechao of the Greeks) in 610–609 B.C., and is stated by Herodotus to have reigned fifty-four years, his first year was 663 B.C.[1] Now another Apis-bull died at the end of the twentieth year of Psamatik (644), aged twenty-one years two months

[1] The number is exactly confirmed by the record in the Serapeum of Memphis of the death on the second day of the sixth month of the sixteenth year of Niku of an Apis-bull aged sixteen years seven months and seven days, which was born on the nineteenth day of the sixth month of the fifty-third year of Psamatik.

and seven days, which was born in the twenty-sixth year of Taharḳa, which therefore was 664. Consequently there will have elapsed but two or three months between the death of Taharḳa and the accession of Psamatik, a space of time which may have been filled by the remainder of the life of Niku 'I' the father of Psamatik (which probably ended at the capture of Memphis by Tanutamon), if he was counted as a king by his son. In any case, Taharḳa was recognized by Psamatik as rightful Pharaoh until his death, which so shortly preceded the succession of Psamatik to the dignities of his father and his assumption of regal dignity to the exclusion of Tanutamon. Taharḳa will then have ascended the throne in 689. The inscription in the Serapeum of Memphis recording the burial of an Apis in his twenty-fourth year must belong to 666 B.C., a year after his appearance in the north in 667. It is probable that the priests more or less openly dated their inscriptions by the years of his reign, as Niku of Memphis was never actually crowned as Pharaoh and used no regnal years as king, so far as we know; and the Assyrian monarchs, though calling themselves *shar sharrāni Muṣur*, 'king of the kings of Egypt,' never regarded themselves as kings of Egypt, as Pharaohs, as the Persians did, and no Egyptian regnal years of them were used. The only way, therefore, in which a year could be described officially was by the name of Taharḳa. That the dates of the two invasions of Ashurbanipal are 667 and 663 B.C., is now certain[1]. There were Egyptian campaigns in 667 and 663; of the campaigns—if any—of 662 and 661 no record is preserved; and the months immediately following the death of Taharḳa, which certainly took place at the end of 664, are obviously the time of the invasion of Tanutamon and the march of Ashurbanipal to Thebes, evidently the Muṣri-campaign of 663. The campaign of 668 was to Kirbiti: that of 669 to Muṣri was the one in which Esarhaddon died, on the tenth day of the tenth month. The dates 671, 674 and 675 for the preceding attacks and invasions of Esarhaddon are now equally certain from the Babylonian Chronicle. Similarly, 681 is the correct date for the death of Sennacherib, not 682, and the battle of Elteḳeh took place in 700, not 701. And the last expedition of Ashurbanipal to the west, when Phoenicia was chastised, fell not in 645, as has usually been thought, but in 641 or 638.

[1] Forrer, *Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit. M.V.A.G.* 1915, p. 35. Streck, *Assurbanipal u. seine Nachfolger*, accepts 662 for the second expedition. If this is correct it is difficult to see what was the expedition of 663.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RESTORATION OF EGYPT

I. THE XXVIth DYNASTY: THE GREEKS

BEFORE opening the new chapter of Egyptian history that begins about 650 B.C., we should take a brief backward glance over the period that has elapsed since the death of Osorkon II, two hundred years before. We have seen that the spirit of tribal chieftainship was introduced into Egypt anew by the Libyan chiefs, the 'great chiefs of Ma' and the others, who possessed themselves of the rich lands of the Nile in the time of the XXIst Dynasty. For a century the development of this spirit was checked by the rise of a royal house, that of the XXIInd Dynasty, from among their number; but when, after the reign of Osorkon II, the old division between south and north re-asserted itself, full rein was given to the particularist and disruptive tendencies of the Libyan chiefs, especially in the broad lands of the Delta and Middle Egypt, where they could be more easily asserted than in the confined valley to the southward, and where the Libyan element was more potent than in the south. Accordingly, we have seen the disintegration of Egypt, and its partition among 'the wearers of the feather' (the Libyan chiefs), even involving the appearance, unknown since the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, of rival local pretenders to Pharaonic dignity (the 'wearers of the uraeus'). This caused the invasion of Piankhi, and it handed over Egypt to be the prize of Ethiopians and Assyrians, finally bringing upon her the catastrophe of a new Hyksos invasion, a new conquest by Asiatics who despised her gods and defiled her temples.

The terrible experience of this time had a curious result in the minds of the common people. To them the age, which to us seems a mere welter of degenerate anarchy and senseless bloodshed, was one of heroic achievement and derring do, to be celebrated in contemporary ballads and handed down in song and story. It has usually been so in the history of the world. Periods of unintelligent and barbarous petty quarrelling, killing and absence of controlling authority have generally been transfigured in legend as days of romantic chivalry. So now the intrigues and struggles of the Delta-dynasts of the period 750–650 B.C. with

one another and with the Ethiopian kings and the Assyrian foreigners were celebrated in romances, apparently first written down in the Ptolemaic period, four centuries later, and still current as popular literature in Roman times. Chief among these may be mentioned the story of the Holy Boat of Amon and the Thirteen Asiatics, and that of the Fight for the Armour of the King Inarōs. The thirteen Asiatics who seized the Holy Boat of Amon with the help of a priest of Buto in the Delta are evidently a reminiscence of the Assyrians who possessed themselves of Thebes in alliance with the traitorous dynasts of the Delta, and their final rout with the help of 'Min-neb-mai, Prince of Elephantine,' represents the struggle of the south under the leadership of the Ethiopian kings.

It is most interesting to find that the historical prince Pedubastet (the Puṭubishti of the Assyrians) of Tanis, figures in this tale as well as in that of the Fight for the Armour, where also figure Paḳruru of Pisopdu, Ziḥa, and a Pimai who is probably the Puaima (Purema) of the Assyrian inscriptions. Their names were handed down as those of heroes, and, as a matter of historical fact, Paḳruru was one of the most energetic enemies of the Assyrians. The story of the Armour of Inarōs, in which the mighty Syrian warrior Mentu-Baal represents the Assyrians, has been contaminated by tales of the later Delta-king Inarōs, who in the fifth century B.C. headed the national rising against the Persians as the older Delta-kings had fought against the Assyrians.

The whole 'Petubastis-saga' forms a most interesting footnote to history. Tales were current in later days, and probably in his own time also, about Psamatik (Psammetichus). Thus, there is that which Herodotus tells, how he poured his libation from his brazen helmet, instead of a golden bowl, and how he incurred the wrath of his eleven fellow-kings of the 'Dodekarchy,' on account of the oracle that foretold that whoever among them should offer a libation from a brazen bowl should be sole king of Egypt. And the story goes on to relate how he, though banished to the marshes of the Delta, received the oracle of Buto that 'vengeance should come from the sea, when the brazen men should appear,' and this was fulfilled by the arrival of the Ionian and Carian pirates in their brazen armour who, civilly entreated by him, assisted him to gain the regal power and so fulfilled also the oracle of the brazen bowl. Here we have a popular version of the fact of the 'Dodekarchy' of Delta dynasts, of whom Psammetichus was one, and of his obtaining the sole royal power; it is a valuable hint of the aid which very probably was in fact given him by the

Ionian and Carian mercenaries, whom Gyges sent, and who acted as his huscarls and guards of his royalty when he had attained the crown and the Assyrians had departed.

The name Psamatiko or Psamatik, being probably of Libyan origin like the names of other contemporary chieftains, would be meaningless to the Egyptians. But the tale of the brazen bowl may perhaps be connected with some popular belief that it was derived from words which, written in demotic script, could mean 'wine-seller[1].' The ascription of the 'Labyrinth' of Hawara by Herodotus to the Dodekarchy is interesting, since Hawara is close to Heracleopolis, which was the traditional centre of the Libyan families and in some sense the chief city of Egypt at this period (see pp. 259, 266). The princes of Hnes and the other dodekarchs were better remembered in the fifth century B.C. than the XIIth Dynasty king Amenemhet III, who really built the Labyrinth.

The Ionians, as well as the Carians and Lydians, now undoubtedly appear in force in Egypt both as warriors and traders, and the history of the XXVIth Dynasty is largely bound up with that of their settlements at the Fort of the Milesians (Naucratis, to which we have already referred, p. 276) and Daphnae, and of the relations between them and the Pharaohs and their people. The first settlement of the Greek traders from Miletus is said by Strabo to have been made 'in the time of Psammetichus,' which should mean about 650 B.C.; but it is probable that the phrase is but a vague one, and can be stretched to cover the preceding half-century or more, and that 'the Fort of the Milesians' may have been built at least as early as 700, if not still earlier (about 750), even before the time of Tefnakhte, whose power must have been due largely to wealth derived from the trade with Greece (p. 277). In confirmation of this may be adduced the statement of Athenaeus that, according to Polycharmus of Naucratis, a certain merchant of Naucratis named Herostratus, who traded with Cyprus, dedicated a statue of Aphrodite in the Naucratite temple of that goddess as early as the twenty-third Olympiad (688 B.C.). Dates in stories of this kind are always doubtful, but this date does point to a tradition that Naucratis existed as early as the first half of the seventh century, at least; and the original 'Fort of the Milesians' must have been considerably more ancient.

Greek pirates were already known on the coasts of the Delta before that, as is shown by the reference in the *Odyssey*, XIV,

[1] The name has the Egyptian definite article prefixed: *P-samatik(o)*. The feminine form, *T-samatik(o)*, also occurs. The element *samatik(o)* may be regarded as Libyan and the demotic spelling as mere *Volksetymologie*.

257 *sqq.*, to some 'king' repelling in person an unimportant raid of sea-rovers. This 'king' would be one of the Delta kinglets, and, in the present writer's opinion, the passage is probably no earlier than, say, the beginning of the eighth century, when such conditions existed; for though there were pirates in the days of the 'Peoples of the Sea' (cf. vol. II, p. 281), the king then could not have been on the spot so soon. Traders and pirates were more or less one; and by the time of the accession of Psammetichus, the Naucratis that succeeded the Fort of the Milesians not far from the royal city of Saïs must have grown into a considerable settlement. The kings of the XXVIth Dynasty no doubt continued to derive considerable profit from this trading-mart, exchanging the products of their estate with the strangers from over sea, and deriving from this some of the wealth which had enabled the Saïte princes to hire mercenaries and take the important position which was recognized by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

Psammetichus developed the use of his 'brazen men' by establishing camps of them, one at Marea near Kanōbos, the other on the opposite eastern border of the Delta, the 'tents' which became the important Ionian settlement of Daphnae (Taḥpanḥēs, the modern Tell Dafnah or Defenneh)[1]. It was at the latter place that Petrie discovered that store of fragments of Greek pottery which proved so important for archaeology, because they must all date between 650 and *c.* 565 B.C., when Amasis abolished the camp and concentrated the Greeks at Naucratis. His discovery of and excavations at Naucratis (the modern Tell Nebireh), supplemented by Hogarth's later investigations, have told us much of the later buildings of Naucratis, erected after the *synoikismos* and refoundation of Amasis. Its peculiar constitution no doubt existed already under Psammetichus. It was not a colony, but a trading factory governed by its own magistrates, who were 'chosen by the different states which contributed to the common treasury and participated in the common city-hall, the Helleneion, just as now at Shanghai the European communities combine in club and municipality.'[2] Like Marea in the west, Daphnae in the east was a purely military camp in the isthmus of

[1] The Hebrew name Taḥpanḥēs is undoubtedly, as Spiegelberg points out (*Äg. Randglossen z. A.T.* p. 39), a correct transliteration of an Egyptian original Ta-ḥe(t)-n-pa-nḥes, 'the House of the Negro.' But it does not follow that the Greek *Daphnai* (Herod. ii, 30) was a corruption of this. The Egyptians may have given the Greek name ('laurels') a folk-meaning ('Negro's House') in their own language, from which it was taken over by the Jews.

[2] Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, p. 528 *sq.*

Suez, corresponding to Pelusium in the north much as Ismailiya or Kantara does to Port Said to-day.

The forts and mercenaries combined effectively, we cannot doubt, with the gifts of Psammetichus to stop the flood of Scythian invasion which between 630 and 625 overran Asia, having previously destroyed the Cimmerians. Like the Philistines who were stopped by Ramses III at the gates of Egypt (vol. II, p. 283), the Scyths were baulked by the Egyptian defences which only Assyrian engineers could deal with, and whether or not they settled in Palestine, they at least gave their name to the important and ancient fortress of Beth-shan (Scythopolis), which five centuries before had been seized by the Philistines after their defeat of Saul (vol. II, pp. 372, 391).

The defence of the far south of his kingdom Psammetichus entrusted partly to Egyptians, and we hear from Herodotus the story of how these troops at Syene deserted into Ethiopia in spite of the king's efforts to stop them. The explanation of Diodorus that these deserters (or Asmakh as Herodotus calls them) deserted from jealousy of the privileged position of the Ionian mercenaries as the king's guards, is feasible enough. The story could, however, also be explained as referring to a momentarily successful attack of Tanutamon or one of his immediate successors on the southern frontier, which resulted in the capture of the garrison of Syene and its removal into Ethiopia. The story in Polyaenus that Psammetichus attacked king Tementhes with a body of Carian mercenaries certainly refers to Psammetichus I, as Tementhes is evidently Tanutamon; but the event recorded need not have been more than the expulsion of Tanutamon from Thebes. We need not ascribe to his 'brazen men' the supposed Lydian inscriptions noted by Sayce at Wadi Halfa, as they may simply be graffiti of merchants. Moreover, the famous Greek inscription at Abu Simbel (see below, p. 301) must undoubtedly be referred to another and later expedition, recorded also at Karnak, in the reign of Psammetichus II, which did not proceed beyond Abu Simbel.

In fact, relations with Nubia were peaceful, and in the temple of Mut 'in Ishru[1]' at Karnak is a stele commemorating the return of the admiral and governor Simto-tefnakhte (see below) from Nubia with rich gifts and an embassy, apparently, from the Amon-priests of Napata to those of Thebes. The 'ship of Amon'

[1] Or Ashel, Eshol; the pronunciation is uncertain. The name of the princess Nesitanebishru (p. 255) ought possibly to be pronounced something like 'Nsitnibeshol.'

came first in the solemn procession, followed by the admiral in his flagship, 'the Great Ship of Saïs.' It has been suggested that the origin of the Jewish colony which we find at Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. is to be sought in a body of mercenaries, sent there with his other troops, by Psammetichus. The suggestion is interesting, as it is known that Palestinian mercenaries were employed in Egypt at this time. Others, however, ascribe the settlement to Psamatik II.

The Ethiopians do not seem to have attempted to recover Thebes. It remained peacefully united to the rest of Egypt, ruled by Mentumehet and the stewards of the 'Divine Adoratrix,' under the supervision of Simto-tefnakhte, son of Pediesi. He was the governor of Patoris (see p. 285) at Heracleopolis, and also bore the offices of Captain of the fleet and Admiral of the Nile flotilla, in succession to his father. Thebes was reconciled to the Saïte rule by the solemn adoption of the king's daughter, Nitocris, by the High-priestess in 655 (see p. 286). She was solemnly escorted from Saïs to Thebes by Simto-tefnakhte and his fleet, the admiral no doubt leading the way in his 'Great Ship of Saïs.' The king, however, built little at Thebes, and probably was rarely there. Most of the monuments of his reign were in the north, and he was buried at Saïs.

II. EGYPT AND ASIA

We know little of internal events during this reign. In the north the peace was kept by the fear of the foreign guards, and the successors of the Dodekarchs meekly accepted the position of ordinary nobles. In the south the ships of the governor of Heracleopolis probably acted as a police patrol on the Nile, while the still-existing negro police, or Madjoi, and the garrison of Syene were available for the quelling of any local disturbances. Foreign affairs were, however, a matter of moment. The fact of invasion and conquest by the new Hyksos, as the Assyrians must have seemed to be, had burnt itself into the Egyptian brain, and policy as well as military arrangements were directed with the sole aim of keeping out the Asiatics. A revenge upon Asia like that of the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty was impossible: Egypt was too weak now, the Asiatics were too strong. Indeed, the policy which had insured to Psammetichus the kingship, and had preserved Egypt from further outrage, was one of subservience, more or less, to Assyria. But as time went on his position in regard to Ashurbanipal must have altered sensibly from one

of hardly disguised subject-alliance to one of a frank alliance of equals, in which however the main obligation was on the side of Egypt. The Pharaoh owed his position to Assyria, and he did not forget it. Till the end of his life he was the faithful ally of Assyria, and we have the extremely significant fact that when Asia had been shaken and her political face altered by the Scythian invasion Psammetichus appears as actively intervening in the interest of Assyria.

Certainly, it was to his own interest to bolster up the trembling Assyrian power: from Assyria he could confidently expect peace, but from her successors, what? It is in this sense that the present writer would interpret that mysterious siege of Ashdod, which, according to Herodotus, lasted twenty-nine years: almost the same number—it may be noticed—as that which he assigns to the duration of the Scythian domination of Hither Asia (pp. 146, 189, 394). The Scythians in their retreat from the Egyptian border took Askalon and wrecked the temple of Astarte. It is probable that they did a good deal more than this, and that it was at their hands that Philistia suffered something of the desolation that is referred to at this time by the contemporary prophet Zephaniah (ii, 4). But that the Egyptians were also responsible is definitely indicated by Herodotus, and this story may be regarded as referring to an attempt by Psammetichus to reduce to order either the Scythians in Philistia or the Philistines themselves after the barbarian invasion had abolished Assyrian control. This would be done probably in the nominal interest of Assyria, and certainly in friendly concert with her, though the result would be to restore the old Egyptian control. Ashdod, taken by the Scythians was probably again taken by the Egyptians after a lengthy blockade which, however, can hardly have gone on, as Herodotus reports, for twenty-nine years. The time probably has some reference to the domination of the Scyths; unless it is to be rejected as an absurdity, although allowance must be made for the inexperience of the Ionians and the Egyptians in siege-operations, in contrast to the Assyrians, who had developed siege-craft into an art.

Josiah of Judah now re-established the independence of his kingdom, and although this was to bid defiance to Assyria, he does not seem as yet to have meant hostilities with Egypt: in fact he seems to have sought Egyptian friendship, but without success. Psammetichus, too, did not as yet push his arms beyond Philistia, and Gaza presumably now remained in the possession of Egypt. Accordingly Egypt was secure in the domination of

her Palestinian *glacis*, and did not seek to rule the hill-country, in her own interest or Assyria's. It was not long before this cautious policy had to be given up. Babylonia, after the deaths of Ashurbanipal and his nominee Kandalānu (626–5), had become not only independent in fact as well as name, but under Nabopolassar rapidly developed into an active and dangerous foe of Assyria. In the north the *Umman-manda* (Scyths and other associated tribes) were a daily peril to Nineveh itself, and the Medes under their king Uvakhshatra (Cyaxares) were girding themselves up to dispute the inheritance of Ashur with the Babylonians. Assyria was directly threatened now. Psammetichus, under compulsion of his ancient obligation, consequently felt himself bound to assist Assyria and stave off her destruction, and in his old age to muster armies and send them into Asia against the Babylonian[1].

We now know something of the true story of the destruction of Nineveh and of the part which Egypt took in the events which led up to it from a fragment of a contemporary Babylonian chronicle of Nabopolassar's reign, copied perhaps a century later under the Persians (see pp. 128 *sqq.*, 209 *sq.*). Here Egypt appears definitely as the ally of Assyria against Babylonia and the Medes. We now know, too, from a fragment of annals in the British Museum that Nabopolassar began his struggle with dying Assyria as soon as he succeeded Kandalānu, and that ten years later he had not yet finally triumphed over the Assyrian garrisons and partisans. His power, however, increased steadily. In 616, when the newly-discovered record begins to shed its light on this period, he had invaded the region of the middle Euphrates, but the appearance of an Egyptian army moving southwards from Syria along the river caused him to retreat. In the following year he attacked along the Tigris, failed to capture Ashur and retreated to Tekrit, pursued by the Assyrian king Sin-shar-ishkun, who endeavoured to storm Tekrit, equally without success. In 614 Cyaxares and the Medes took Ashur, and when Nabopolassar and his army appeared on the scene, as he shortly did, he found the Mede in possession. A treaty of alliance was concluded at Ashur between the two kings, and in 612 Nineveh fell before

[1] It is indicative of the Assyro-Babylonian view of the legal position of the king of Egypt in relation to their over-rulers in the matter of the control of Syria and Palestine, that Berosus, the Babylonian historiographer, refers to the war between Babylon and Egypt that now ensued as one between the king of Babylon and a revolting governor of the west. No doubt the Egyptian would readily have returned the compliment.

their joint arms. 'By the bank of the Tigris they marched against Nineveh: a mighty assault they made upon the city, and in the month of Ab...a great havoc of the chief men was made. At that time Sin-shar-ishkun, king of Assyria....The spoil of the city, a quantity beyond counting, they plundered, and turned the city into a mound and a ruin.' The fate of Sin-shar-ishkun (Sarakos) was no doubt mentioned, but the tablet is here broken away. Very probably the legend that he consumed himself in the fire of his palace, like Shamash-shum-ukin at Babylon before him, is true.

But Assyria was not dead, though Nineveh and her last king had gone down to Sheol. A certain Ashur-uballiṭ, who may have been a younger brother of Ashurbanipal, and was high-priest of Harran, was proclaimed king there, and reigned precariously till in 610 the city was taken by the Scyths. Ashur-uballiṭ escaped across the Euphrates and sought the assistance of Egypt, who, so far as is known, had done nothing to help for six years. Possibly Psammetichus had warily determined to give no more help to a dying cause. At all events at this juncture he died (609). His son and successor Niku (Necho) was of a more warlike temper. He set his troops (probably largely foreign mercenaries) in motion: Ashur-uballiṭ gathered his remnant together, and an Assyrian-Egyptian army advanced to the recapture of Harran, which, however, was not effected, in spite of the defeat and massacre of a Babylonian garrison (probably at Carchemish: they seem to have been thrown down from the castle bluff into the river). Harran was defended successfully, probably by a Scythian garrison, and the chronicle ends when Nabopolassar is advancing to its relief. In the next year, 608, occurred the personal expedition of Necho, in the course of which the quixotic effort of Josiah of Judah in favour of the rising star of Babylon was defeated at Megiddo (p. 210). On his way north after Megiddo, Necho captured Kadesh (Kadytis) on the Orontes and, in token of his gratitude for the aid given by his Ionian mercenaries, dedicated his corselet in the temple of Apollo at Branchidae[1].

After the fall of Harran (610), Necho could do little more than attempt to succour the remnant of Assyria, especially now that the positions were reversed. Assyria was a suppliant, and there might be a prospect of defeating Babylon, now become too

[1] Herod. ii, 159. This Kadytis was presumably not Gaza, which must already have been in Necho's possession; it can only have been Kadesh on the Orontes. Herodotus himself perhaps thought that Gaza was meant, but his mention of it after Megiddo is against this.

powerful. Necho probably marched himself in 608 B.C. because in the previous year the army that had advanced to Harran was no doubt eventually defeated by Nabopolassar and thrown back across the Euphrates. Ashur-uballiṭ had possibly perished, and with him Assyria. The failure at Harran brought Necho himself into the field, apparently with success, for it is probable that the defeat of Josiah at Megiddo was followed by that of Nabopolassar in 608, unless indeed the Babylonian, warned by Josiah's fate, warily kept aloof until three years later he felt able to strike with success. When the king himself came upon the scene it was no longer to help Assyria, which had ceased to exist, but to secure part of the spoil for himself—there was now a prospect of restoring the Syrian empire of Thutmose and Ramses.

Carchemish was occupied till, in 605, Necho was defeated by the prince Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and the city fell. Of these events the Babylonian Chronicle does not tell: but we know that it was continued, and should a tablet containing the sequel be discovered we shall have the Babylonian account of them.

In the Egyptian army the 'brazen men' from the west probably bore their part. They certainly did under Necho, since unequivocal traces of their presence have been found at Carchemish in the shape of a Greek Gorgoneion-shield (?). The Egyptian chronicler, who eschews detail, makes no mention of them, and it is probable enough that there were others of their kin serving under Nabopolassar, as the brother-in-law of Alcaeus the poet served under Nebuchadrezzar.

Actual relics of the Egyptian occupation have been found in the ruins of Carchemish, in the shape of a house, presumably occupied by an Egyptian officer or official, which contained Egyptian bronze figures, alabaster and blue frit vases, clay-seal impressions with the name of Necho, and a bronze ring with seal-bezel bearing the cartouche of Psammetichus. This house 'had been destroyed by an enemy, and the burnt ruins were littered with evidence of a desperate struggle. Everywhere, and especially in the doorways, were arrowheads, literally in hundreds, arrowheads in bronze and in iron and of many types... occasionally a mass would be found all fused or rusted together, the contents of a quiver; sometimes the single points would be bent or broken as if striking on the stones or metal-work of the doors. Javelin-heads were fairly numerous, a sword was found, and a remarkable bronze shield; and in rooms 3 and 4 there were human bones on the floor[1].' The shield (?) is the Ionian Gorgoneion-

[1] C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, p. 125.

shield mentioned above, which belonged to some Greek warrior of Necho's army. The house was evidently attacked and destroyed after the defeat. Pharaoh Necho fled in wild rout with all his host through Syria and Palestine, pursued by the arms of Nebuchadrezzar and the barbed taunts of the prophet Jeremiah (ch. xlvi).

Jeremiah's prophecy of an immediate invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar was not fulfilled, for in Palestine the prince heard of the death of his father, Nabopolassar, and returned hastily to Babylon to assume his crown (605). But 'the king of Babylon had taken, from the brook of Egypt unto the river of Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt' (2 Kings xxiv, 7). Gaza even must have fallen to Babylon, and Egypt was reduced to her old limits once again: 'and the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land.' Necho did not move when, eight years later, his nominee Jehoiakim, whom he had set on the throne of Judah after the death of Josiah at Megiddo, revolted against Babylon, in spite of the impassioned warnings of Jeremiah, and the first siege and capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar followed with its resulting captivity of part of the population (597). The Egyptian king accepted the situation, and Babylon succeeded undisturbed to the inheritance of Assyria in the west. Nebuchadrezzar, who in spite of his power in war, was naturally a peaceful prince, preferring to spend his time and wealth in erecting magnificent buildings at Babylon rather than carry war throughout the world in Assyrian fashion, made no attempt to interfere with Egypt.

III. THE SAÏTE REVIVAL

Necho's activity also turned itself to works of peace. The famous canal that he sought to build (or more probably repair) from the Nile to the Red Sea, and his equally famous despatch of Phoenician sailors to circumnavigate Africa, an expedition that undoubtedly seems to have been successful, are evidences of an active and constructive mind. The Saïte princes were commercially inclined and gave much attention to the furtherance of trade, and consequently Egypt was rapidly becoming wealthy again and the arts of peace began to flourish anew. A new style of art had now arisen, the beginnings of which we already see under the Ethiopians, characterized by an imitation or rather adaptation of the style of the Old Kingdom: it is thus a consciously archaizing style. It is seen in most branches of art from the decoration of scarabs to the style of the hieroglyphs and relief sculpture; we

know it as the 'Saïte' style. It varied as to the extent of the faithfulness of its imitation of the old models. In statuary it was rather adaptive than imitative. More will be said as to its characteristics later (chap. xv).

It is interesting to find the same archaistic spirit prevalent in other matters besides art. Costume was perhaps modified in accordance with ancient fashion, though it is probable that it was considered good taste to represent great men in ancient costume, which they did not actually wear (see p. 321). Ranks and titles also now followed ancient models. The priesthoods of the ancient pyramid-kings that had been forgotten for ages were revived. Men wished to feel nearer to the ancient Memphite kings than to the Ramessids. This spirit

set in apparently, as a fashion of protest against the outworn and vulgarized culture and art of the Empire. The imperial tradition had not in the long-run served Egypt, who had lost her empire and seen her own land overrun by conquerors. In the bitterness of subjection the Egyptians turned from the Empire towards the simple old days, as they seemed, of the Pyramid-builders. Names and titles of that period reappeared, a kind of archaistic crusade sprang up, and eventually when Psamatik I restored the rule of the pharaohs over the whole land, the archaistic mode was officially adopted by the state. It was as if a degenerate and worn-out England of the future, tired of imperial pomp, were to go back for her inspiration to the Anglo-Saxon period, were to imitate that period in every way, in art, in costume, and in manners, to replace the dignitaries of the present day by "ealdormen," "jarls" and "thegns," and substitute for the imperial Parliament an English comic-opera Witanagemot[1].

This archaistic fashion is one of the most curious and interesting characteristics of the new age in Egypt; and it is instructive to compare it with the not dissimilar temper in Babylonia under Nabonidus (pp. 218 *sqq.*).

Necho died in 593 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Psamatik II, who reigned till 588; his last recorded year being the seventh[2]. In 591 he visited Phoenicia in state, in all probability by sea, apparently on a peaceful progress, as he was accompanied by a retinue of priests, and took with him 'the votive-wreaths of Amon.' No doubt this was a purely religious visit or pilgrimage to the ancient Egyptian shrine at Byblus. The relationship of the Phoenician princes to Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon was merely that of tribute-payers: otherwise they were independent, so that

[1] Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, p. 519.

[2] He is the Psammis of Herodotus. Actually he reigned only 5½ years: five whole years and a few months before and after, which were officially his first and seventh years respectively.

their reception of the Egyptian king on a religious visit could hardly be regarded as treasonable at Babylon[1]. The reign of Psamatik is only notable otherwise for an expedition to Nubia shortly before his death (probably, therefore, in 589), which reached Abu Simbel, where Potasimto (Pedihorsamtoui) the Egyptian commander of the foreign guard, Amasis the commander of the Egyptians, and a number of the Greek mercenaries cut the famous Greek inscription on the leg of one of the colossi of Ramses II: 'When king Psamatichos came to Elephantine, those who sailed with Psamatichos son of Theokles wrote this; now they came above Kerkis as far as the river let them go; and Potasimto led the foreigners, Amasis the Egyptians; and Archōn son of Amoibichos and Peleḳos son of Oudamos (or, Axe son of Nobody) wrote us' (*i.e.* the letters), *sc.* Archōn cut them with his axe. Follow the signatures of 'Helesibios the Teian,' 'Telephos the Ialysian wrote me, . . . Pabis (?) the Ḳolophonian . . . with Psamatichos . . . what time the king sent the army for the first time.' The name of the Greek Psamatichos son of Theokles is interesting, as he must have been the son of a Greek mercenary of Psamatik I who named his son after his master[2]. The style of the writing can hardly be dated so early as the reign of Psammetichus I, to which otherwise we should have to refer it, and it no doubt belongs to that of Psammetichus II, in whose reign a military expedition to Nubia is recorded in an inscription at Karnak. We hear of no resistance by the Ethiopians. From the inscription it is evident that the expedition went no farther than Abu Simbel.

The dependence of the king on the Greek mercenaries is well exemplified by this inscription, and Herodotus tells us that he was so much a Philhellene that the Eleans sent a deputation to him to ask his judgment as to the fairness of their administration of the Olympic games. This philhellenism, which had a natural origin in the indebtedness of the Saïte monarchs to Greek trade for much of their wealth, was becoming by no means popular in Egypt, and a steady reaction was setting in which came to a point in the reign of the son and successor of Psamatik, Ḥ'a'a-ib-Rē' Uaḥibrē' (Apries or Uaphris, the Pharaoh Hophra of the Bible), 588–566 B.C.[3] Apries was entirely in the hands of his Greeks.

[1] Alt's view that the expedition was a military one (*Z.A.T.W.* 1910, pp. 288 *sqq.*) is seen to be untenable from Griffith's publication (*Rylands Papyri*, III, p. 924), and the political deductions he draws from it have no weight.

[2] Hicks and Hill, *Historical Greek Inscriptions*, No. 3.

[3] In support of the view that Hophra was the son of Psamatik, see the Appendix.

All accounts of him show that he was very young indeed; a headstrong and unwise person with neither the political wisdom of the elder Psammetichus nor the ordered energy of Necho. In fact he was the typical young king of the ancient world, full of energy, without the sagacity or cunning of his seniors, and liable to be supported in foolish courses by an ignorant public opinion (if it can be so called) largely of priestly inspiration. Immediately on his accession he went to war in the wildest fashion, and in the most dangerous quarter, supporting the Jews under Zedekiah in their revolt against Babylon, and attacking Phoenicia from the sea. He held Phoenicia till 586 B.C., when Nebuchadrezzar took Jerusalem, razed it, and carried off the rest of its people into captivity. Later on, when the small remnant migrated to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah, the governor installed by Nebuchadrezzar, he established them in the 'king's house at Taḥpanḥēs,' the fortress of Daphnae (p. 292). It was the least he could do: he had abandoned the Jews to their fate, and if he ever risked a battle with Nebuchadrezzar (so apparently Ezek. xxx, 20 *sqq.*), he tamely evacuated Palestine and Phoenicia without a blow, leaving Tyre to sustain a siege which was carried on by the Babylonians in a desultory fashion for thirteen years, till 573, when Ethbaal the king, receiving no help from Egypt, submitted to Nebuchadrezzar[1].

Discontent at this useless adventure was not long in showing itself. There was a revolt of the army at Syene which was put down by the governor Nesuhor, and finally the wild and unsuccessful expedition to Cyrene, which is described by Herodotus, brought matters to a head. We are told that the Egyptian military class, chafing against the continual favour shown to the foreign mercenaries—it would appear that Apries went so far as to wear Greek armour[2]—clamoured to be sent against the Greeks of Cyrene, who had oppressed a Libyan chief named Adikran, who appealed to Egypt for protection. The complete defeat of the expedition caused the outbreak of a nationalist and anti-foreign revolution, which placed at its head an Egyptian general, I'aḥmase or Amasis, who had been sent against the rebels by the king. Amasis, who thus played the part of 'Arabi to Ismail, was proclaimed king by priests and people and made co-regent with

[1] Cf. p. 214. That Apries made a second expedition to Phoenicia after 573, as Maspero thinks (after Herod. ii, 161), seems to the present writer very improbable; see his *Anc. Hist.* p. 547, n. 1.

[2] We possess a small Naucratite aryballos (see p. 326) representing his head in a Corinthian helmet, on which is his name in hieroglyphs.

Apries (569). To depose a Pharaoh was a serious matter, and had Apries submitted to his sentence he might have died in his seclusion at Saïs. In 567–566 (Amasis's third year), however, he fled secretly from his palace, summoned the mercenaries to his aid, and a battle ensued at Momemphis, in which he was defeated. According to the official inscription of Amasis recording the event, he was afterwards slain by his own men when he was sleeping in the cabin of his *dahabīyah*. He was then buried with full regal pomp by Amasis, 'that the enmity of the gods might be removed from him.' Like Ikhnaton before him, Apries was the enemy of the gods. But he was absolved at his death.

Amasis ascended the throne as the enemy of the Greeks, but he was too clever either to retain this character wholly, or to become too friendly to them, at all events at first. He chose a middle way. In order to placate popular sentiment he abolished the freedom which the Greeks had possessed of going where they liked in the country, and confined them to the 'treaty port' of Naucratis, abolishing Daphnae, transferring its civil inhabitants to Naucratis, and making a *synoikismos* there of all the Greeks in Egypt (about 566–565 B.C.). The act was exactly parallel to that by which the Tokugawa shōguns in the seventeenth century A.D. solved a similar difficulty in Japan, confining the Dutch traders to the island of Dēshima, off Nagasaki, which thus became a Japanese Naucratis. But Amasis was inclined really to be more complaisant to the Greeks than Iyeyasŭ was to the Dutch in similar circumstances. He was not in the strong position of the Japanese ruler; he knew his countrymen, and he knew that he might have to depend for his personal safety on the fidelity of a foreign guard, and that the Greeks knew more of the outer world than the Egyptians did. So, after the death of Apries, instead of abolishing the mercenaries at Daphnae, he brought them to Memphis, where they were probably added to those of Apries's guard who survived, and had murdered their master to ensure the favour of the new king (566). Amasis now had a formidable 'Swiss Guard' of his own, but they remained a palace-guard, and probably the king did not intend to use them in foreign war as the former kings had done.

His personal friendliness to the Greeks and other foreigners, merchants, soldiers and princes, who could keep him informed as to foreign political developments of importance to Egypt, and were generally so much more intelligent than his own people, became more and more marked during the course of his reign. Herodotus tells us of his friendship with Polycrates and Croesus,

and his gifts of statues, linen robes, and other things to the temples of Athena at Lindus and Hera at Samos, and also to Cyrene and Sparta, not forgetting the curious present of 1000 talents of alum for the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi by the Athenian Alcmaeonids after its destruction in 548 B.C. The great Greek oracle was already acquiring an international reputation for political sagacity. In Egypt only Buto in the Delta was likely to know anything of foreign politics; Amon of Thebes would certainly have been useless on the subject, nor perhaps would his branch establishment at Sīwah in the Libyan desert know much more of the matter. Harshafi of Heracleopolis, he of 'the terrible face,' would have been as fierce and bellicose as a Chinese war-god, but not more intelligent, and probably quite as unintelligible.

Finally, Amasis married a Cyrenaean Greek, Ladice. Policy dictated to the king friendship with the Greeks. Egypt was admittedly too weak to defend herself unaided against the Asiatic enemy except by means of bribery and foreign arms. After the revolution of 569, but probably before the removal of the garrison of Daphnae, there seems to have been some trouble on the eastern frontier, caused by aggression on the part of the Egyptians (568–567). 'In the 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon (the troops) of Egypt to do battle came...(Ama)su, king of Egypt his troops (levied)...ḳu of the city of Putu-yawan...a distant land which is in the midst of the sea...many...which were in Egypt...arms, horses, and...he levied for his assistance ...before him...to do battle.' Then the fragmentary inscription gives us the hint that Marduk encouraged the spirits of the Babylonian troops, and the enemy mercenaries were defeated and fled[1]. 'Putu-yawan' must be intended for an Ionian city from which mercenaries came. But we have no warrant from this to suppose that the Babylonian king, who was now growing old, ever carried out great warlike operations against Amasis, far less that he conquered or even entered Egypt either personally or by proxy (see p. 215). It does not seem probable that Jeremiah's prophecy that he should pitch his royal tent before the entry of Pharaoh's house at Taḥpanḥēs, a prophecy made in the excitement of the year 605, was ever fulfilled, probable though such an event must necessarily have appeared at the time, judging by Assyrian precedents. But if Nebuchadrezzar, or his generals, had actually invaded, there could hardly be any doubt of the outcome. And Amasis knew it.

[1] Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte*, No. 129, p. 6, l. 13 *sqq.* See also p. 215. The writer is indebted to Mr Sidney Smith for the translation.

Luckily, however, the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562 removed a lion from his path; the immediate successors of the great Babylonian were weak and characterless monarchs, though Nabonidus when he succeeded in 556 was to prove by no means a negligible quantity. The archaeologist-king, as he has been called, has been perhaps somewhat maligned so far as his practical efficiency is concerned. Nabonidus seems to have been particularly active in the lands of Edom and Midian (Teima), and near the border of Egypt, where he essayed to control the trade-routes across the desert (see p. 221), so that he probably kept Amasis in a state of lively anxiety. Moreover, Astyages, the Mede, was also an unpleasant possibility. And in the background already loomed the threatening figure of Cyrus the Persian.

IV. THE PERSIAN THREAT

About 550 Media was absorbed by the Persians, and with it the Anatolian dominion won by Cyaxares from Urarṭu and Lydia in 585. Egypt, Babylonia and Lydia no doubt conferred anxiously as to the situation. Here was a very real and common foe. The three kings allied themselves together against him, and even Sparta, small in size but perhaps already great in warlike renown[1], joined their league. But Croesus rashly provoked his fate. Events moved so quickly that neither Egypt nor Babylonia had time to move, even if they really had the will to do so, which in the case of Egypt was, in the circumstances, extremely doubtful[2]. Amasis would certainly prefer the work to be attempted by Lydia and Babylonia, so that he could escape the consequences if things went wrong. Only four years later (546) came the final battle that deprived Croesus of his throne and placed western Anatolia and Ionia in the power of the Persian. Intrigues might increase, but help came neither from the east nor from the west. In 539 fell Babylon[3] and the whole of Syria and Palestine passed from Babylonian to Persian rule, as they had previously passed from Assyria to Babylonia. If Amasis had any further combinations in view, they could only depend on Phoenician and Syrian rebels, and on doubtful aid from Polycrates of Samos and from little Sparta. The Ionians were conquered,

[1] On the part played by Sparta, see Hall, *op. cit.* p. 522, n. 1; and below pp. 524, 565 *sqq.*

[2] Cf. vol. IV, pp. 7 *sqq.*

[3] Some authorities date the event in 538; for the date here preferred see further, above, p. 225.

and their military prestige had suffered a crushing blow by the easy capture of their cities by Cyrus, who inherited the Assyrian art of siege-craft. Polycrates dared not move; Sparta was too slow. Submission to the blow when it came seemed inevitable. Happily for himself Amasis died peacefully in his bed (526 B.C.) before it did come, and it was left to his successor to face the inevitable.

Amasis had never moved a man into Palestine, totally eschewing all adventures on the mainland after the unfortunate episode at the beginning of his reign. On the other hand, Cyrene, where nobody could interfere with him but the Carthaginians (with whom his relations were probably friendly), became tributary to him, and, at some unspecified period of his reign, he occupied Cyprus, which submitted to him. The Phoenicians, in accordance with old tradition, would probably have preferred Egyptian to Babylonian or Persian overlordship, but the weakness of Apries had shown that this was incapable of realization in the present state of the world. In Cyprus, where the Egyptians could act with some prospect of immunity, so long as the predominant Asiatic power did not consider it worth while to mobilize a great Phoenician fleet against them, they were no doubt received peacefully by both Greeks and Phoenicians. The evidently very strong influence of Saïte models on Cypriote art at this time points to a comparatively long occupation; and it is probable that Amasis took Cyprus early in his reign, perhaps in the period of Babylonian weakness immediately after the death of Nebuchadrezzar. This period seems more probable than a later one. Egyptian influence must have ceased after the Persian conquest of Egypt in 525. After the fall of Babylon in 539, Amasis, with the fear of Persia on him, was in no mood to pick up 'unconsidered trifles' of Babylonian dominion, nor would he have found the Cyprians, under the same fear, so ready to submit to him; moreover, his Ionian troops would have been discouraged by their disasters at home. Thirteen years would be too short a time for the Egyptian artistic influence to develop in Cyprus as it did, and accordingly the seizure of Cyprus by Amasis may be dated roughly about 560 B.C.

At so catastrophic a period in the history of the world as the sixth century B.C. the interrelations of the different states and the affairs of their foreign offices naturally attract the attention of the historian, ancient or modern, rather than their internal affairs. Of the home government of Amasis, leaving out of account the gossiping stories of the king's personal habits and peculiarities

(which were not merely tales told to the Greeks)[1], we know little save the fact that, as Herodotus says, the kingdom under his rule attained a high state of wealth and prosperity and populousness. The Mediterranean trade in corn, wine and oil flourished, as also did that across the desert from Babylonia and from Yemen with lapis, incense, and other products of the East; and from Cush came ivory and gold in barter. According to the Greek historian, Egypt had twenty thousand towns in his time. We see that Amasis was able to build temples to the gods on the great scale, rivalling that of the older Pharaohs; and here again Herodotus is confirmed by the monuments. Several are dated in the joint reign of Amasis and Apries, who had himself been no inconsiderable builder. The Saïte kings were wealthy; themselves deriving, no doubt, much profit from the corn-trade, like the Cyrenaeans with their silphium.

The whole land was peaceful under the rule of Amasis. The Ethiopians never troubled him, and Thebes was long ago reconciled to northern rule by the continued policy of adoption of the kings' daughters by the priestess-ruler of the city of Amon. Nitocris, the daughter of Psammetichus I, had succeeded her adopted mother, Shepenopet II, as 'Divine Adoratrix,' when her time came, and had in turn adopted Ankhnesneferibre', the daughter of Psamatik II, whose sarcophagus is in the British Museum. This Nitocris bore a name fashionable at the time ('Neith is victorious'), since Neith the warrior goddess was the chief divinity of Saïs. Herodotus tells a story of a queen Nitocris who used to be placed at the end of the VIth Dynasty, but certainly never reigned then and may be purely legendary; he uses the name merely because it was one well known in his time[2].

The wealth, refinement and architectural and artistic capacity which we see at this time by no means indicated a really strong and self-respecting nation, such as the Persians now were. We have seen how the kings deemed it necessary to protect themselves against their own subjects by means of foreign guards. The Egyptians were united only in their national religious fanaticism.

[1] As we know from the amusing story of 'King Amasis and the Shipman,' in a demotic papyrus in the Louvre, the latest translation of which is by Spiegelberg (*Die sogenannte demotische Chronik von Paris*, p. 26, 1914). The tale of the drunkenness of the old soldier turned king, and his own bluff references to his lapse in contrast to the flustered hypocrisies of his scandalized courtiers, is quite good reading.

[2] Manetho combined the story with another one in Herodotus of the Greek courtesan Doricha (the 'rosy-cheeked,' Rhodopis), who lived in the reign of Amasis; see vol. I, p. 296 and note.

The strongly-marked classes of the population of which Herodotus tells us—giving us the wrong impression that they were castes of the Indian type—did not make for real unity. The *Kalasiries* (*Khal-shere*, 'Young Syrians,' a name derived from the Syrian warrior-mercenaries of the time of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties), who were the warrior-class, were probably few of them of genuine Egyptian blood, being descended largely from the Libyan 'Chiefs of Ma,' whom we have met under the XXIInd Dynasty, and their retainers. They had now degenerated into a privileged 'warrior' class as pretentious and as inefficient as their predecessors the original so-called 'Young Syrians,' the Mediterranean Shardina and the Libyan Kehek, who enjoyed their ease, laying aside spear and bow, in the piping times of Ramses III (vol. II, p. 177). Kalasiris was later a common Egyptian proper name. The other Herodotean name for the soldiers, *Hermotybies*, may be explained as 'spearmen[1].'

The priests certainly also formed another privileged class apart, as Herodotus states. They subsisted everywhere on the contributions of the countryside to the local temples, and though they may not have tolerated fish or beans, they undoubtedly lived on the fat of the land otherwise, and swarmed in the temples where each priestly family had its 'place,' which could be bought and sold, as also could the priestly office itself. Save that they were not celibate, they must have greatly resembled the Lamas of Tibet. Their influence on the body politic was probably no better than that of the 'soldiers.' The scribes went with them. They were themselves torn by intertemplar jealousies, but probably united in approving foreign warlike enterprises, which, they hoped, would bring the plunder of Asia into the coffers of their gods—or rather of themselves—as in the brave days of old.

Whereas the younger priests were about as turbulent and fanatical as any Lamas, at the same time they had a great veneration for their own ancient written records and religious writings, which were studied in 'colleges' that must have resembled much the modern el-Azhar at Cairo. Much learning and comfortable circumstances made the older Egyptian priest a most dignified ecclesiastic, here again resembling the Tibetan. But he was not

[1] *Rom-deb'e*, 'Men of the Spear' (Möller, *Z. Aeg.* 1920, p. 78). Another word for soldiers, given by Aristagoras (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* II, 98), Λαβαρεῖς, is certainly (as Möller has surmised) connected with the word *bari* (βᾶρις), 'boat,' but he has not seen that the word is *Ne-bari*, 'boatmen,' *i.e.* ship-soldiers, 'marines.' The pronunciation *l* for *n* was common (cf. the examples given above, p. 259, n. 1).

very intelligent, except as an antiquary, and was stupidly vain of his antiquity. His learning was mostly futile, his religion was now more than ever a welter of conflicting beliefs, which the puzzled Greeks at first took to be profound philosophy, and later the Romans and the moderns have dignified with the name of Mysticism. We may doubt whether Greek philosophers like Thales and Pythagoras, who were said to have visited Egypt at this time, derived much that was of real value to them in the realms of speculation in religious matters. Most of the Pre-Socratics were said to have visited Egypt, but it is questionable whether this was so. Thales probably did, and it is likely enough that he got his idea of water as the cosmogonic principle from Egypt. But his chief acquisition there was the knowledge of geometry and arithmetic. The Egyptians were probably the fathers of Greek geometry (cf. Herod. ii, 109), and possibly of chemistry (pharmacology) as well, though here Babylon, according to the cuneiform scholars, can claim her share. In astronomy Babylonian influence is more probable (cf. p. 238 *sq.*). Thales was a Milesian, so that his visit, by way of Naucratis, is probable enough. It is difficult to say, from the evidence of their ideas, whether Pherecydes or Pythagoras ever really visited Egypt. The Pythagorean metempsychosis, if he derived it from Egypt, has been remarkably changed *en route*, as the Egyptian certainly never believed that the soul of his grandfather might haply inhabit a bird. Xenophanes seems to have lectured the Egyptians on their superstitions. One is in doubt about Heraclitus and Anaxagoras. Plato's visit is of course possible enough, and Democritus seems to have owed a good deal to Egypt. As to details, it is probable that the Greek picture of the soul as a human-headed bird is directly derived from Egypt. The name of the witch-goddess Hecaté is probably Egyptian (*ḥike*, magic). Other small derivations from Egypt might be traced, but there is nothing important till the Ptolemaic identification of Hades with Osiris-Apis of Sinōpion, near Memphis. This place was confused by the Greeks with Sinope on the Black Sea, so that classical scholars ignorant of Egyptian lore often continue to talk of Sarapis as if he were a Hellenistic Anatolian deity from 'Sinope.' In Orphic religion, of course, there was probably much that was Egyptian.

Neither the passion and powerful earnestness of Hebrew religion nor the intelligence and clarity of Greek thought are to be found in Egypt. We can scarcely expect more sense from these confused and visionary ecclesiastics than from the corrupt and lazy military mandarins, and Amasis evidently found sane counsels only

among the Greeks and the great merchants, whom he loved. His nobles and priests, though they may have despised the 'traders' (καπῆλοι), were probably not above deriving profit from association in their commercial adventures. The rest of the nation, the ordinary townsmen and the fellahin, the *hemtiu* and the *sekhtiu* as of old (see vol. I, p. 317), worked and ultimately paid for all in labour and in blood.

Such was the nation, old, degenerate, vain and corrupt, in spite of a fair-seeming exterior, and ill-organized for defence in spite of the lessons of the past, that now confronted the vigorous juvenility of Persia. Cyrus himself may not have contemplated the conquest of Egypt unless Amasis attacked him as Croesus had done, and that was not to be expected. But after his death in the wild Bactrian expedition, his son Kambujiya, or Cambyses—a Rehoboam succeeding to a David rather than a Solomon—brought up in the atmosphere of empire, determined to possess himself of Egypt. The Herodotean account of the *casus belli*, and the pretext sought by the Persian in respect of his demand for a wife, and the substitution of Nitetis the daughter of Apries for Amasis' own, may not be untrue. Amasis now died and was succeeded by his son Psamatik III (Psammēnitos). Cambyses' army, supplied by the Arabian sheikhs with camel-loads of water, and led by the treacherous mercenary Phanes of Halicarnassus, advanced across the desert by the coast-route to Pelusium, where he found the new Egyptian king encamped with his army of Egyptians and Greek and Carian mercenaries. In the battle which ensued he was completely victorious, and Psammenitos fled to Memphis, which was invested. A Persian herald whom he sent to demand surrender on a Mitylenean ship was murdered: when the ship made fast to the quay-wall, the enraged crowd boarded it pell-mell and tore the herald and the crew limb from limb. Surrender was inevitable and the last Saïte king was deposed and placed among the king's nobles, according to the Persian custom. Here he would have lived in honour had he not been discovered plotting against the Persians, and he paid the penalty with his life.

V. THE PERSIAN INVASION

We have an interesting reference to the conquest of Egypt in a Minaean (South Arabian) inscription which records the gratitude of certain Arab merchants to 'Athtar (the Arabian male form of Ishtar-Astarte) and other gods for having protected their camel-caravans during the war between Madai (Media) and Miṣr

(Egypt), also referred to as the war between the Lord of the North and the Lord of the South. The Lord of the North had conquered; all Egypt had surrendered; Cambyses had proceeded to Saïs, where he tore the mummy of Amasis from its sarcophagus and burnt it (thereby, as Herodotus says, outraging the religious sensibilities of the fire-worshipping Persians as well as those of the Egyptians). And now he ascended the throne of the Pharaohs as king.

This next step of Cambyses caused an immediate *détente* in the political situation. Other foreigners had taken it before; even the Hyksos eventually took it. But the Assyrians never had. If they had the story of their conquest of Egypt might have been different. They might call themselves 'kings of the kings of Egypt,' or even 'kings of Muṣri and Kūsi,' but they never had legitimized themselves in the eyes of their new 'subjects' by taking the Egyptian royal name and titulary, wearing in Egypt the Egyptian royal costume, and mounting the Egyptian throne. On the contrary, they took the exasperating line of considering that they conferred a benefit on an Egyptian noble by giving him an Assyrian name and no doubt making him use it. They treated Egypt absolutely *de haut en bas*: they did not really wish close contact with her. They had to conquer and occupy her for their own safety, but they took as little interest in her as possible and certainly did not put themselves out for the purpose of gaining her loyalty. Cambyses, however, was not an Assyrian, and would have no scruple about paying reverence to strange gods or wearing strange costume. And, very probably, an unusually intelligent Egyptian, who was commander of the fleet and lay-warden of the temple of Neith at Saïs, Uzahor-resenet by name, had something to do with the Persian's assumption of the royal dignity. After the death of Psammenitos to do this would jump with the tyrant's humour, and Uzahor probably saw that as a matter of fact his doing so would bring comparative contentment to Egypt under the foreign rule, which would seem less impressive if it were exercised in the name of a duly crowned and enthroned Pharaoh, foreign and absentee though he might be.

Accordingly Uzahor-resenet, so he tells us in his funerary inscription, carried out the ceremonies of the coronation of Cambyses, as later he did those for Darius also. In his inscription, cut in the reign of Darius, he tells us also something of the outrages that Egypt had endured at the hands of Cambyses, 'the very great calamity that came to pass on the whole land, of which no one has seen the like in this land,' including the discontinuance

of the divine offerings of Neith at Saïs and the ruin of the school of the sacred scribes, which Uzaḥor was afterwards commissioned by Darius to restore. Also we know from a demotic record that Cambyses reduced the temple revenues in all Egypt by one half: they were not restored till the time of the Sebennytites. We have no reason to suspect Herodotus's account of the obvious madness of Cambyses, to doubt that he burnt the mummy of Amasis, or that he wounded Apis; the fact that the only death of an Apis recorded in his reign took place in his sixth or last year (521) does not contradict the story, as we are expressly told that the bull did not die at once but lingered for some time, and the outrage was not committed until after the defeat of the Nubian and Ammonian expeditions, which seems to have caused a dangerous recrudescence of his madness. We have no right to suppose, as a recent historian has done, that the tales are a wicked concoction of the Egyptians and the Greeks to take away the character of a virtuous Iranian[1]. We have no reason to suppose that Cambyses was in the least virtuous, and neither he nor Cyrus can be described as genuine Iranians: the first really Iranian king of kings was Darius Hystaspis. As a matter of fact, therefore, we need have no hesitation in accepting the story of the two mad expeditions which Cambyses despatched from Thebes; one to Sīwah and the Oasis of Ammon by way of the southern Oasis of el-Khargah, and the other to the third Cataract in Nubia. Both were wild and mismanaged, and both came to utter grief, the first being overwhelmed by the moving sand-dunes between Farafrah and Sīwah, and the other starving and dying amid the hot black rocks between Wadi Halfa and Sarras.

Until lately it has been supposed that there was definite confirmation of this last story in the record on the stele found at Napata of an Ethiopian king named Nastosenen, or Nastesen, who says that he routed 'the man Kambasauden,' and took all the flocks and herds which his soldiers had brought with them for his sustenance. Hitherto this has been supposed to refer to Cambyses, but Reisner, who has excavated the pyramids of the Nubian kings of this period at Nure and Kurru, near Jebel Barkal (Napata), has recently arranged the probable order of these kings, as indicated by purely archaeological evidence from style, in such a way as to bring Nastesen down much later in time, at the earliest to the fifth century and most probably to the end of the fourth century B.C., thus making him a contemporary of the earlier Ptolemies[2]. To the present writer, however, such an argument, while naturally of the highest value in the absence of historical

[1] Prašek, *Gesch. der Meder u. Perser*, I, p. 257. [2] See vol. IV, p. 21 n.

indications, seems to lose its value when there are indications which do not tally with it. And in the present case there is firstly the remarkable reference to 'Kambasauden' and his loss of his army's commissariat-train, which naturally would bring about the starvation of which Herodotus tells us; and secondly, the style of the stele itself, which in the writer's opinion cannot possibly be as late as the fourth, or perhaps even the fifth century. Until further information is available, therefore, he continues to believe that Nastesen was the contemporary of Cambyses and refers to him in his inscription. Of the history of Nubia during this period it must suffice to say that soon after the ethiopization of the kings the Egyptian colonial culture there started upon its downward course, hardly arrested by the influence of Greek culture on intelligent kings such as Irḳamon or Ergamenes (who was educated in Egypt), until at length the capital was removed from Napata to Meroe, and the Egyptian tradition is lost in the sands of the Sudan.

The revolt of the Magians against the Zoroastrian religious revolution, the setting-up by them as king of the false Smerdis, and the suicide of Cambyses at Harran (522), brought the sternly Zoroastrian Darius (Dariyavaush), son of Hystaspis (Vishtāspa) to the throne of Egypt[1]. In dealing with Egypt he showed the same highmindedness and sagacity that elsewhere marks a reign which, but for the wild Scythian expedition in pursuit of the mocking Idanthyrsos—an episode worthy of Charles XII—would seem curiously modern in its record of far-thinking statesmanship and intelligent organizing power. In 517, after the suppression of the presumptuous satrap of Egypt, Aryandes, who had carried the Persian arms to Benghazi and struck his own coinage, the new king came to Egypt, to be received by Uzahor-resenet, who devised the king's new protocol (Stitu-Rē', 'the Sun-god hath begotten him'), as he had done for Cambyses, and superintended the ceremonies of his induction as Pharaoh. These the serious Zoroastrian Darius went through with all attention and intention. He was determined to be, so far as possible, a well-meaning and well-doing Pharaoh of Egypt, and he seems to have succeeded: 'the land obeyed him on account of the goodness of his heart,' says the demotic papyrus recording his command that the laws of Egypt should be collected and codified up to the forty-fourth year of Amasis. Egypt was organized as the sixth satrapy (Mud-

[1] It is highly probable that Vishtāspa (Hystaspis), the father of Dareios, was the Goshtasp who was the convert and disciple of Zarathustra (Zoroaster), whose date is now generally admitted to fall in the seventh—sixth century B.C. (Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, pp. 48 *sqq.*).

rāya) of his empire, and paid the usual taxes to Susa with the usual occasional addition of contributions in kind, which would naturally be in corn. Then as king of Egypt the Great King had the usual Pharaonic dues, of which, among others, Herodotus mentions the profit on the fish caught in Lake Moeris. Coined money was for the first time introduced into Egypt by him or by the satrap Aryandes, in the shape of the daric, but never seems to have been popular with the people: it was a foreign thing, there was probably no Egyptian coinage till the time of the Ptolemies.

The most conspicuous relic of his reign in Egypt is the temple of Hibis in the Oasis of el-Khargah. Probably the natural conditions of the Oases interested Darius, as recalling those of parts of his own country; and we certainly find that there was installed in the Oasis, no doubt by him, a peculiarly Persian system of irrigation unknown elsewhere in Egypt. He completed the unfinished canal of Necho from the Nile to the Red Sea along the line of the modern Wadi Ṭumīlāt, and erected five monumental stelae, each inscribed on the one side in Persian, Elamite and Babylonian, and on the other in Egyptian, the last of which survived to our own day, when it was destroyed. The style of these stelae, on which appeared on one side the winged and eagle-tailed figure of Ahuramazda, in form derived from the Assyrian Ashur, curiously repeating the lines of the winged Egyptian sun-disk on the other, with *kidaris*-crowned Persian nobles upholding the name of the king in Persian cuneiform but enclosed within a plumed Egyptian cartouche, is a remarkable example of the conscious eclecticism necessitated by the novel régime. At Edfu Darius endowed the temple of Horus of the South, and at Saïs he restored that of Neith, and, as we have seen, refounded the destroyed school of scribes also; all more or less at the suggestion of Uzahor-resenet, judging from the latter's own statements.

He deserved well of Egypt, but he was a foreigner after all, and probably his *khshatrapas* or satraps, who were always Persians of noble or royal birth, were not so wise as he. When he was visibly declining, and there seemed to be a chance of a renewed national revolt succeeding, the oracle of Buto in the Delta pronounced for rebellion in 485 B.C. (possibly in collusion with the Athenians or other miso-Mede Greeks); and a chief named Khababesha was made king[1]. The Persian garrison was destroyed and the new king reigned for about a year in Memphis, where an inscription

[1] The name does not sound Egyptian, and is probably Libyan; unless, indeed, it is Persian and he was a revolted satrap or higher official who forswore his nation.

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Scale of English Miles
Explanations
Modern Road
Modern Railway
Egyptian Railway
Modern Boundary
Ancient Boundary
Modern Province Boundary
Ancient Province Boundary
Modern Town
Ancient Town
Ruins
Canal
Lake
Swamp
Sand
Cultivation
Desert
Mountains
Sea
Lower Nile Valley
Fayum
Wadi Natrun
Oases
Sinai
Red Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Suez Canal
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
Nile Delta
Western Desert
Eastern Desert
Libyan Desert
Arabian Desert
Nubian Desert
Sinai Peninsula
Fayum Depression
Wadi Natrun
Oases
Nile Valley
Delta
Fayum

of his second year has been found. In that year, 484, Xerxes (Khshayarsha), son of Darius, himself came to Egypt to restore Persian authority. Khababesha was easily crushed, and heavy fines were laid on the temple of Buto and other fanes whose priests had foolishly challenged the great king. Hākhāmanish (Achaemenes), the king's brother, was left as satrap, and 'reduced all Egypt to a far worse state of servitude than it had been under Darius.' Buto did not recover its confiscated lands till nearly two centuries later, when Ptolemy Soter restored to the priests the grants of Khababesha.

Achaemenes took two hundred Egyptian ships to swell the Armada which in 481 set out to crush Greece. The Egyptian sailors fought well at Artemisium, capturing five Greek ships with their crews; and at Salamis Aeschylus specially mentions 'the dwellers in the fens, skilful rowers of galleys.' Among the leaders of the Persian fleet he signalizes Susiskanes (Susinkanes, Sheshenḳ; a name common in Egypt, as Sesonchosis, till the Roman period), Psammis and Arcteus the Ethiopian (Etearchos, Taharḳa), who bear Libyan-Egyptian names, as also does possibly Pegastegon. But they can hardly be regarded as genuine historical persons, since Arcteus is elsewhere called a Lydian, and the lords of 'ancient Thebes' and 'holy Memphis,' who are mentioned, bear respectively the Persian names of Ariomardus and Arsames. Probably all are fictitious names invented as giving a general idea of the appellations of the barbarian leaders. But, nevertheless, the prominence of Egyptian names is remarkable, and probably significant of the prominent part taken by the Egyptians in the naval fighting. We possibly possess an Egyptian record of the battle in the inscription of a chief of the Egyptian college of physicians, named Simtotefnakhte (he bore the same name as the admiral a century and a half before), who ascribes his safety in a great defeat of the Asiatics by the Greeks to the intervention of Harshafi in favour of his worshipper. It is known from other evidence that the Egyptians were by no means such bad sailors and such avoiders of the sea as used to be thought. This can never have been true of the Delta-folk: but naturally the men of Upper Egypt knew less of the sea than 'the dwellers in the fens.'

At this point the story of Egypt under Persian domination may be conveniently broken off. Her subsequent fortunes will be more fitly resumed when, in a later volume, we come to deal with her relations with Persia and Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries, up to the time of her conquest by Alexander, and then look back in retrospect over seven hundred years to the days of the priest-kings.

CHAPTER XV

ORIENTAL ART OF THE SAÏTE PERIOD

I. ARCHAISM IN EGYPTIAN ART

THE decline of the Egyptian civilization under the XXth Dynasty saw also a decline in the arts. Architecture became heavy and lumpy, the pillars of temple-courts resembled rows of sausages and the inscriptions on their architraves became disproportionately large. It was an epoch of bad taste. Decoration was vulgarized by the lavish use of gold, which while beautiful when combined with other materials and as the vehicle of coloured stones, is coarse and ugly in itself, and in mass is unbearable. The representations of the human figure became as monotonously alike as those of an Assyrian relief. And the type they perpetuate is an inane and degenerate one.

Under the XXIst Dynasty there was something of a revival of taste. The *ushabti* figures, for instance, which under the XXth Dynasty had in some cases degenerated into shapeless blocks of calcite rudely scrawled in green and black paint, were now made of a very deep and brilliant blue faïence, not so delicate as that of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties and glassier than that of the XIIth, on which the inscription was painted in an equally brilliant black glaze. But the coffins of the time preserve the bad taste of the preceding dynasty, with their yellow-varnished decoration in low gesso relief designed to give the appearance of gold. A new style of wrapping the mummies now comes in. Also, in the vignettes and writing of the funerary papyri we notice a new tendency to comparative smallness and greater neatness. In architecture we see no new tendencies as yet. The Tanites, to a much greater extent the Bubastites, built largely (and no doubt heavily) in the Delta: the work of Osorkon II survives to some extent, and is well known. It presents no outstanding features of interest. And the chapel of Osiris Ḥiḳ-zet at Thebes, built by Osorkon III (p. 265) is uninteresting. Under the Bubastites the level of the arts falls distinctly. There is still some charm left in the work of the priest-kings, but under the XXIInd Dynasty it is absent. This, though not the worst, was the dullest and least inspired period of Egyptian art. The temple reliefs are mere clichés of those of the Ramessids: sculpture in the round is ex-

pressionless and without originality or distinction; the smaller arts reach their nadir.

Yet there was a new spirit beginning to blow through the choked and dusty ways of art. It is first observable in small art under the Ethiopians, but its influence does not become apparent in sculpture until the beginning of the XXVIth Dynasty, when it became the fashion. Its characteristic was conscious archaism. We have already mentioned it in dealing with the history of the Saïte period (see p. 299 *sq.*). This was a new tendency in art, previously unprecedented, and typical of a degenerate age. In the strong old days men often admired the works of their predecessors but never so much as actually to imitate them. The taste of the IVth Dynasty would never have appealed in this way to the men of the XVIIIth, still less to those of the XIXth or XXth Dynasties. Their taste may have been bad towards the end, but it was at least a natural development. They would simply have shrugged their shoulders at the work of the Old Kingdom as 'Gothic,' and would certainly never have thought of reviving its style.

The art of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties was of course Theban, and the Bubastite of the XXIInd Dynasty inherited the Theban style and spirit. But in the eighth century the new archaizing spirit grew up, most probably at Memphis. There, where the remains of the more ancient dynasties dominated the necropolis-fields of Sakkarah and Gīzeh, the art of the Pyramid-builders must always have been regarded with more understanding than in the south, where it always had been comparatively little represented, and had in any case been overlaid by the works of the Theban dynasties. At Memphis, however, nobody could ignore the work of the early kings, which on every hand challenged comparison with that of the XIXth Dynasty monarchs (no doubt the best represented at Memphis of the later style) and of their inferior imitators, the Bubastites.

It was natural that when, in the eighth century, the kingdom was once more virtually divided, and the prestige of Bubastis as well as of Thebes had sunk to a low ebb, and the local dynasts of the Delta looked to a leader of their own country from Saïs and Memphis, that a Memphite school of art should have arisen, characterized by an archaistic imitation of the early styles. This new style was soon adopted in the south, at any rate in small objects of art, as we find scarabs of Kashta, Amonirdis, Shabaka and Taharḳa decorated with spirals imitated from those of the XIIth Dynasty. It is interesting to note that here the style of the XIIth Dynasty had to be followed, as there were no contemporary scarabs

of the Pyramid-builders to be imitated. But a certain mixture of Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom styles is to be noted in this imitating archaistic art, as was natural. We have seen much the same thing in the early days of our own revival of 'Gothic.'

In the reign of Psamatik I the archaizing style became quite fashionable, and we see tombs decorated with reliefs of country life, trains of servants representing estates bearing the products for the delectation of the dead man in the underworld, and so forth, in almost slavish imitation of the tomb reliefs of the IVth to VIth Dynasties. This ancient style was considered peculiarly appropriate to the great tombs which the chief men of the realm now began to build for themselves, and already in the time of Psamatik we find that this fashion has reached Thebes. In the Asasīf, the flat ground between the tomb-hill of Sheikh 'Abd el-Ḳūrnah and the village of Ḳūrnah, and immediately in front of the cliff-cirque and temples of Dēr el-Baḥri, rise the dilapidated crude-brick pylons, with arched gateways, of the tomb-enclosures of Mentumehet and Pediamonopet. The first was the prince of Thebes at the time of the Assyrian invasions, whom we have met already (p. 283). In his tomb we find scenes of offering-bringers that were copied from the walls of the funerary temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Dēr el-Baḥri, close by, which themselves had probably been copied from the XIth Dynasty pyramid-temple of king Mentuhotep (vol. I, p. 300). The second was an important priestly official. His tomb, excavated in the rock beneath, is enormous in size and in the number of its chambers, many of which were sculptured with scenes in the new archaizing style. The outer wall of its enclosure, to which the arch-pylon belongs, is built with deeply recessed panels of the false-door type, which strangely resemble those of the great First Dynasty tomb at Naḳada[1].

A third tomb close by, quite recently discovered by the American excavators, working for the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, is an admirable example of the type. It was built for a certain Pebasa ('The Leopard'), chief-steward of the Divine Adoratrix Nitocris (see p. 286), daughter of Psammetichus I, who nominally ruled Thebes from 654 B.C. till her death seventy years later, in the reign of Apries. The date of the tomb is probably about 620 B.C. It is much smaller, of course, than Pediamonopet's, but has its subterranean antechamber and hypostyle hall, and its court of offerings open to the sky above in the inner court of the enclosure. The walls of the underground chamber are decorated with archaizing sculptures which betray

[1] *Bull. Metrop. Mus.* July, 1920, Pt II, p. 12.

their modernity; for underneath the imitation of the Old Kingdom models we still see the Theban style, the inheritance of the XVIIIth Dynasty. A fourth tomb, that of Nesisepek, mayor of Thebes and vizier at the same period, has an entrance like that of the XIth Dynasty tombs near by, and sculptures equally imitated from those of the Old Kingdom.

A fifth tomb close by, that of Aba, also steward of the 'Adoratrix' Nitocris, 'is interesting because certain scenes on its walls were copied from those in the tomb of a namesake of his who lived far back in the days of the VIth Dynasty, at Dēr el-Gebrāwi between Manfalūṭ and Aṣyūṭ. . . . It has occasionally been possible to restore scenes in the older tomb at Dēr el-Gebrāwi by the copies in the Theban tombs. These copies are sometimes very accurate, at others they might be described as adaptations, occasionally modernized[1].' This is one of the best examples of deliberate Saïte imitation. The old style of tomb-relief was so much admired that we see it reproduced in miniature in wood-carving or ivory, or on small amulets of glazed steatite. A fine example in the second material is a box of carved and tinted ivory shown in the Burlington Club exhibition of Egyptian art in 1922. There is no doubt whatever as to the Saïte date of this box, yet the miniature reliefs have all the feeling of Old Kingdom work, and it has been remarked that the well-known Saïte simper, which so often betrays the late date of archaistic works of this period, is totally absent from the faces of the figures. But this simper is really characteristic of later, not earlier Saïte work, and is most apparent under the Ptolemies. It is probable that this remarkable box is to be attributed to the seventh century. It is no doubt a mark of archaism to find funerary reliefs rather senselessly imitated on a box that was probably not intended for any funerary use whatever. This is perhaps a sign of bad taste, which is not seldom apparent in a period of artificialism in art, such as this. We see the same inappropriateness in small amulets, such as one in the British Museum which bears on it a miniature relief of a great man, the owner of a tomb, seated stick in hand, in the style of the IVth Dynasty, and of course contemplating, instead of his flocks and herds—vacancy.

Saïte art was in fact often very precious, and went with the preciosity characteristic of the time in other respects, such as the titulature of the great men, in which an affected archaism was

[1] H. R. Hall, *Murray's Guide to Egypt*, 11th edition, (1907), p. 470; N. de G. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, I, p. 36, pls. xxiv, xxv.

rampant (see p. 300). The archaistic fashion persisted till the early Ptolemaic period, as we see in the reliefs of the tomb of the Hermopolite high-priest Petosiris at Dērūt, near Eshmūnēn[1]. These reliefs are extraordinarily interesting as exhibiting not only the continued vigour of the archaistic spirit, but also the influence of Greek art, and the combination of the foreign influence with the two native currents of inspiration, the traditionally developed and the consciously archaistic. The Greek touches in costume and the *tournure* of the figures are of the highest interest to observe. Reliefs of tombs such as those of Zanefer and Psamatikneferseshemu, mentioned by Maspero in his *Art in Egypt*, are hardly to be dated as late as he would have put them, and cannot in any case be later than the early part of the fourth century B.C.: indeed, that of Psamatikneferseshemu may well belong to the fifth. In them we see the archaistic style of tomb-decoration midway between the work of the seventh century that we have described at Thebes, and that of the third, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, at Dērūt.

II. SAÏTE PORTRAITURE, SMALL ART, ETC.

It must not be supposed that the whole current of Egyptian art had been turned into the archaistic channel. The traditional style survived, modified by archaistic influences, or at least purified by them from the more conspicuous vulgarisms into which it had fallen from the XXth to the XXIInd Dynasty. It was probably at Thebes more than anywhere else that the old imperial style survived, except in such matters as tomb-decoration, in which the archaizing of Memphis prevailed. This is chiefly noticeable in architecture, in which the old models were generally followed; but in temples we find a new fashion of dedicating huge monolithic shrines (*naoi*), that are characteristic of the Saïte period. Conservatism is also seen in the case of small statuary. The well-known alabaster statuette of the high-priestess Amonirdis at Cairo is a case in point. Many variations on this theme are known in our museums, especially in bronze: one in the British Museum was found at Camirus in Rhodes with other Egyptian objects of the Saïte period from Naucratis. The statue of the later high-priestess Ankhnesneferibrē' (*temp.* Amasis) is a heavy and clumsy example of the survival of the Ramessid tradition. It is obvious that Old or even Middle Kingdom models could not be found for every statue or relief.

[1] Published by M. Lefébvre, in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités* (1920).

The typical wig and wing-sleeved garments of the XVIIIth–XXth Dynasties were not often represented now, though we know that the latter were generally worn. Fashion decreed that statues should have the ancient costume of the simple waistcloth, which nobody of rank really wore. Sometimes, as in the remarkable statue No. 1682 of the British Museum, which is frankly archaistic from top to toe, not only the ancient kilt but also the ancient 'bobbed' wig of short curls characteristic of the Vth Dynasty is uncompromisingly represented. No Saïte Egyptians really went about like this. We know what they really looked like from the amusing caricatures of the Greek vase-painters which we see in the early sixth century, as on an Ionian hydria found at Caere in Italy, and now in Vienna, which depicts the conflict of Heracles with the legendary Egyptian king Busiris and his followers—a theme repeated in the kylix by Epiktētos in the British Museum, executed nearly a century later. Here the Egyptian retainers have the kilt, now confined to the common people, but Busiris and his courtiers wear the long gauffred white linen robe that they had actually worn since the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and their heads are clean-shaven.

It is evident from the later Saïte statues that many Egyptians (not merely the priests or those holding priestly offices) did go about without wigs more than was formerly the custom, but usually we find the less severely archaizing figures with a round wig falling behind the ears which was evidently a really existing fashion of coiffure at the time, since we know it at no earlier period. It is, however, often combined with the archaic and obsolete kilt in a way which exactly resembles our late XVIIth and early XVIIIth century representations of Englishmen or Frenchmen or Austrians as ancient Romans, but with long perukes. What was really worn with the round wig or shaven poll was the long linen robe. Under the Ptolemies and Romans we find a fringed and dagged robe represented, passing over the left shoulder and leaving the right bare almost in the fashion of a toga. This no doubt represents the real dress of the Ptolemaic grandees, as modified to some extent by Greek influence. The dress of the women shows no notable change till Roman times.

A remarkable characteristic of Saïte art is the revival of portraiture, which may also be regarded as a result of the archaistic movement. It is noticeable, as in the portrait statues of Mentumehet (see p. 318), at the end of the Ethiopian period, and no doubt marks a reaction against the characterless representations

common under the Ramessids and Bubastites, and a return to the painstaking portraiture of the IVth and Vth Dynasties. Some of the Saïte heads are remarkable for their obvious truth, and this fidelity was maintained under the Sebennytites down to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. The study of these heads and their comparison with the ancient portraits is very instructive, and one can draw interesting conclusions from them as to how far foreign infiltration had modified the Egyptian type during more than two thousand years.

At the same time, when the portrait of the individual was not insisted upon, or when the sculptor was incapable of reproducing it, a conventional type grew up which becomes commoner towards the end of the period, in which the face has the fixed smile or simper we have already mentioned. It is not previously met with, and is characteristic of the late sixth to fourth centuries; it became fixed under the Ptolemies, and only disappeared with the dry, hard Romano-Egyptian style. This smile we see in egyptizing Cypriote Greek sculpture of the sixth century B.C., and it is possible that it was a feature borrowed from the work of the Greek sculptors and vase-painters of the time, which would be well known not only from that of the Cypriotes but also from that of Greece itself at Naucratis. The court of Necho, Apries, and Amasis at the neighbouring Saïs was certainly not unacquainted with 'archaic' Greek art. In Cyprus, in return, the Egyptian round wig and conventional waistcloth appear as the garment of smiling Greek figures.

Another characteristic of Saïte art is the meticulous care evinced in the cutting of hieroglyphs and small figures in hollow relief. It is often 'finikin' and this refined attention to detail is specially noticeable under the Sebennytites. At the same time the wonderful accuracy with which the hardest stones, such as green and black basalt, specially in vogue at this period, were carved is equally noticeable, and forbids any undue depreciation of the work of these sculptors. They did fine work in the cutting of hieroglyphs in these adamantine materials which would have astonished the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty sculptors with their soft limestone and comparatively easily-worked granite. The huge stone sarcophagi of the time are specially notable, and were imitated by the Phoenicians, as is that of Eshmunazar in the Louvre. Even huger sarcophagi were made for the mummified Apis-bulls in the Serapeum at Memphis, discovered by Mariette in 1850. These are of granite, average 13 feet in length and weigh 65 tons each. Stone vases were often made in imitation of those

of the earliest dynasties, and in the British Museum there are ancient vases of the First Dynasty with Saïte inscriptions.

Among the objects of funerary art that had no ancient representatives and so could not be treated in accurate archaistic fashion were the *shawabti* or *ushabti* figures; the little 'answerers' who accompanied the dead man to the tomb to answer for him if he should be called upon to work in the next world. There were no *ushabtis* before the XIIth Dynasty to copy; but the Saïtes managed to differentiate theirs in somewhat archaistic fashion from those of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties by giving them the high plinth at the back and the pedestal under the feet that had been very characteristic of the Old Kingdom sculpture and was imitated now by the Saïte statuaries. They also dropped the fashion inaugurated under the XVIIIth Dynasty of representing the *ushabti* in the ordinary costume of civil life (which had existed side by side with the usual representation as a mummy), and returned to the sole use of the mummiform type, with the addition of the long plaited beard of a god, appropriate to Osiris, with whom the deceased was identified. At the end of the XXVIth Dynasty and under the Sebennytites they also gave the *ushabti* a heavy curved wig that had been characteristic of women and goddesses under the Middle Kingdom.

The material of which these figures were made was usually faïence; and here also we see a return to ancient fashion in the colour of the glaze, which, instead of the deep and brilliant blue in vogue (with variations of shade) from the XIIth to the XXIst Dynasties, was now of the pale blue characteristic of the faïence of the Old Kingdom. The use of this pale blue faïence, the blue of turquoise rather than of lapis, is equally characteristic of the Saïte period in faïence and in the coloured frit or homogeneous composition now in vogue for such figures and amulets, scarabs, vases, and other small ceramic objects. A characteristic form of vase was the 'pilgrim-bottle,' often with good wishes for the New Year incised upon it, and evidently used commonly as a gift. Other common forms were the *situla* and the *alabastron*, the first really a metal form, and the second a stone form. At Naucratis we find that factories of Egyptian and Graeco-Egyptian objects of these materials must have existed, whose products were exported to Camirus in Rhodes and to other Greek centres even as far as the colonies of the Black Sea, where they seem to have been popular. And in Phoenicia the same faïence was also imitated in egyptizing objects that were exported to Tharros in Sardinia and other western trading-colonies.

This pale blue, sometimes pale green, Saïte ceramic, with an occasional inlay of darker blue, is usually fine and delicate, and often extremely beautiful. And perhaps the finest of all Egyptian glaze-work of the more delicate kind was produced under Nekhthoreḥbet, the last Sebennytite king of the fourth century, in the remarkable polychrome faïence hieroglyphs for inlay, now (1925) in the Carnarvon Collection.

The fine style survived, though with a thicker and glassier glaze and in a peculiar grey-blue colour, almost like that of Chinese celadon-ware, under the Ptolemies. Under the Persians the commoner glaze had already coarsened, and we find *ushabtis* covered with a sugary glass film like thin ice, pale blue except for the wig which is dark blue. This coarse, often crazed sugary glaze became the typical Egyptian glaze of the Roman period, with its deep greens, blues and yellows, and its novel green effect produced by glazing blue over yellow, which was the ancestor of the glaze ware of Fostāt, of Persia and of China.

In glass we find the alabastron form characteristic of pottery at this time reproduced in the variegated bottles made not only in Egypt, but all over the east Mediterranean world, descendants of the art of the XVIIIth Dynasty glassmakers (vol. II, p. 417). At the same time, coloured pictorial glass made of rods lightly fused together to form a miniature picture came into vogue, and characterized the Sebennytite, Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

The ordinary pottery, other than that of faïence, was crude and uninteresting. In woodwork the ordinary 'Empire' models seem to have been still generally followed. Jewellery and work in the precious metals have the delicacy but not the beauty that might have been expected: here the splendid examples of the XIIth Dynasty, for instance, do not seem to have been known, and work followed traditional non-archaizing lines. The same may be said of bronze-work, which was, however, massive and good, if undistinguished.

III. INTERCOURSE WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS

We have more than once referred above to the question of mutual influence of Greek and Egyptian art at this time, and to the factory of egyptizing objects at Naucratis. There can be little doubt that the regular commercial connection with Egypt established by the Milesians in the eighth century B.C. must have caused a certain *rapprochement* between the artists of the two

countries, though naturally it was the inquisitive Greek who was the more eager of the two to learn from the other. The Egyptian, who was now (like the Chinese) in the full tide of that pompous admiration of his own antiquity, which we see so well exemplified in Herodotus's *piromis* story (ii, 143), would patronize the Greek, who would learn something from him at first trustingly and admiringly, but very soon with his tongue in his cheek. No doubt the Greek tales of Samian and other artists who went to Egypt in the seventh century, and learnt technical processes of art there, are founded on fact. But they are exaggerated, in that they imply that the Greeks were entirely ignorant before they went to Egypt, and that they obtained all their knowledge there. In contradiction to this it is evident, not only that, besides Egypt, other countries such as Phoenicia and Syria may also claim to have helped to teach the new Greece, but also that the Greeks themselves (or at any rate those of Ionia, of whom alone we are talking)[1] possessed a vigorous artistic tradition, which, in the present writer's opinion, they had inherited from the Mycenaean ancestors of the Ionians in continental Greece. And it is to this tradition that Ionian art owed its distinctive character, whatever extraneous elements from Egypt or Syria may have contributed in greater or less degree to its making.

To Egypt the revival of improved methods of casting bronze may have been due. In sculpture we may trace some influence of the archaistic Saïte statues on the archaic so-called 'Apollos' (really portraits of athletic prizewinners) of Greece; and, in return, we may think it probable that the late Saïte smile or simper was a rather unintelligent Egyptian imitation of the naturally *naïf* smile of the ingenuous Greek archaic figures. In gem-cutting, always a Greek speciality, we note the taking-over by the Greeks of the Egyptian scarab, which, shortly to disappear in its own home, was to obtain a new lease of life in a slightly altered form in Greece and Italy. An Egyptian creation that struck the imagination of the Greeks at the time was the dancing figure of the god Bes, probably derived originally from the Mesopotamian region and the Sumerian figures of the demon Lakhamu or of Enkidu (Eabāni), the half-animal companion of the hero Gishdubar. Bes was very popular under the XXVIth Dynasty in small figures of faïence and other materials, and he seems undoubtedly to have been the original of the Satyr or 'Silen' of the Greek vase-painters.

[1] The remarkably developed art of early Sparta, which has been revealed to us by excavation there, must have owed much of its inspiration to Ionia.

Otherwise, the vase-painters we meet at Naucratis and Daphnae do not seem to have owed much to the Egyptians, and it is probable that none of their vases was made or painted in Egypt, but all were imported from Greece. When they had to illustrate an Egyptian legend they knew what the Egyptians were like, as we see from an early sixth century Ionian vase-illustration of the legend of Heracles and Busiris, but did not feel inclined to imitate any Egyptian style in their pictures. Their products were not specially intended for the Egyptian market, but were to be used by Greeks. And though the Ionian master Amasis, who painted vases at Athens towards the end of the sixth century, had an Egyptian name (which probably means that he was a Samian, a subject of Polycrates the friend of king Amasis, or else was a Naucratite by birth), there is nothing of Egypt in his art. His name is in itself proof of the interest that the Greeks took in Egypt, but the caricature of the Busiris-hydria shows that they were under no illusions as to the personal characteristics of the Egyptians of their time.

IV. ART OF PHOENICIA AND SYRIA

The Egyptian and Graeco-Egyptian faïence objects that were manufactured at Naucratis and exported to Camirus and much farther afield have already been mentioned. They have been commonly regarded as of Phoenician manufacture, but we now know their real place of origin. A typical Naucratite faïence figure of a man was found at Sparta during the excavation there by the British School at Athens. Objects of this type have been found, as might have been expected from their place of origin, in the Black Sea colonies of Miletus, at Olbia, Panticapaeum and Tyras. Among vases of this faïence the small Greek vase known as the *aryballos* is specially noticeable: in Egyptian faïence it was now exported to Greece, while its Greek painted original came to Egypt, and was used by the Egyptians much as the Mycenaean false-necked vase or *Bügelkanne* had been centuries before.

But though the Camirus faïence was not of Phoenician origin, much imitation of Egyptian objects of art was produced by the Phoenicians and exported westwards to Greece and Italy. The acid test of genuine Phoenician art, as distinguishing it from the north Syrian, is, apparently, apart from its greater clumsiness, its conscious and careful eclecticism, its use of scenes and motives directly, though badly, imitated from Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-Hittite, or other Oriental arts side by side on the same object with

occasional reminiscences of Minoan art, derived, no doubt, from Cyprus and perhaps Cilicia. We see this trait on some of the famous bronze bowls from Nimrūd in Assyria, from Cyprus, Olympia, Delphi and the Idaean Cave in Crete, on the silver bowls exported to Italy and found, for instance, in the tombs at Caere, Praeneste and Salerno, and in the recently discovered treasure of Aliseda in Spain. Shields for export, such as those found in Crete at Palaikastro and in the Idaean Cave, were decorated in the same way. These bowls, which date from the ninth century B.C. at Nimrūd to the seventh at Caere and Praeneste, were ultimately imitated from the finely embossed and engraved Egyptian bowls of the XVIIIth Dynasty, a thousand years before. They are easily distinguishable from these by the purity of their designs, as also is the Saïte Egyptian metal work contemporary with the Phoenician bowls, which are always of mixed style, and sometimes bear Phoenician inscriptions.

This eclecticism is a constant trait in the decoration of all objects on which varied representations were possible. Otherwise we simply have heavy and clumsy reproductions, often reminding us of bad modern forgeries, chiefly of Egyptian objects and designs. These appealed more to the Phoenicians than did the rival style of Assyria, probably on account of the age-long maritime and political connection between Egypt and Phoenicia. Bad egyptizing art was, in fact, endemic in Phoenicia. We see its close influence nearer home in Cyprus, although the population of that island was overwhelmingly Greek or indigenous, and only one city, Citium, was at this time really Phoenician. Other cities, such as Amathus, though now Greek, apparently had Phoenician names, and were originally Phoenician foundations from which either the indigenous Cyprians or the Greeks had driven away the Sidonian colonists. In Cyprus, however, in the sixth century we see also the direct Egyptian influence due to political domination, as has already been mentioned (p. 305). The Cypriote artists adopted Egyptian designs with more success than did the Phoenicians.

The Phoenico-Egyptian objects found in the west can be distinguished, even when in faïence, from the Graeco-Egyptian by characteristic differences of style. There is about them, as in all Phoenician work that we know, a clumsiness which we do not see in the Naucratite products. Very characteristic specimens are the *tridacna* shells with incised decoration found in Greece, and at Naucratis, and also with the wonderful collection of ivories discovered by Layard in the north-west palace at Nimrūd in

Assyria, which themselves are often distinctly Phoenician in style. In these shells and ivories Egyptian motives are imitated more than any others. Some of them may be more than a century older than the oldest Graeco-Egyptian objects, and belong to the ninth century, but many are probably later. A few bear Phoenician inscriptions. One of the finest is a remarkably good imitation in high relief of an Egyptian statuette of the Amonirdis type.

With them may be seen in the British Museum ivories of a different type, the products of fine artists who seem almost too good to be Phoenician: too original, not sufficiently eclectic. They have even been taken to be Ionian, though this is impossible for chronological reasons. The undercut carving of these ivories is often marvellous in technique, and some of them were inlaid with lapis and coloured glass as well as gilt or tinted. The hawk-headed Minoan gryphon (which perhaps came originally from Egypt at the time of the XIIth Dynasty) constantly appears on them, as he did on the older Cilician (?) ivory mirror-handles from Cyprus, which bridge the gap, so far as this motive is concerned, between Crete and Nimrūd. This work has been assigned, by one authority[1], to the artists of northern Syria, who were in touch with Egypt, Mesopotamia and Phoenicia, and had inherited Hittite traditions and the Minoan memories of the older artists who carved the ivories of Enkomi in Cyprus. The latter, in the present writer's opinion, were probably natives of the Cilician region, and inheritors of a portion of the Minoan art-tradition that came from the Aegean to Cyprus in the fifteenth century B.C. So far as Mesopotamia is concerned there is, too, in this style, according to Poulsen, much of that of the fine late-Sumerian work of the Gudea period, which no doubt influenced Syrian and probably influenced Minoan art (cf. vol. I, p. 587 *sq.*). But there is little of the more conventional Semitic-Babylonian spirit to be seen, and nothing particularly Assyrian except motives that Assyria probably borrowed from Syria. In return we cannot doubt that this north Syrian art of the ninth century—if it was Syrian: Poulsen would seem to consider it Phoenician of an older and finer type—greatly influenced early Ionian art. And we see the influence in the figures of tinted ivory, the work 'of the Maeonians,' found by Hogarth at Ephesus, and dated by him to the end of the eighth century. Does the Greek caryatid, too, come from this part of the world? The idea went east to Assyria.

Yet a third style is to be seen in others of the Nimrūd ivories, which, like some of the bronze bowls from the same place,

[1] Hogarth, *Ionia and the East* (1909).

need not be ascribed to any but native Assyrian artists. The incised and relief reproduction of Assyrian scenes of kings, gods and heroes, and no others, without any eclecticism or obvious Phoenician imitation, are too faithful, and at the same time too good to be the work of Phoenician or other imitators: they are as Assyrian as the great palace-reliefs, or the bronze-reliefs of the palace-gates found at Balāwāt, which probably belonged originally to Calah (Nimrūd), or the embossed Urarṭian shields from Toprak Kaleh near Vān.

The three styles are no doubt more or less contemporaneous, and we perceive how Mesopotamian and Egyptian art influenced the Syrian (?) as well as the later or inferior undoubtedly Phoenician work in these ivories. We also see from the north Syrian relief-sculpture of the time, inferior as it was to the ivory-carving in every way, how the Mesopotamian tradition influenced this region. The majority of the sculptures of Zenjirli and Sakjegeuzi are Aramaean of the ninth and eighth centuries, only a few of the oldest being describable even as Syro-Hittite; while those of Carchemish, which date from the eleventh to the ninth century, are distinct instances of this Syro-Hittite style, in which beneath the Assyrianizing surface we see the native spirit of the old Hittite art we knew at Boghaz Keui, Euyuk, and Yasili Kaia, still differentiating them from mere imitations of Mesopotamian work. In fact, it is a moot question whether the inspiration of the first Assyrian rock-reliefs of the time of Tiglath-pileser I (1100 B.C.) and the great reliefs of the ninth century at Nimrūd was not at least partly derived from the Syro-Hittite art-centre, purely Mesopotamian though their style and subject are. See further, pp. 148 *sqq.*

V. ART OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

So far as we yet know, great relief-sculpture of the sort found at Nimrūd was not Babylonian in origin; Babylonia was a stoneless land, and although the Babylonians from the beginning made statues and relief stelae of isolated blocks of stone imported for the purpose, they are not likely to have originated the custom of sculpturing numberless great slabs of stone with interminable scenes of religion, war and the chase for the decoration of the walls of palace-corridors and chambers; although the recent discoveries at el-'Obeid near Ur have shown that they did so use high-relief decoration in metal at the earliest period. Either the Assyrians invented the idea of their great reliefs themselves, or

they borrowed it from their Syrian or Hittite neighbours. And the second alternative is at least as probable as the first. Perhaps the fact that the later Syro-Hittite sculpture was strongly influenced by that of Assyria, while we cannot see any influence of the pure Hittite style of Anatolia in the reliefs of Nimrūd, or until the rock-reliefs of Bavian and Malatia (*temp.* Sennacherib), where we see Assyrian gods standing on animals in the Hittite fashion[1], may incline the balance in favour of Assyrian invention. On the other hand, the Assyrians, the Syrians and the Hittites may, more or less simultaneously, have adopted the idea of stone-relief panels from Egypt in the Ramessid period. In any case, the Assyrians were not merely great warriors: they were also great artists, as is exemplified by the reliefs of Nimrūd, Ḳuyunjiḳ and Khorsabad, and the gates of Balāwāt, imitating the stone-reliefs in skilfully-beaten bronze. Indeed, one wonders again whether possibly the toreutic relief in bronze, derived from Babylonia, is not really the parent of the stone-relief, and whether the school of Assyrian sculptors did not derive from the metal-workers.

That is as it may be. Their representations are of course Babylonian in character, like their whole civilization, but their own originality is none the less manifest. The great reliefs of the ninth century, set up by Ashur-naṣir-pal at Nimrūd, are splendid precursors of those of the seventh executed under Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. The epic strength of Ashur-naṣir-pal's work, the wonderful beauty, in spite of the Mesopotamian conventions, of Ashurbanipal's, is a striking contrast to the degeneracy of Egyptian art in Bubastite times and its futile, *recherché* archaism under the Saïtes. What Egyptian artist of the ninth century could have carved Ashur-naṣir-pal's roaring lion-colossus from Nimrūd, what Egyptian in the seventh could have produced Ashurbanipal's wonderful chariot-horses and dying lions in relief, or the relief of the hunting of the wild horses?

Yet, the fact remains that the Saïte Egyptians give us the real portraits of their men as they actually were in life, whereas there is hardly a single characterized portrait of an individual in the whole of Assyrian art. Everybody seems exactly alike, gods, kings and men. Accordingly, we have to recognize that each system of art had its own fine moments: each its failures. Still, what would we not give for real portraits of the Assyrian kings, instead of the monotonous regiments of curled and bearded figures with big noses, high tiaras and large earrings? What would not Assyrian art have been could the Assyrians have thrown off the trammels

[1] Both the Hittites and the Assyrians may, however, eventually be found to have derived this idea from the Sumerians.

of their convention in respect to human beings and shown us men as lifelike and true as their animals? The truth and care of their reliefs of men engaged in war show they could have done it; but here too every face is exactly alike. Realism stopped short with the figures of gods and men: they could only be represented with faces of the type that convention had already fixed as the ideal. The Saïte and Assyrian arts, though contemporaneous for a time, were not on the same plane of development: Assyrian art is more comparable to that of Ramessid Egypt, though it is better. Like that, it is a great and imperial art: Saïte art was merely precious and pretty.

The relief sculpture of Assyria, like that of the Hittites, was in plain relief: the Egyptian style of sunk relief or *cavo-rilievo* was never adopted by them or by anybody else. In Saïte Egypt itself it was still used, but was probably regarded as rather old-fashioned, being characteristic of the Ramessid and Bubastite periods. Under the Ptolemies even the carving of the hieroglyphs, which under the Saïtes were usually incised, was carried out in relief with unfortunate results in the coarse yellow sandstone generally used from the fourth century onwards: only the fine white limestone of the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties and of Seti I at Abydos, or sometimes very finely worked granite, could be used for hieroglyphs in relief. The Hittites had either incised their hieroglyphs or cut them in relief on their rough dark stone; the Assyrian cuneiform was always incised: no attempt at rendering cuneiform in relief is known. Statues in the round or half-round with plinths like those of Egypt were, apparently, less usual in Assyria than they had been in old Babylonia: the attention of the sculptors was almost wholly given to their splendid reliefs in the local alabastrine marble of Assyria.

Coloured tempera-painting with a covering of thin glaze was used by the Assyrian with beautiful results, as the specimens from Ḳuyunjiḳ and Ashur (Ḳal'at Sherḳāt) show. The painting is minute, delicate and tasteful, while the line is masterly, and the design is good and strong. That is to say, it is of the same characteristic type as the reliefs, and very different from either the broader style of Egyptian distemper painting, or the slap-dash and unequal true fresco of the Minoans. Coloured glaze was also used, on a large scale and with great effect, in architecture on bricks as well as for pottery. This art was also a Babylonian speciality, as the Ishtar-gate of Nebuchadrezzar at Babylon shows, with its lions and *sirrushes*, or dragons of Marduk, in enamelled bricks. The art probably came to Babylon from Ashur, which perhaps had borrowed it from Egypt, the original home of glass and

glaze[1]. It was the direct ancestor of the Persian art of glazed brick-work which we see in the Frieze of the Archers at Persepolis.

Assyrian art died down soon after it had put forth its finest flower. But its tradition lived in that of Persia, at Bisitun (Behistun), and at Persepolis; it influenced the art of Caucasia and of Scythia, even ultimately Siberia and China[2].

Of Babylonian art as distinct from that of Assyria little can be said at this time, except that the seal-cylinders of the period are characteristic in style, and that some have suspected in them a mood of archaism resembling and possibly imitated from that of Egypt. Of course it is not meant that the Babylonians imitated Egyptian work, *à la phénicienne*; their archaism would be their own. But, as a matter of fact, there is little trace of such a movement, in art at least. One interesting fact[3] is that with the conquest of Alexander the native art of Babylonia, in contrast to that of Egypt, seems suddenly to be extinguished, and supplanted by that of Greece, or rather by the very decadent form of the latter that the Seleucids supplied. In Egypt, on the other hand, all the old art went on under the Ptolemies and Romans in merely an increasing degeneration: though a mixed art existed side by side with the classical, the old art did not die till its conqueror was ready for death too, and the stern puritans and 'athletes' of Christianity slew it on the altar on which Hypatia and the learning and beauty of Greece were also slain. Yet many a pagan idea survived in Coptic art.

On the other hand, in Babylonia the native art disappears, is wiped out already under the Seleucids, and only a bastard Greek style exists until the revival of native culture under the Sassanians. Why this was so, why a fine old tradition was thus suddenly extinguished, we do not know. One would have thought that the Babylonians had as much power of patriotic resistance to foreign ideals as the Egyptians. Yet, perhaps they had not, and perhaps they now thought more of their book-keeping than of their nationality. It was not until the native revival in Persia after the end of the Hellenized Parthian rule that men took new inspiration from the Assyrian-inspired sculptures of Persepolis; and when Shahpur treads down Valerian at Naksh-i-Rustam, the art of his sculptor owes as much to the tradition of Assyria as to that of Hellenism and of Rome.

[1] The Egyptian faïence relief plaques from Tell el-Yehudiyeh in the Delta (*temp.* Ramses III, *c.* 1190 B.C.) are well known. And similar, finer work had been done at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, in the Amarna period (*c.* 1400–1350). See vol. II, p. 417.

[2] See further, on the character and development of Assyrian art, pp. 77, 109.

[3] The writer owes this observation to Mr Sidney Smith

CHAPTER XVI

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM

I. NATURE OF THE SITE

PERHAPS the most impressive elements in the history of the first half of the last millennium B.C. are to be found neither in the records of the empires of Assyria and Babylonia, nor in the story of the brief revival of Egypt under the Saïtes. Rather do they appear in the petty kingdoms which lay between these ancient powers; especially in the Israelite monarchies, by reason of their subsequent importance for the history of thought. Above all, the city of Jerusalem has gained a uniqueness so unchallenged, that a chapter may very appropriately be devoted to its topography, before we pass on to the history of the land to which it belonged.

The great importance of Jerusalem for the history of the world owes nothing to the situation of the city. It stands on the summit of the mountainous backbone of Western Palestine—on the lofty ridge which serves as a watershed between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan Valley. It is about 37 miles E.S.E. from Jaffa (Joppa), the nearest port on the Mediterranean Sea, and about 14 miles from the northern end of the Dead Sea. It is elevated about 2500 feet above the level of the former, and 3800 feet above that of the latter; but although thus situated on a mountain-top (cf. Ps. lxxxvii, 1) its prospect is shut in on all sides except to the south-east by a ring of slightly higher elevations (cf. Ps. cxxv, 2). In the direction named, the great mountainous rampart of the plateau of Moab, some 25 or 30 miles away, forms a background to the view.

Unlike Babylon and the successive capitals of Egypt, Jerusalem stands on no great water-way. Unlike Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage, it is not on the sea; indeed, unlike Athens or Rome, it is not even easily accessible from the sea, as the roads thence wind through rugged mountain-passes. Unlike Damascus, it is not a convergence-centre for caravan trade-routes. There is, indeed, but one important road passing through it—that leading from Beer-sheba through Hebron to Nāblus (Shechem) and Galilee: and this road is of purely local significance, not a section of a highway uniting the marts of different countries. Jerusalem

thus could never have been by nature a great commercial exchange, and such it never has been; except, perhaps, for a short time during the Latin kingdom, when merchants from the East and the West met in its narrow markets.

The immediate neighbourhood, moreover, is not economically attractive. The steep hill-sides are arid, and, compared with other parts of the country, of inferior fertility; there is a serious lack of water; and the deep valleys surrounding the site make cross-country journeys laborious.

In the face of such disadvantages it is reasonable to ask why a city should have been built here at all, and how it could have attained to the importance which it actually possesses. The answer to these questions will be found, partly in the nature of the sites usually chosen for cities in ancient Palestine, and partly in the unique history of the city itself.

In ancient Palestine the chief *desiderata* in a city site were water and defence. Cities began as a rule in small settlements, which might be as early as the Neolithic period, their inhabitants dwelling in huts, tents, or caves, as near to a natural source of water as possible. In Palestine such sources are limited, both in number and in size; very few of them would escape the eager search of early shepherds and tillers of the soil, in quest of a dwelling-place. Given a spring of water, settlers would not be deterred by the uneconomic nature of the environs from taking up their abode beside it. Probably if diggings could be made around the Virgin's Fountain, in the 40 feet thick bed of silt at the bottom of the Kidron, there would be found remains of a Neolithic settlement that formed the very earliest Jerusalem.

As civilization advanced, and as these simple communities gained in wealth, defence from envious neighbours became more and more a pressing necessity. Such defence could not be secured at the spring, for its site was usually on low ground, easily commanded from a higher level by enemies. There was no alternative to leaving the immediate vicinity of the spring, and retiring to a neighbouring hill-top fortified with walls. These walls the defenders were obliged ever to make stronger and stronger, as methods of attack gained in precision and effectiveness. The old water-source could still be used in time of peace: but when the city was besieged, it was inaccessible, and the inhabitants were therefore obliged to provide themselves with cisterns for water-storage, hewn out of the underlying rock at an enormous cost of labour. Not till the *Pax Romana* healed, at least superficially, internecine feuds, and kept at bay all other foreign aggressors,

did the inhabitants find it possible to desert their inconvenient hill-top fortresses and once more settle on the low lands near to the springs.

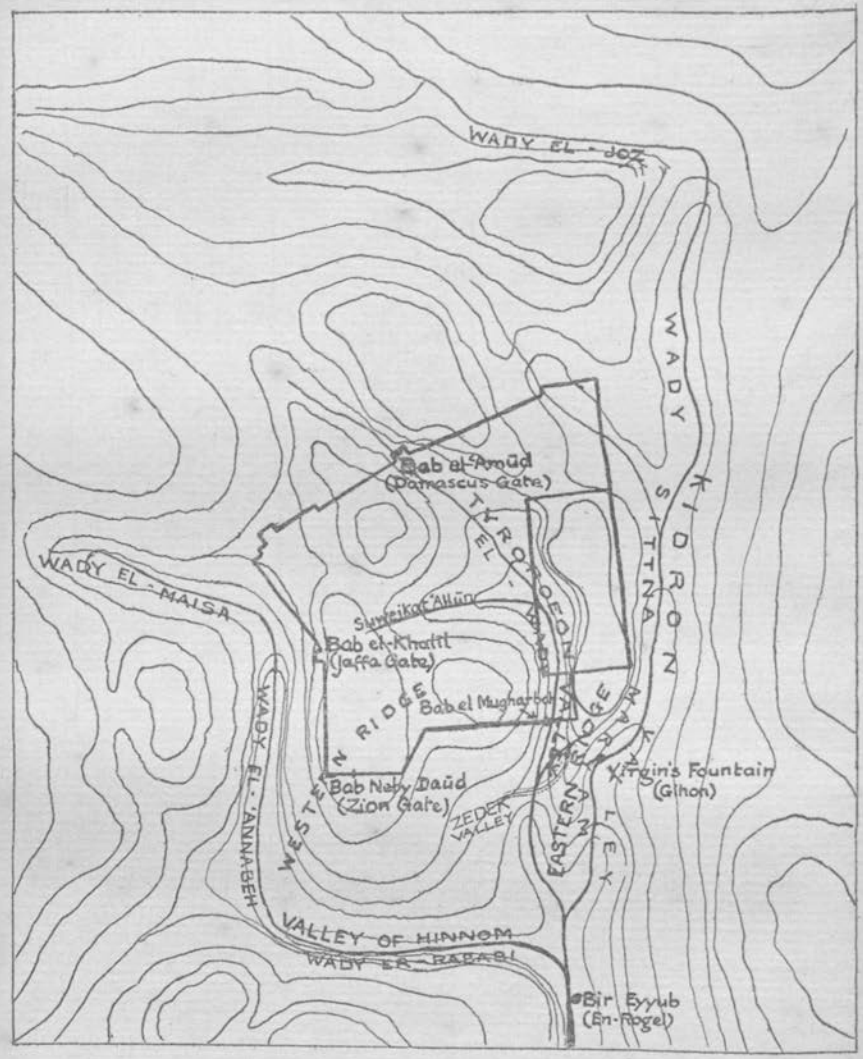
The following is a brief statement of the main historical facts that have given Jerusalem its importance. In the first place, whatever its earlier history may have been, it was, according to the Old Testament, the only city of a small inland tribe (the Jebusites), and these were therefore obliged to make the best of it that they could; in this they were greatly helped by its naturally strong situation[1]. Next, its central position made it a suitable seat for the government of the two branches of the Israelites, during the short time when they were united under one king. Third, whatever its earlier religious importance, the erection, by Solomon, of the Royal Palace, and, especially, of the Temple, gave it a prestige distinguishing it above all other cities in the land. This prestige was much enhanced when the Deuteronomic legislation made the other sanctuaries in the country illegal. Further, the teaching of the later prophets, especially of Ezekiel, gave it a semi-mystical religious importance for the Jewish people. Fifth, the most important of the events recorded in the Gospels occurred in and around Jerusalem; this gave it a unique place among the Holy Places of Christendom. And finally, in the seventh century of our era the Judaeo-Christian sanctity of the city was borrowed, with so much else from the same sources, by Islam. Thus Jerusalem has become a place of conspicuous holiness to three of the chief religions of the world. It is this fact which gives it its importance in history and topography.

II. THE VALLEYS

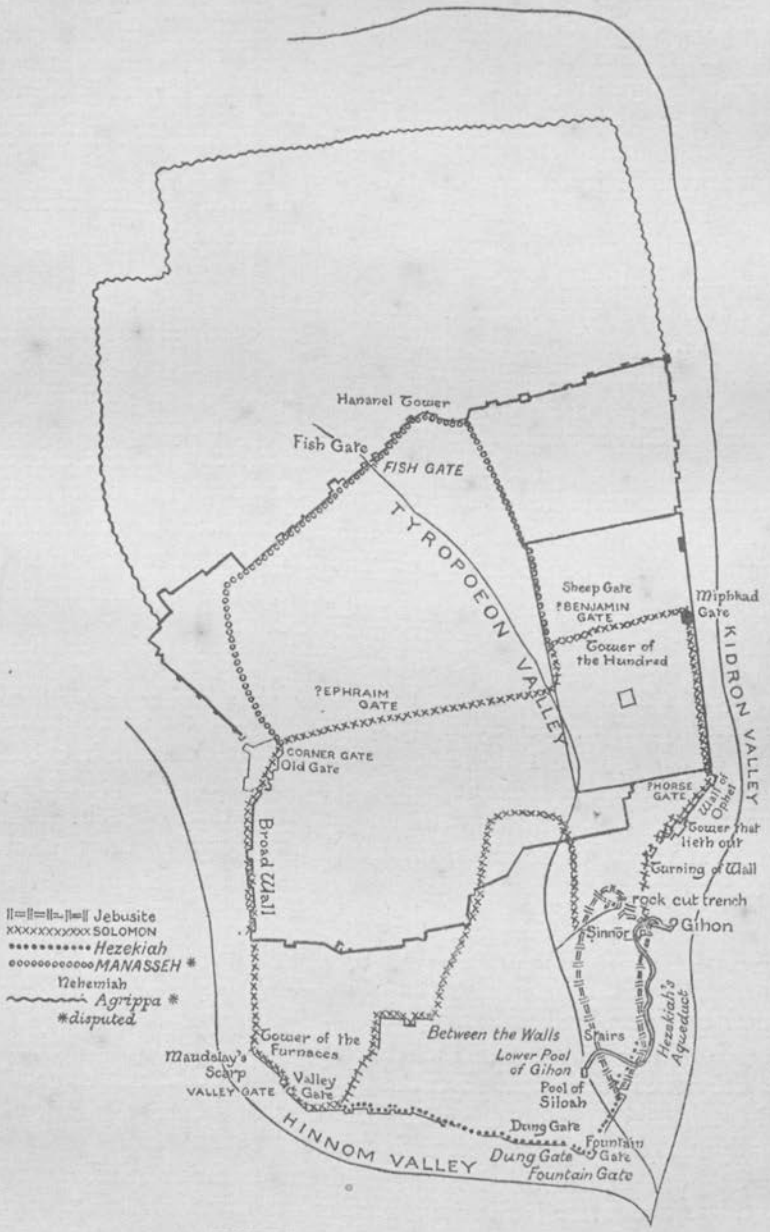
Every detailed study of the topography of the city must begin with the valleys, which have had an all-important influence in determining its plan and emplacement. There are three which are especially conspicuous.

The first, which is also the largest and most conspicuous, begins as a broad and comparatively shallow depression at some distance to the north of the city. This depression runs at first from west to east: and here it bears, in modern times, the name *Wādi el-Jōz* (Valley of Nuts). It then turns abruptly through a right angle, tending southwards, and rapidly becoming deeper. From the angle onwards it is known as *Wādi Sittna Maryam*

[1] See below, pp. 344 *sq.*, and 346 n. 1.



THE SITUATION OF JERUSALEM



THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

(The line running s.s.w. from the rock-cut trench near Gihon and joining the Tyropoeon represents the 'Zedek Valley' [p. 342].)

(Valley of our Lady Mary, a name derived from the church built over the traditional tomb of the B.V.M. about the middle of its course) or *Wādi Silwān* (Valley of Siloam, from the important village of that name on its eastern slope). At length it reaches the great well called *Bīr Eyyūb* (Job's Well) and there leaves the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. From this point onwards it undergoes some minor changes of name, and finally becomes *Wādi en-Nār* (Valley of Fire), which runs on, with ever-increasing ruggedness and grandeur, till at length it loses itself in the Dead Sea.

That this valley is to be identified with the *naḥal* or watercourse of Kidron all authorities, ancient and modern, are agreed. It is the only valley that will suit such biblical references as 2 Sam. xv, 23. Josephus (*Wars*, v, 2, 3) describes it as dividing the Mount of Olives, which lies on the east side, from the city. True, it is no longer a watercourse, except after heavy rains: this loss of its former character is due to the great accumulation of débris in its bottom, and to the diversion of the waters in the Virgin's Fountain, described below. But it is needless to repeat here the long list of literary and other arguments establishing an identification about which there is no room for doubt.

The second valley begins some distance south of Wādi el-Jōz, and trends tortuously, though on the whole uniformly, towards the south-east, where it joins the first valley at a short distance north of *Bīr Eyyūb*. This valley bears no specific name in modern times, doubtless because it has lost its ancient importance. It is almost completely filled with an accumulation of débris. The comparatively slight depression running through and to the south of the modern city, which is the existing representative of this once deep gorge, is simply called *el-Wādi* (the Valley) whenever it may be necessary to refer to it. This valley is not certainly referred to in the biblical texts. It is, however, indubitably mentioned by Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4, 1) as a rift dividing the Upper City from the Lower, and as extending to the Pool of Siloam. He describes it as 'the so-called "Valley of Cheesemongers"'; and from this passage the name of which modern topographers usually make use (Tyropoeōn) is adapted.

The head of the third valley is about as far from that of the second as the latter is from the beginning of the first. Its uppermost reach runs eastward, and then bears the name *Wādi el-Maisa*. It then turns abruptly southward, and becomes *Wādi el-'Annābeh*. Finally it turns eastward again, and runs as a rapidly deepening narrow gorge, called *Wādi er-Rabābi* (Fiddle-valley) into the

Kidron, which it joins a little south of the confluence of the latter with the Tyropoeōn.

The identification of this valley with the rift variously called Valley of Hinnōm, or Valley of the Sons of Hinnōm, in the O.T., is now generally accepted. It was the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; it ran under the cliff on which was built the city of the Jebusites; and it came out at a spring known as Ēn-Rōgēl, which is now identified with Bīr Eyyūb (Josh. xv, 7; xviii, 16). This valley satisfactorily fulfils all these requirements.

In what follows we shall use these more generally familiar ancient names, Kidron, Tyropoeōn, Hinnōm, in preference to the modern Arabic names, except when one or other of the separately-named sections may have to be referred to.

III. THE PLATEAU AND ITS WATER-SUPPLY

Kidron and Hinnōm enclose a more or less triangular plateau, of which only the northern side is not abruptly cut off from the surrounding country. The Tyropoeōn divides the plateau into two unequal parts, which we may for present convenience call the *Western Ridge* and the *Eastern Ridge* respectively. The general level of the plateau falls downward toward the south and east, and, as a natural consequence of this, the Western Ridge is by far the loftier and the broader of the two.

These ridges are not continuous throughout their length. Minor valleys, running into the Tyropoeōn or the Kidron, divide them into sections, although this fact is obscured by the enormous accumulation of débris which has so notably altered the aspect of the site. The most noteworthy of these is a rift cutting into the eastern side of the Western Ridge, and running through the middle of the modern city. The market street called *Suweiḳat 'Allūn*[1], and its eastern continuations, are approximately in the line of this valley.

So far as is certainly known, the original water-supply of Jerusalem, before the elaborate installations of cisterns and aqueducts with which successive generations of citizens have met their needs, consisted of two sources only. The most important of these is the remarkable intermittent spring which rises at irregular intervals, depending on the season, in a cave at the

[1] The name by which this thoroughfare is known to Europeans—'David Street'—was probably invented by dragomans for the convenience of their clients. On this and similar neologisms the less said the better.

bottom of the western slope of the Kidron valley. This spring is known in modern times as *'Ain Umm ed-Daraj* (the Staircase Well), on account of the flight of steps, partly rock-cut and partly masonry, which leads down to the bottom of the cave; Europeans, having contrived a legendary association of the spring with the B.V.M., have called it 'the Virgin's Fountain.'

The only other source of water-supply in the neighbourhood which has the appearance of being a natural spring is the deep well Bīr Eyyūb, already referred to, situated at the confluence of the three principal valleys. It is not improbable that this place, which is a receptacle for surface drainage, was always marshy, if not actually a pond, except in dry seasons, before the construction of the present deep masonry well. But the well is not truly a spring: the water is derived from the surface, and filters into the well shaft at various points in its circumference.

Two other sources, long ago dried up, were discovered on the summit of the Eastern Ridge in the excavations of 1924. The first was a rift in the rock, filled with silt, in which were embedded fragments of early Bronze Age waterpots. This indicated that water still rose here, in the earliest times of human occupation. The other was a small cave which showed evident traces of having once been the source of a stream of water, at the head of the 'Zedek Valley' presently to be noticed. This source was however dry at the beginning of the occupation period, as a very early (Bronze Age or Neolithic) interment was found within it. Probably it was wholly of the Tertiary period.

As there are thus only two natural sources of water-supply in the neighbourhood of modern Jerusalem, so only two are mentioned in the biblical record—Gīḥōn and Ēn-Rōgēl. Both are mentioned in connection with the coronation of the claimants to the throne of David (1 Kings i, 9, 33). Ēn-Rōgēl is fixed by passages quoted above from Joshua as being in or at the end of the Valley of Hinnōm: this favours its identification with Bīr-Eyyūb, from which it follows that Gīḥōn is to be equated with the Virgin's Fountain. The latter is specifically said to be 'in the *naḥal*' ('brook' = the Kidron), east of Manasseh's wall in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, which suits the position of the Virgin's Fountain exactly. True, Clermont-Ganneau discovered the name *Zaḥwēleh* attached to a rock-surface in the Village of Silwān, close by the Virgin's Fountain. This name could represent the Hebrew *Zōḥéleth*, the name of a stone beside Ēn-Rōgēl (1 Kings i, 9). But etymological equivalence of name does not necessarily imply identity. The steep slippery rock could not have been used

as an altar of sacrifice, which was the use to which Adonijah put the stone Zōḥéleth: the similarity of name can hardly be anything but an accident, and therefore does not affect the identification of the neighbouring spring.

Thus, the only known natural sources of water-supply are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the Eastern Ridge. In this respect the Western Ridge is completely sterile, and nothing is known to suggest that it ever was otherwise. If we must choose between the two ridges as the site of ancient Jerusalem, we naturally would incline at first sight to the traditional view, that it was on the much loftier and broader Western Ridge, and not on the insignificant and strategically indefensible Eastern Ridge. The latter argument, from military considerations is, however, weaker than it appears to be: for we must not forget that when the site of Jerusalem was first inhabited, the Tyropoeōn valley was as deep a rift as the Kidron valley is now, and that it cut the two ridges apart by a severance as abrupt as that between modern Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. This being so, we should have to postulate a considerable advance in the art of constructing *ballistae*, and similar engines, before the Western Ridge could seriously menace a city erected on the Eastern Ridge. Like most cities, Jerusalem must have risen from very small beginnings. The original Jerusalem cannot have been anything more imposing than a few rustic huts. The humble folk who dwelt therein, being as yet unprovided with the cisterns which now honeycomb the subsoil, must assuredly have established themselves within easy reach of the only place where water is available.

IV. THE ORIGINAL EMPLACEMENT OF THE CITY

It is only in comparatively recent years that the Eastern Ridge was proposed as the place where to seek ancient Jerusalem. Tradition, ecclesiastical and secular, favoured the Western Ridge, and it has been enshrined in the modern application of such ancient names as 'Zion,' 'the Zion Gate,' 'David's Tomb,' etc. But the argument from proximity to water, together with the great strength of the position of the Eastern Ridge (within the limitations of ancient warfare), has gradually convinced all but a few, who still cling to the former identification; and it has been powerfully, one might almost venture to say overwhelmingly, reinforced by the most recent excavations. The impregnability of the pre-Israelite fortress is emphasized in the early references

to the city. The Benjaminites were unable to capture it (Judges i, 21): and when David attacked it, the Jebusites taunted him with striving to enter a city which even blind and crippled folk could defend (2 Sam. v, 6). On the east, west, and south the steep crags of the Kidron and the Tyropoeōn (in its pristine condition) served as natural ramparts. Only on the north side was the city vulnerable, and it is on that side that the chief artificial defences were concentrated. The earliest defence known on this side is a trench cut in the rock, 11 feet wide and 8 feet deep, running across the hill from the Kidron to the Tyropoeōn. This trench was discovered in January, 1924, in the course of the excavations conducted under the present writer by the joint expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Daily Telegraph*. To judge from the pottery contained in the earth, with which the trench was allowed to be filled after it had passed out of use, the cutting cannot be later than 2200 B.C., and most probably is very much older. It is the development of an ancient valley tributary to the Tyropoeōn, for which the name 'Zedek Valley' has been suggested[1]. This valley is of great topographical importance, as it gives us at once a limit for the northern end of the city in its earliest days, and the reason for that limit. Some centuries later, but still early, the city crossed this barrier to a small extent, and was here defended by a wall.

From the time of the first settlement on the hill-top, the problem of water-supply must have been pressing. The Virgin's Fountain was at the foot of the hill: but the descent thereto was toilsome, and the ascent, with heavy water-jars, still more so. Moreover, if the city should be besieged, the inhabitants would be altogether cut off from the spring, which would be freely at the disposal of the enemy. The dwellers in the city early turned their attention to finding a remedy for this unsatisfactory condition of affairs. Their solution of the problem shows no small resourcefulness, and a more than rudimentary engineering capacity. A tunnel was constructed which may be likened, very roughly, to the letter Z, except that the central member should be vertical and not oblique. The upper horizontal stroke represents a passage that starts from an opening inside the city: the lower, another passage running inwards from the end of the cave in which the water rises. The water-drawers made their way along the upper tunnel, lowered their buckets down the vertical

[1] The name, suggested by the present writer, has in mind the ancient association with Jerusalem of the element Zadok, Zedek, which, as some authorities think, was the name of the city-god; cf. vol. II, p. 397 *sqq.*

shaft and so drew up water that flowed into the lower tunnel. We may suppose that the outer entrance of the spring was concealed temporarily or permanently, with masonry, thus preventing the access of enemies, who would find no other water in the neighbourhood (except, perhaps, at Bīr Eyyūb, some distance down the valley).

This ingenious contrivance, however, proved the city's undoing. It probably never entered the heads of the engineers who quarried the tunnel, that they were actually opening a way into the heart of their city. When it was beleaguered, it never occurred to the defenders that an intrepid body of the enemy would climb up the shaft and enter the city. This, however, seems to be what actually happened at the time when David took the city. He promised the reward of military rank to the man who should go up the *ṣinnōr* and smite the Jebusites (2 Sam. v, 8). The passage describing the event is extremely corrupt and much interpolated with glosses: and *ṣinnōr* is a rare word of uncertain meaning. It seems to mean a water-passage of some kind; and the theory that this shaft is what is intended is the most probable of any that have been put forward[1]. Possibly some traitor, such as are to be found in most oriental communities, revealed to David the secret of the Virgin's Fountain and of the tunnel behind it. But it is not absolutely necessary to postulate such a person: the existence of the spring may have been well known. In a small country such as Palestine it is impossible to keep a secret, especially one concerned with such an important matter as the existence of water.

V. GROWTH OF THE CITY

The topographical development of the city, down to the time of its destruction by Titus, may be divided into a series of stages, corresponding to its historical development. We are not here concerned with the history of the city, and in consequence we say nothing about it, beyond what is essential to explain the topography. The development of the city after the time of Titus is an even more complex subject, but it falls outside the scope of this history.

[1] Various attempts have been made to discredit this interpretation; but the alternatives that have been proposed strike the unprejudiced reader as far-fetched and improbable. It is likely that *ṣinnōr* was actually a technical term for such rock-cuttings; similar passages have been found at Gezer, Ibleam, and el-Jīb (Gibeon). There is, indeed, a possibility that the actual word may linger in popular tradition in connection with the first of these.

Stage I. From the earliest times till David (*c.* 3000–1000 B.C.). The earliest inhabitants of the site of Jerusalem were doubtless humble shepherds whose huts (or tents) clustered round the Virgin's Fountain, probably in the sheltered recesses of the Kidron Valley. So long as they remained poor, with nothing to plunder, they could live without the necessity of either natural or artificial defences: but as they began to hold enviable property, they found it necessary to look to their safety. They then established themselves in the strong fastness on the hill above the Virgin's Fountain, where they had the advantage of precipitous valleys as defences on all sides but the north—where they cut the trench above referred to. This trench runs across the hill, approximately east and west, and is 480 feet south of the south-east angle of the present city walls.

At a time still early, about 1500 B.C., the city area was slightly extended, crossing the trench in one place by about 20 feet. The trench had by now been filled up, and a wall of no great strength —as compared with the walls of other cities of the same period —was built around it. It was constructed in rude polygonal masonry and was about 3 ft. 8 in. in thickness. Later, probably about 1200 B.C., a much more imposing wall was built, about 20 feet in thickness, with lofty towers, which still stand to a height of about 20 feet. This wall was discovered in the 1924 excavation.

The area thus enclosed was, in round numbers, 1250 feet long (north to south) and 400 feet across; these are the extreme figures. This gives an area of about 11½ acres. Small though this is, yet Jerusalem ranked among the largest of the cities of Palestine. The largest among those that have been excavated is Gezer, which was about 1600 feet in length: others are much smaller (see the instructive diagram in Vincent's *Canaan*, p. 27). Inside these narrow areas the houses were squeezed together into the smallest space possible, with narrow airless crooked streets between them. Sanitation was regarded as of less importance than economy of space, when it was necessary to house the entire community within the walls of a fortification.

Excavation has not been pursued sufficiently as yet to yield details of importance as to the internal topography of the pre-Davidic city. Nor have we any information on this subject from literary sources. Genesis xiv, 18 introduces us abruptly to a mysterious personage called Melchizedek, described as 'king of Salem' (presumably Jerusalem) and 'priest of *El-'Elyōn*,' and narrates a semi-sacramental interview which Abraham had with him (see vol. I, p. 236). But no information as to topography is

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vouchsafed us, for we cannot attach much importance to a glossator's identification of the 'Vale of Shāwēh,' whatever or wherever that may have been, with 'the King's Vale,' *i.e.* the Kidron Valley. Contemporary documents have reached us from the hand of Abdi-Khiba, king of Urusalim, that is Jerusalem, in the shape of an important group of tablets found in the Tell el-Amarna series; but these, though illuminating for the study of the political and social conditions of their time, are of no interest to the topographer (vol. II, p. 312 *sqq.*). We learn much of the terrors that vexed the soul of the king, as he poured floods of real or feigned pathos into the deaf ears of his Egyptian suzerain: but he has no occasion to tell us anything about the size, situation, or contents of his city, and his one topographical allusion—to a place or building called Beth-Ninurta, in or near the city—is quite obscure. The Letters do however suggest that Jerusalem was already of not inconsiderable political importance (II, p. 317).

As this chapter is being written (1924), the city of Abdi-Khiba is being excavated, by the joint expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Daily Telegraph* at its northern end, and by Raymond Weill on behalf of Baron Edmond de Rothschild at the southern end. It is too early yet to give a detailed description of the results of these undertakings. Subsequent rebuildings have caused great destruction in the areas of the ancient city so far excavated. The more important city wall, already mentioned, is probably of some two hundred years later than Abdi-Khiba's time. Inside the fortification no buildings of the pre-Israelite period (*i.e.* before, say, 1200 B.C.) have as yet been found, except foundations of poor houses of undressed stone set in mud, such as have been discovered at all other ancient sites of the same period in Palestine. At the north side, in a scarp subsequently used for the great fortification, there were some chambers, possibly rock-cut dwellings of a very early date.

Stage II. David (*c.* 1000–950 B.C.). Such was the nature of the city as it was captured by David. The account of David's conquest (2 Sam. v, 4–9) gives no particulars other than the remarkable exploit of Joab in ascending the *ṣinnōr*. But we learn from a passing reference in 1 Kings xi, 27 that, in addition, David made a breach in the walls, which remained unrepaired till the time of Solomon. This breach, there is every reason to believe, was discovered in the last excavation, and it was found that a barrier wall had been drawn across it. This was intended, probably, as a temporary closure: but it actually remained standing till Roman times, though by then it had lost its defensive func-

tion. This was clearly shown in the excavation. There can be no question that this city of the Jebusites is to be identified with what thenceforth was known as 'The City of David,' or, as Sir G. A. Smith renders the Hebrew name, 'Davidsburgh.' The evidence of the ancient pottery, etc., is unchallengeable[1].

The prepositions invariably used in relation to motion from or to the 'City of David' are suggestive. A person or thing (such as the Ark) is always said to 'go *in* to the city (*e.g.* 2 Sam. vi, 10): never to go *up* to it: whereas a person goes *up out* of the City of David to another site in the neighbourhood (*e.g.* 1 Kings ix, 24; 2 Chron. v, 2). This indicates that the City of David was not on the highest summit of the Jerusalem plateau, as it would have been if it had stood on the traditional site, on the Western Ridge.

The Palace or Stronghold of David, and the Royal Tombs that were in the City of David, have not yet been found in excavation. This is not written in forgetfulness of the remarkable series of tomb-chambers found by Weill at the south end of the city, which are claimed to have been royal sepulchres. It is impossible to say much about these, owing to the destruction which they have suffered by subsequent quarrying. That they were intra-mural is certainly an argument in favour of his claim; but the biblical references, as well as those scattered through Josephus, incline us rather to the belief that when found the Royal Tombs will prove to be a complex of chambers (like the so-called Tombs of the Prophets in the Mount of Olives) and not a series of individual chambers. In the meantime the topographical details of David's city remain more or less matters of conjecture. We therefore pass on without further delay to the next stage.

Stage III. Solomon and the succeeding kings of Judah (900–700 B.C.). The great extension of the insignificant city of Jerusalem is due to Solomon, whose comparatively peaceful reign enabled him to carry out schemes of which his father could only dream. The erection of the Royal Palace, and of its appendage the Temple, marks an epoch of the first importance in the history of the city.

It is not unlikely that the Temple stands on the site of some primaeval sanctury. The existence of such 'holy ground' is the most probable explanation for the confinement of the Jebusite city to the slope of the hill south of the Zedek Valley, and its avoidance of the actual summit. But all that we certainly know of

[1] Nothing is known of the Jebusites who are spoken of as a Canaanite or pre-Israelite people inhabiting the district, but it is improbable, notwithstanding Judg. xix, 10 *sq.*, that Jebus was an old name for Jerusalem. It may have been the name of a district or an inference based on the name Jebusite.

the previous history of the site is the trivial fact that there was a threshing-floor in or near the precincts, which was purchased by David as a site for the projected Temple. A late passage (2 Chron. iii, 1) calls the Temple Hill 'Mōriah,' a name elsewhere found only in Gen. xxii, 2 in connection with the sacrifice of Isaac. The name is quite obscure, and it is by no means certain that the same place is intended, even assuming the authenticity of the reading in both places.

That Solomon's Temple is on the site now occupied by the Muslim shrine called *el-Ḥarām esh-Sharīf* is unquestioned, although the modern sanctuary doubtless covers a greater area than the Solomonic structure. It may also be taken as most probably true that the Holy Rock, underneath the ornate Muslim dome called *Ḳubbet eṣ-Ṣakhra*, is the natural summit of the hill and was the site of the Temple building itself. This rock may well have served as a natural altar from primaeval times. There have been other theories propounded as to the site of the Temple from time to time, but these have mostly failed to command adherence from any but their authors. This being conceded, we may further take it as probable that Solomon's house stood south of the Temple, somewhere about the emplacement of the mosque called *el-Masjid el-Akra*.

Unlike many of the palaces and temples of Assyria and Babylonia, or the more modest great buildings of some other Palestinian ancient towns, remains of the palace and temple of Solomon have never been laid bare by excavation: their foundations have never been traced, no fragments of their building material or adornments been recovered. We must, so far as we may, reconstruct all these in our imagination by help of the literary records alone, in the light of careful modern examinations of the site.

The whole mass of Solomon's buildings was enclosed within a wall and separated, as is the considerably larger Harām area to-day, from the old city lying farther down on the same hill, and also from the new city which grew up on the western hill across the Tyropoeōn. Solomon's buildings thus formed a city or citadel within the city. Farthest to the north, and highest up, stood the temple, which was, so far as its main part was concerned, a rectangle having within a breadth that was a third and a height that was half of its length (60 × 20 × 30 cubits). The external measurements have been estimated at about 124 feet in length, 55 in breadth, and 52 in height, apart from the porch at the eastern end and the side chambers that flanked the other three sides. Thus, compared with other great religious buildings of

ancient or more modern times, it was relatively small, its length, for example, being about half that of the Parthenon and a quarter or even less than a quarter of that of a large English or French cathedral; in area it was far smaller than the Ḳubbet eṣ-Ṣakhra, and scarcely more than half as high. Lower than the temple, and to the south of it, and separated by a wall, came another court in which stood the palace: in the wider uses of the terms the Temple-building and the inner court within which it stood was the House of Yahweh, the Palace and its court the House of the King; immediate access from the one house to the other was given by a gateway in the wall between them. Closely connected with the king's house was the special house built for Solomon's principal wife, the daughter of Pharaoh. Three other principal buildings within the walled area to the north of the City of David are attributed to Solomon: these are, to mention them probably from north to south, and from the higher to the lower situations on which they severally stood: the Hall of Justice, of unknown dimensions, the Hall of Pillars, a building somewhat shorter than the temple but in area exceeding the main part of that building (50 × 30 cubits), and the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon,' a building of the same height as the temple, but rather more than four times its area (100 × 50 cubits). Probably from the first to some extent, and certainly later, the enclosed area included in addition to these buildings others such as houses or chambers for temple and palace officials.

Thus, at any time between Solomon and the Exile the eastern hill of Jerusalem must have presented a very different aspect from its present, in spite of the striking common features: the great walled court containing the Palace and Temple, though smaller and extending less far to the north, broadly resembled the present walled Harām; but in ancient times this area was more thickly covered with buildings, though no single building had so dominating an elevation as Ḳubbet eṣ-Ṣakhra. Below the Harām at present is an open hillside, but this was then thickly covered with the congested buildings of the old city, enclosed within walls of which nothing now remains above ground, though considerable sections have been discovered underground.

To Solomon tradition ascribes, and no doubt correctly, the more striking features of ancient Jerusalem. There remains briefly to consider the artistic influences under which Solomon carried out his transformation of the simpler earlier city. He needed to look abroad for models, for there can have been but little native artistic tradition to guide him. As a matter of fact,

elements both of Babylonian and Egyptian art have been suspected in his buildings and their arrangements and adornments. A reason for direct Egyptian influences might be reasonably found in his connection by marriage with the Egyptian court; but direct Babylonian influence would be more difficult to explain. Both influences, however, are to be traced indirectly through Phoenicia, whose art is essentially mixed, borrowed in part from Mesopotamia, in part from the Nile. Of the activity of Phoenician workmen Israelite tradition speaks clearly and emphatically. From Lebanon through Phoenicia came the cedar that afforded material for the forty-five pillars of the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon.' Such wooden columnar construction is perhaps a Phoenician modification of Egyptian stone columns.

In plan, also, the Temple of Solomon seems to be Phoenician. Its division into two chambers reappears in the later temple at Hierapolis, and it is here also that we find an analogy for the two pillars flanking the entrance and the outer court enclosed by a wall. These details appear to be Phoenician rather than Babylonian. On the other hand, Babylonia and Egypt both afford analogies for the extensive use of cedar for the walls and ceilings or architraves of the interior. The 'bronze sea,' supported by twelve oxen, has been suspected of reproducing Babylonian symbolism, but it may have had more immediate exemplars in Phoenicia. The altar in front of the entrance of the Temple is also Babylonian, but whereas in Babylonia brick was by far the more convenient material, stone was more suitable to Palestine. The cherubim and palms so largely used in the symbolic decoration seem to have been also Babylonian in origin.

Much more could be said on these lines (see further below, p. 427 *sq.*), but there can be no finality in speculations, that can never be verified, about the nature of a building known to us by vague descriptions only. That these descriptions themselves can be variously interpreted is evident from the variety in the restorations that have been traced upon them.

Probably it was in Solomon's time that the Western Ridge began to be occupied. If we may trust 2 Chron. viii, 11, it was considered improper that his heathen wives should dwell in close proximity to the House of Yahweh; and for their accommodation the Western Ridge would present a convenient situation. David built or repaired the wall of the City of David (2 Sam. v, 9): but Solomon built the wall of Jerusalem round about—a much greater work (1 Kings iii, 1; ix, 15). Even apart from Solomon's domestic arrangements, the increase of wealth and population

would inevitably require an extension of the area of the city. Of this population no exact estimate can be made. The total population of Judah can never have exceeded by much a quarter of a million: perhaps a quarter of this number found their homes in the capital. If anything, however, this is probably an overestimate.

The Solomonic boundary still excluded the Tyropoeōn valley. The north wall seems to have run along the side of the east-west tributary of the Tyropoeōn (under the Suweiḳat 'Allūn), already mentioned, and to have followed the eastern flank of Wādi el-'Annābeh, arriving at a great scarp known from its discoverer as Maudslay's Scarp. It then followed the south end of the Western Hill, ran up the western side of the Tyropoeōn, and presumably joined the old wall of the City of David at some place where a crossing of the Tyropoeōn was practicable.

We possess no such exhaustive survey of the Wall of Solomon as is preserved for us of the Wall of Nehemiah, in whose book the various topographical details are enumerated in the order in which a traveller meets them. The details regarding the various gates in the wall have to be pieced together from passing and often fragmentary allusions in the books of Kings and Chronicles. An exhaustive study of the subject would here take up too much room: we must content ourselves with a brief enumeration. On the north side were apparently (1) the *Benjamin Gate*, an entrance to the Temple Area, also called the *Upper Gate* (2 Kings xv, 35; Jer. xx, 2), definitely stated to 'lie toward the north' in Ezek. ix, 2, and to be at the opposite end of a stretch of wall from the Corner Gate in Zech. xiv, 10; (2) the *Ephraim Gate* (2 Kings xiv, 13), the name of which suggests a northern aspect, and (3) the *Corner Gate*, which from the passage just quoted we learn to have been 400 cubits from the Ephraim Gate. It is probably represented, as nearly as possible, by the modern Jaffa Gate. Uzziah rebuilt the wall from the Corner Gate to (4) the *Valley Gate*, all references to which indicate that it was south of the city, deriving its name from its opening into the Valley of Hinnōm at some stage of its course (2 Chron. xxvi, 9; Neh. ii, 13, iii, 13). (5) the *Horse Gate* faced the east, opening into the Kidron, and was probably somewhere near the Palace (2 Kings xi, 16; Neh. iii, 28; Jer. xxxi, 40; Jos. *Ant.* ix, 7, 3).

Upon the breach in the wall of the City of David, above mentioned, and filling the gap, there was erected a tower. This had been greatly injured by the subsequent erection of a Byzantine House above its foundation, but enough was unearthed to identify it as an important fortress. This is tentatively identified with the

mysterious structure Millo, occasionally mentioned in the history of the Kings (2 Sam. v, 9; 1 Kings ix, 15, 24, xi, 27; 2 Kings xii, 20; 2 Chron. xxxii, 5). On one stone of the wall faint traces of a painted figure of Astarte were observed, suggestive of the idolatry that disgraced Solomon's later days (1 Kings xi, 1 *sqq.*).

Stage IV. Hezekiah and Manasseh (seventh and eighth centuries B.C.). Uzziah repaired the city walls, which had been damaged by warfare with Israel, but did not add anything to the area of the city. Hezekiah was obliged to strengthen its defences considerably, in view of the Assyrian menace. His first care was not so much the provision of an adequate water-supply (for by now cisterns had begun to be hewn in the interior of the city) as the cutting off of the water from the Assyrian beleaguerers (2 Chron. xxxii, 4). The old pre-Israelite *ṣinnōr* had by now gone out of use: probably Joab's exploit had sufficiently demonstrated its dangerousness to the new lords of the city. A deep pit cut in the floor of the upper passage, close to the entrance, seems to have been excavated with the intention of making it dangerous to traverse. The Virgin's Fountain was no longer an essential to the city's life, as provision for water had been made in the shape of cisterns. Its waters had therefore been canalized and turned into irrigation-streams, watering the vegetable-gardens at the lower end of the Kidron. These channels, with the pool into which they ran, Hezekiah abolished: instead of them he set his engineers to cut an aqueduct through the spur of the Eastern Ridge, carrying the water to a new pool inside the wall. This aqueduct and pool are universally identified with the famous Tunnel and Pool of Siloam. (The passages relevant to this undertaking will be found in 2 Kings xviii, 17, xx, 20; 2 Chron. xxxii, 4, 30; Is. xxii, 9, 11.) In addition, or rather as a preliminary to this undertaking, he drew a line of fortification joining Solomon's wall on the Western Ridge with the old wall on the Eastern Ridge, thus for the first time bringing the Tyropoeōn valley within the city, and creating an area of the city technically called 'Between the Walls' (Is. xxii, 11; 2 Kings xxv, 4; Jer. xxxix, 4, lii, 7).

Manasseh, during his long reign, increased the city northward. He built a wall that included the Fish Gate (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14) of which we now hear for the first time, and which must have been on the north side of the city (Neh. iii, 3, xii, 39). This indicates Manasseh as the builder of the much discussed Second Wall, the question of the course of which is (unfortunately for unemotional science) bound up inextricably with the authenticity of the traditions that have fixed the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Stage V. Nehemiah (538 B.C. and subsequent years). The city had been destroyed by the Babylonians; Babylon in its turn was conquered by the Persians. Cyrus, in his first year, permitted the return of certain of the Jewish exiles in Babylon, and authorized the rebuilding of the Temple, which work was carried out on the same site as the temple of Solomon, but on a smaller scale (Hag. ii, 3). This may be offered as an intentionally brief statement of the much controverted history of the return of the Judaean captives (see p. 409 *sq.*). Later, Nehemiah superintended the rebuilding of the wall, which on his first reconnaissance he found so much broken down that his ass could not pick its way among the débris (Neh. ii, 14). We have a very full account, in the valuable book which bears the name of Nehemiah, of this undertaking, with an enumeration of the towers, gates and other topographical features in their proper consecutive order. As before, it is impossible to present here a detailed study of the identification of the sites of these gates, etc., but some indication of their position, with reference to the crucial passages, can be given.

These were (1) the *Sheep Gate* (Neh. iii, 1, 32), which may be inferred from xii, 39 to have been a gate into the Temple Precincts, and therefore probably to be identified with the Benjamin Gate of Solomon; (2) the *Tower of the Hundred* (Neh. iii, 1), west of the Sheep Gate, probably coinciding with the later Antonia Tower, on the great rock scarp that now dominates the Harām area; (3) the *Hananel Tower* (Neh. iii, 1, xii, 39; Jer. xxxi, 38), which was somewhere between (2) and (4) the *Fish Gate* (Neh. iii, 3), which we have already seen in the Wall of Manasseh. There are stones of an ancient gateway-arch on the basement of the present Damascus Gate, which are reasonably identified with this entrance; (5) the *Old Gate* (Neh. iii, 6), the name of which indicates a superior antiquity. Here therefore the new North Wall joined the old North Wall of Solomon: the Old Gate may therefore be identified with Solomon's Corner Gate, and situated at or near the present Jaffa Gate; (6) the *Broad Wall* which follows (Neh. iii, 8) would represent the stretch of wall flanking the eastern side of Wādi el-'Annābeh, coming to (7) the *Tower of the Furnaces* (Neh. iii, 11); this probably stood on Maudslay's Scarp, which was obviously cut to support an important fortification tower; (8) the *Valley Gate*, which follows, and which was a feature of the wall from the days of Solomon, may reasonably be identified with a gate discovered in the excavations of Bliss, opening into Wādi er-Rabābi a short distance east of Maudslay's Scarp. This situation will suit all the references (Neh. ii, 13, iii, 13; Jer. xix, 2, where the gate is called 'the Potsherd Gate').

The next gate, (9) the *Dung Gate* (Neh. iii, 13), was 1000 cubits along the wall from the Valley Gate (see also ii, 13, xii, 31). A second gate was found by Bliss, farther east along this wall and at about the distance indicated, allowing for the fact that it is merely stated in round numbers. The name has in modern times been transferred to *Bāb el-Mughārbeh* in the existing wall, appropriately if unscientifically. (10) the *Fountain Gate* (Neh. ii, 14, iii, 15), which lay between the Dung Gate and the Pool of Siloam, was also found by Bliss in the situation indicated. (11) the *Pool of Siloam* (Neh. iii, 15) and the neighbouring (12) *King's Garden* (*ib.*) need no comment. The King's Winepresses and the Hananel Tower are named as extreme points on the map of Jerusalem in Zech. xiv, 10. (13) the *Stairs of the City of David* (Neh. iii, 15) are identified with certain rock-cut steps leading upward from the pool: but until excavation on the Eastern Ridge shall have been completed, it would be premature to seek to identify more exactly the various points which are placed there in the survey of Nehemiah.

Stage VI. Herod (first century B.C.—first century A.D.). The area of the city continued the same as that fixed by Nehemiah. Some remains, first observed by Robinson, are identified by many scholars with a great third wall, built to the north of the city by Agrippa. Unfortunately Robinson has left us no pictorial record of them, and they have long since disappeared. Herod beautified the city with elaborate buildings, notably the third Temple; his own palace with its three great towers, two of which still remain in part; a theatre; a xystus or assembly place; and a hippodrome. The elaborate water-works are to be assigned to this evil but energetic ruler. These include the great reservoirs called 'Solomon's Pools,' between Bethlehem and Hebron, and the aqueducts that convey water thence; as well as, probably, the large reservoirs inside and around the city itself, although these also bear popular modern names referring them to times long antecedent to Herod.

This is not the place to enter into the endless and futile controversies that have raged round the identification of the Sacred Sites of the Gospels—Bethesda, the Coenaculum, Calvary, and the rest. In a word, these topographical problems are unsolved, and to all appearance are destined to remain insoluble.

Except Herod's palace, which was retained for administrative purposes, the whole of Jerusalem was swept out of existence by the siege of Titus; and the city, as later rebuilt, had no continuity with its predecessors. This, therefore, is the point at which all study of the ancient topography of Jerusalem comes to an abrupt end.

CHAPTER XVII

ISRAEL AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES

I. EARLY HISTORY TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINTH CENTURY B.C.

ALTHOUGH the political history of the minor states which lay between Egypt, Asia Minor and the dominions of Assyria and Babylonia was throughout shaped by that of their great neighbours, they had, nevertheless, a certain internal independence of their own. This has already been observed in the neo-Hittite states (see chaps. VI *sq.*); and Israel and Judah, too, although inextricably interwoven, as it would seem, with the whole area of which they were, geographically and historically, an organic part, had distinctive features which marked them out from the rest, and, for obvious reasons, call for special treatment. Now, we are in the fortunate position of being able to read their history from within in a way that is impossible in the case of the other states; for the small land whose internal development proved so vital for the history of the world is that one alone which has preserved in its sacred writings an account, or rather material for an account, of the events which gave it its importance. The period to be surveyed is, broadly speaking, that of the prominence of Aramaean and secondary 'Hittite' kingdoms in the north, the extension of the Assyrian empire until it reached Egypt (ninth–seventh centuries), the gradual disintegration of these northern kingdoms and the overthrow of Israel, the brief reign of neo-Babylonian empire upon the ruins of Assyria, and the fall of Judah, and the Exile. Finally, Egypt and south-west Asia passed into the hands of the Persians, and in due course we leave an old Oriental world for one more under Western influence. In the pages that follow we shall supplement the preceding chapters by an outline of the history of Israel and her immediate neighbours, and shall then proceed to notice the internal development, in so far as it helps us to understand the course of events.

Native contemporary monuments are unfortunately very few. Numerous archaeological remains survive to suggest that further examination of the 'tells' would disclose much valuable material. The Egyptian evidence is scanty and inconclusive. The Assyrian monuments are of the first importance. The Old Testa-

ment is our main source[1]. It contains the history of Israel and Judah in two forms: (1) the books of Samuel-Kings, which, with the preceding Joshua-Judges, were known as 'prophetical' (didactic) rather than as 'historical' writings; and (2) Chronicles, continued further in Ezra-Nehemiah. Of these the former series is now linked on to the Pentateuch (see p. 472), and ends abruptly with the release by Evil-Merodach of the captive Judaean king Jehoiachin (561 B.C., 2 Kings xxv). The second series runs essentially parallel to Samuel (parts) and Kings, but passes from the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) to the time of Cyrus (539), when it describes the return of Judaeans from exile and the reconstruction of the Jewish state. The book of Chronicles is now recognized to be distinctly later and less trustworthy than the parallel Samuel-Kings, as can easily be seen from the slight use made of it by all modern writers; and a comparison of the two illuminates the free methods of ancient compilers, their various and conflicting interests, and the growth of tradition. There is a characteristic reshaping of earlier tradition on religious grounds which can be readily perceived and discounted; but Chronicles also contains traditions which appear to be merely late and more developed forms, both of what is already found in the earlier series, and of what, though lost, is too circumstantial to be ignored. The earlier series itself is far from being contemporary or entirely trustworthy. It, too, is the result of compilation; it includes conflicting traditions, and often represents a late didactic treatment of events. Accordingly, while some of the sources of the 'Chronicler' (as the compiler of the later series is commonly called) go back some centuries before his own age (not earlier than the fourth century B.C.), Samuel-Kings has had a complex literary history and did not reach its present form before the release of Jehoiachin (561 B.C., above), and in all probability is at least several decades later[2].

As has already been shown (vol. II, chap. XIV), the biblical sources do not allow us to furnish any simple or convincing sketch of the union of the tribes of Israel into a single monarchy. The first king, Saul, was evidently a more powerful figure than

[1] It is impossible to state here the grounds for adopting in these pages a 'critical' view of the O.T. A consistently conservative or traditional one has never prevailed. Reference may be made to vol. II, chap. XIV; and below, pp. 404, 410 *sqq.*, 426, 434, n. 1. See also the Bibliography, pp. 729 *sqq.*

[2] The writings of the 'prophets' contain invaluable independent evidence illustrating the history, but they are often composite, of uncertain origin, and of disputed reference, and they require independent criticism; cf. below, pp. 458 *sqq.*

appears from those narratives which either reflect a Judaean bias in favour of his rival and successor David, or have a certain anti-monarchical bias and emphasize the influence of Samuel, a figure of the 'prophetical' rather than the 'priestly' type. Saul's work as king was undone through his defeat by the Philistines at Gilboa, and David became king at Hebron in the south. Ultimately he took Jerusalem from the non-Israelite Jebusites and made it his capital. While the oldest traditions seem to separate the heroic founders of Israel and Judah, later writers not only closely associate them, but they view the occupation of Jerusalem as the climax of all that had gone before. Hence we find in the biblical narrative an apparently unbroken continuity between the Exodus from Egypt, the laws promulgated in readiness for the Promised Land and the place which Yahweh should choose, the conquest of Palestine, the settlement of the ark at Jerusalem, the preparations for the building of the Temple, and the inauguration of a dynasty which surmounted all crises, survived the Exile, and, after a brief revival under Zerubbabel (*c.* 520–516 B.C.), disappeared in unknown circumstances, to be replaced by a priestly régime. At this later stage—which falls outside the period treated in this volume—we reach conditions and tendencies which have been reflected back even to the days of the Exodus and Conquest, and the course of the history, *in its extant form*, becomes intelligible only when we view the past from the very late standpoints of the writers themselves.

What is related of Saul, David and his son Solomon shows how naturally the strength of Israel and Judah depended upon relations with Aramaeans, Phoenicians and Philistines, with Ammon, Moab and Edom (1 Sam. xiv, 47 *sqq.*; 2 Sam. viii). David comes before us as a successful conqueror from south Judah, if not a more southern locality (vol. II, p. 392). Having established his power by force of arms, he founds a kingdom, which possibly stretched as far north as Kadesh on the Orontes (so read in 2 Sam. xxiv, 6); he plants a garrison at Damascus, enters into friendly relations with Hamath, and, like Solomon, enlists the help of Tyre in his building enterprises. Of Solomon himself (*c.* 974–932) an impressive picture is given. His numerous marriages point to widespread alliances. His marriage with a Pharaoh's daughter brought him Gezer, which her father had taken from the Canaanites: Egypt, it would seem, was not unmindful of her ancient claims upon Palestine (p. 257). The coastal plain—an object of anxious concern to both Egypt and Israel (see vol. II, p. 380 *sq.*)—was thus secured, and the fortification of Hazor, Megiddo and Beth-

horon, of which we read, would control the main trade-routes. With Hiram of Tyre Solomon owned a 'Tarshish' fleet (1 Kings x, 22), which, to judge from the name, went to Tartessus in Spain, though not there alone (cf. our 'East Indiamen'). From Ezion-geber in Edom a fleet, manned by Phoenicians, brought gold from the land of Ophir (? South Arabia). Edom itself had been exterminated by David (1 Kings xi, 15 *sq.*), though the escape of the young prince Hadad had important results later. A traffic in horses was conducted with Mizraim (Muṣri) and Ḳue, *i.e.* probably with Cilicia and adjacent countries[1]. Finally, the well-known story of the Queen of Sheba's visit with a camel-train of spices, gold and precious stones—a favourite theme in later legend—is at least a hint of the valuable trade between the little-known South Arabian kingdoms and the north. Cf. p. 256.

It is not easy to determine how far Solomon's power has been idealized. We read of a mighty kingdom from Gaza (the port for Arabian trade with the Levant) to Thapsacus on the Euphrates (1 Kings iv, 24). These were halcyon days for Israel and Judah, when men dwelt secure under vine and fig-tree, or officered the remnant of the pre-Israelite 'Amorites,' who did all the toil (ix, 20 *sqq.*). Later ages told of Solomon's uxoriousness, the wisdom of his mature years, the pessimism of his old age, his great wealth, his idolatry, and that sovereignty over the world of creatures and demons which so fascinates the Oriental. Behind all this it is difficult to perceive the man himself. There is, however, a darker side to the picture: we learn that Israel itself must raise a levy of workmen (v, 13 *sqq.*), that for this purpose the land was divided into twelve districts, a division which not only ignored tribal boundaries, but evidently favoured Judah with exemption (contrast 2 Sam. xix, 42). Majestic buildings and their upkeep, the cult-places for the gods of the foreign wives, and all the disadvantages of Oriental monarchy (cf. Samuel's picture, 1 Sam. viii), laid a heavy burden upon the people. (On the Temple and other buildings, see above, pp. 346 *sqq.*) Various cities in the

[1] 1 Kings x. 28 *sq.* The text is corrupt, and the correction 'Ḳue' is partly based on versions. That there was a Mizraim (Muṣri) to the north of Syria is known from the Assyrian inscriptions, but its precise identification is uncertain. For the traditional view that Egypt is here referred to, see p. 256. Later, at all events, Egypt, when in a much more powerful position, carried on horse-breeding, and could supply Israel (Deut. xvii, 16); but even then Asia Minor still continued to be the source of the Tyrian horses and mules (Ez. xxvii, 14), and Solomon's relations with Tyre and the references in 1 Kings x. 29 to Hittites and Syria strengthen the view adopted above.

north were ceded to Hiram (1 Kings ix, 11). Hadad of Edom, who had fled to Egypt and married the sister of the queen, returned to his country, and became an enemy to Solomon. In the north a hostile kingdom was established at Damascus. And at the centre of Israel itself Jeroboam ben (*i.e.* son of) Nebaṭ, who was in charge of the local labour-bands, headed a revolt, and was forced to escape to Egypt. Egypt, too, the refuge of Solomon's enemies, seems no longer friendly; naturally, it would not desire Palestine to be too powerful. On the death of Solomon his son Rehoboam proposed to be crowned at the old city of Shechem; but the northern tribes were restless, and summoned Jeroboam from Egypt as their leader. Their demand for less onerous treatment was ignominiously refused. Adoniram (or Adoram), who was over the levy, was sent by Rehoboam, but was stoned to death by the rebels; Jeroboam was proclaimed king, and north and south, which even under David had never been closely united, fell apart.

To accentuate the cleavage and weaken the supremacy of Jerusalem as the political and religious capital, Jeroboam is said to have made two bull-images, placing them in the border cities of Dan (in the north) and Bethel, 10 miles north of Jerusalem; he changed the date of the important autumnal feast of Tabernacles, and instituted his own priests. The schism is treated didactically by the writers. Some regard it as inevitable: Ahijah, a prophet of Shiloh, supports Jeroboam, while Shemaiah dissuades Rehoboam from making war. Others treat the schism as an unforgivable offence: only in Jerusalem is the God of Israel to be found (cf. 2 Chron. xi, 14, xiii, 9 *sq.*). Henceforth, a generally unfavourable view is taken of the kings of Israel, and the fall of the northern kingdom is attributed to the wickedness of the founder of the cult of the calves and to its persistent apostasy. On the other hand, the kings of Judah are estimated in the light of sweeping reforms ascribed to Josiah (*c.* 621 B.C.), which are the climax of the religious history of the land, so that kings are judged by their attitude to the temple of Jerusalem. With rare exceptions (when special sources are employed) the histories of the two kingdoms are treated independently, and are placed within a framework which dates the accession of each king by the year of his contemporary in the rival kingdom—there is a fairly similar procedure in the 'Synchronous History' of Babylonia—and throughout employs stereotyped formulae, indicative of a single and simple editorial process. But while Judah and Israel are essentially rivals—though from time to time one controlled the other—

Judah was also one of the 'sons' of Jacob, and one of the tribes of Israel; and Judah claimed, especially after the Exile, to be the sole and true Israel (cf. vol. II, p. 355). It is convenient, therefore, to speak of the northern kingdom, when it is to be kept distinct from the south, as Ephraim or Samaria, and to use 'Israel' either to include Judah or in those cases where distinction is impossible or unnecessary.

The separate treatment of Judah and Ephraim renders it difficult to follow the events after the schism. The powerful Davidic kingdom had broken in pieces, and Israel's relations with Edom, Moab, Damascus and Phoenicia entered upon a new stage. Jerusalem itself, no longer the capital of a single people, was in a dangerous position, close to the border of her rival. Judah, deprived of its earlier advantages, depended for its welfare on its relations with its immediate neighbours, especially Edom, Philistia (the Philistine coast) and Egypt. Its annals know of an invasion by Shishak (1 Kings xiv, 25; *c.* 930 B.C.). Temple and palace treasure was carried off, and the Chronicler even hints at subjugation to Egypt (2 Chron. xii, 8). The Egyptian evidence does not show at all clearly whether Egypt was helping Ephraim against Judah. Jeroboam, who had made Shechem his capital, removed to Penuel for reasons unspecified; but this latter city is among those enumerated by Shishak. Other Ephraimite cities (*e.g.* Beth-shan) are also named; and, unless we assume that the Egyptians grossly exaggerated the invasion, it is possible that most of the cities named merely paid tribute (see p. 258 *sq.*).

Of Rehoboam's otherwise unknown son Abijam (or rather Abijah) the Chronicler relates a great victory over Jeroboam, and the capture of Bethel and other south Ephraimite cities. Two years later the Judaean throne was occupied by Asa, whose long reign of forty years (*c.* 914–874) was contemporary with vital changes in the north. Jeroboam was succeeded by Nadab, who, while besieging the Philistines at Gibbethon (a frontier city of the south Danites), was slain in a conspiracy by Baasha of the tribe of Issachar. The rest of Jeroboam's seed was exterminated, and Baasha, with Tirzah as his new capital, energetically attacked Asa. Ramah, only five miles north of Jerusalem, was invested and Asa was reduced to bribing Ben-Hadad, king of Damascus, to create a diversion. An army was sent to harry the northern districts (Dan, Abel, Naphtali), and Baasha was forced to withdraw. Asa thereupon dismantled Ramah, fortified Mizpah, and established a new fortress at Geba, a commanding height about 3000 ft. above sea-level, between Ramah and Jerusalem. The

Chronicler tells how a prophet, condemning Asa's reliance upon Aram instead of Yahweh, pointed to his earlier marvellous victory over Zerah, the Cushite (Ethiopian) at Mareshah[1]. The historical basis of the story is disputed. Although the *name* Zerah can hardly be identified with that of Osorkon I, a battle with Egyptians (and Libyans, 2 Chron. xvi, 8) is not improbable (see p. 261). But the name is found in old South Arabian inscriptions, and 'Cush' was also the reputed ancestor of Sheba and other Arabian divisions (Gen. x. 7; 2 Chron. xxi, 16). Inroads from the south are characteristic of Judaean history, and confusion between Egyptians and Arabians is prominent later (p. 383 *sq.*). It is difficult to decide between the claims of Egypt and Arabia, and it might even be assumed that the story of an Arabian raid has been applied to some genuine recollection of an invasion of Palestine by Osorkon. In any event, an attack from the south would certainly affect other countries besides Judah—notably Philistia.

Meanwhile, in Ephraim an energetic king was, as was not rarely the case, succeeded by a weakling, and Baasha's son Elah, 'while drinking himself drunk' at Tirzah, was killed by Zimri, the captain of half his chariots. The royal house was, as usual, put to the sword. Zimri's treachery became a by-word (2 Kings ix, 31). Only seven days passed—unless with the Septuagint (Vatican MS.) we read seven *years*—and the army, which was again besieging the Philistine Gibbethon, chose Omri as king. Omri marched against Tirzah and seized it; and Zimri, seeing that the cause was hopeless, entered the citadel and burnt it over his head. For a time Tibni and Joram, sons of Gunath, maintained an opposition, but at last in Asa's thirty-first year (*c.* 884 B.C.) Omri gained complete control and became head of the first dynasty of Ephraim. This pre-eminence of military rule is noteworthy; we may compare the strength of the generals of Saul and David (2 Sam. iii, xx; 1 Kings ii, 5 *sq.*). The tribal origin of Baasha, and possibly of Tibni (? of Naphtali), suggests frequent disagreement between the central and the more northerly tribes. Moreover, the fact that there was a second siege of Gibbethon points to continued unrest along the coastal plain; but we are unable to co-ordinate it with the little we know of Egypt or of north Arabia.

The names of both Rehoboam ('the enlargement of '*am*') and Jeroboam ('*am* will contend') contain an element '*am* ('uncle'; but also used as a divine name), which is familiar in South Arabian; and while the former, on his mother's side, was half-Ammonite,

[1] This site lay in the 'lowland' (*Shĕphēlāh*) near Beit Jibrīn (Eleutheropolis) and the Tells of ej-Judeideh and Sandaḥannah.

the name of the 'father' of the latter, Nebaṭ, associates itself both with south Arabian and with the Nabaṭaeans, who, however, do not appear in history until several centuries later. Even Zimri and Omri have names of marked Arabian analogy, whereas that of the chief of the levy, Adoram, suggests the old god Addu or Adad (see vol. II, p. 349). Further, the list of Solomon's administrative officers (1 Kings iv) is characterized by archaic compounds of Ben- ('son'); cf. vol. II, p. 332. One cannot avoid observing a certain colour about these names, the more significant because the name Yahweh does not predominate, although the stage upon which we now enter is clearly recognized, by the old writers themselves, to be one of supreme importance for the history of Yahwism.

Omri and his son Ahab are our first definite landmarks in the history of Israel. Both left their impress upon tradition (cf. Mic. vi, 16), and for a century and a half the Assyrians continued to call Ephraim 'the land of Beth (the house of) Omri.' To Omri is ascribed the founding of a new capital at Samaria, six miles north-west of Nāblus, called, we are naïvely told, after Shemer, the former owner of the hill; that it was not an ancient site seems to be proved by the results of the Harvard excavations. The rise of the Omri dynasty is contemporary with new activity in Phoenicia. Ahab had as wife Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, or Ithobaal, the Sidonian priest-king of Astarte, who, too, like Omri, had seized the throne by violence. Sidon held sway over the other Phoenician cities, and Ithobaal is credited by later writers with the foundation of Botrys (north of Byblus) and Auza (in Libya). While tradition avers that Solomon's ally, Hiram of Tyre, worked zealously for his deities Melḳart (the Baal of Tyre, later identified by the Greeks with Heracles) and Astarte, so now, with the priestly usurper of Sidon as an ally of Ephraim, the spread of the Phoenician cults was a natural result, only to be enhanced when in due course Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, was married to Asa's grandson Jehoram. Phoenicia and Israel had always much in common, they were 'brother' peoples (cf. Am. i, 9); and while there was always closer intercourse between them than our scanty narratives relate, at this period we enter upon a new stage in their relations.

Asa was Omri's contemporary, and for a time there were close relations between Judah and Ephraim, alliance in sea-trade (with control over Ezion-geber) and in war. Ephraim was undoubtedly the predominant partner. The assumption that Judah would naturally be influenced by the Phoenician cults will explain

the Chronicler's story of Asa's unbelief[1]; but it is noteworthy that, although Baal-names are prominent among those found on more or less contemporary ostraca unearthed at Samaria, Yahweh names (which occur there in the form Yō) are also conspicuous in the dynasty; and the names Joram (or Jeho-ram) and Ahaz-iah are, strangely enough, borne by successive kings in Judah and (in the inverse order) in Ephraim[2].

Not only was Judah subordinate to Ephraim, but conquests east of the Jordan made Moab tributary. For some years, therefore, Ephraim must have been the centre of a powerful nucleus of states. In the farther north, too, were extensive combinations of Aramaean kingdoms, which the increasing threat of Assyria was uniting to face the common danger. Assyria had her eyes on the Western Lands—it was part of a deliberate policy (cf. p. 9)—and, for the first time since Tiglath-pileser I (vol. II, p. 250), an Assyrian king reached the Mediterranean, and that without opposition (see p. 15 *sq.*). Ashur-naṣir-pal (884–859 B.C.) thus speaks (876 B.C.): 'I marched along the Lebanon and went up to the Great Sea of the land of Amor. In the Great Sea I washed my weapons. I sacrificed before my gods.' Rich tribute was received from the Phoenician towns, but Damascus and the southern states were untouched. In a series of expeditions he and his successor, Shalmaneser III (859–824) strove to break down the opposition of the Aramaean kingdoms, strong pro-Assyrian tendencies, mingled with internecine rivalry, facilitating their steps (see pp. 20 *sqq.*). Damascus, however, under Adad-idri (the Ben-Hadad of the O.T.) stood out as a powerful champion, and then, as later, was the real bulwark against Assyrian aggression in Palestine[3]. For long Shalmaneser was confronted with a remarkable confederation of 'kings of the Ḥatti-land and of the sea-coast.' Here were Muṣri (cf. pp. 262, 357, n. 1), Hamath and several Phoenician cities—Arvad, Irḳanata (cf. the Arḳite, Gen. x, 17), Shiana (the Sinite, *ib.*), Usanat (? Ḥosah), also Arabia (the Syrian desert), Ammon (under a king Baasha), and Aḥabbu Sir-i-lai. The last, 'Ahab the Israelite,' contributed the largest number of chariots (2000) and the third largest army (10,000). The obvious

[1] 2 Chron. xvi, 12; there is an analogy for this in 2 Kings i.

[2] It should be remembered that these names are properly *Y(ĕh)ōrām* and *'Aḥaz-yāh(ū)*.

[3] Ben-Hadad (*i.e.* 'son of [the god] Hadad') may be a perfectly general name (cf. Jer. xlix, 27). This would resolve certain difficulties connected with the identity of the bearers of the name in 1 Kings xv, 18 *sqq*; 2 Kings vi *sq.*, and xiii, 3.

importance of Ephraim is as noteworthy as the absence of Judah, which, if not included among Ahab's troops, may have lain entirely outside the political field. The two sides met at the battle of Ḳarḳar (? Apamea on the Orontes, 853 B.C.), but the allies hardly suffered the severe defeat which Shalmaneser claims to have inflicted upon them (see p. 22)[1].

Only after repeated attacks was the league broken. Tyre and Sidon, which are absent from the above list, were perhaps already tributary, and the other states were presumably induced to remain quiescent. At all events, in a fourth campaign against Damascus (841) the Assyrian king, possibly through the defection of Ephraim, gained a more decisive success (p. 23 *sq.*). He is no longer confronted by the old alliance: new rulers, military usurpers, appear in both Damascus (Hazael) and Ephraim (Jehu); and while Jehu, Tyre and Sidon—under compulsion, or to buy favour—pay tribute, Hazael seems to have borne the brunt of the attacks in the northern part of the Lebanon. He was defeated in Sanir (Mt Hermon, Deut. iii, 9), the northern part of the Anti-Lebanon, and Shalmaneser moved down into Hauran, destroying his cities. Then, working across (? *via* Jezreel, or some more northerly route), he reached the 'head-land,' where he set up his monument at the Nahr el-Kelb. Events proved, however, that Hazael, though beaten, was not destroyed, and a fresh campaign was necessary a few years later (837 B.C., p. 24). Meanwhile, Shalmaneser gathered the fruits of victory, and the famous 'Black Obelisk' (in the British Museum) represents, on the second panel from the top, the Israelite tribute-bearers and their officials—men in long-fringed garments with short sleeves and turban-like caps. The facial type is 'outspokenly Hittite,' and testifies to the powerful influence of the Armenoid Hittites, whereas Shishak's monument represents another type which may be regarded as 'Amorite.'

Ephraim thus came definitely within the horizon of Assyria. The repeated Assyrian campaigns, the forming and breaking of the successful anti-Assyrian league, and the dynastic changes in both Ephraim and Damascus imply profound internal political vicissitudes. The age was a stirring one, and it is precisely upon events culminating in these dynastic changes that the biblical history itself concentrates. It treats the period from Ahab to the accession of Jehu as one of such importance that the effort must be made to ascertain what these years meant for the internal history of Israel.

[1] On the date (*not* 854 B.C.) cf. p. 3, n.

II. ELIJAH AND THE RISE OF JEHU

Both Kings and Chronicles describe with exceptional fullness the close of the dynasty of Omri and Ahab and the rise of new kings in Damascus, Ephraim and Judah. This fact in itself is significant. The prophets Elijah and Elisha are the central figures. We see the austere Elijah denouncing Ahab and his Phoenician wife for the judicial murder of Naboth, whose field the king desired for himself. Ahab's penitence, however, procures a respite, and the judgment falls on his son Jehoram. Moreover, the land is suffering from a terrible drought—known also to Phoenician tradition—and Elijah, the champion of Yahweh, is ranged against the Baal-cult of the court. At a wonderful scene on Mt Carmel Yahweh overcomes Baal—it is Yahweh who sends the rain. Fleeing for his life to Horeb, the 'mount of God,' Elijah, in an impressive theophany, receives the dread message of the purging sword of Hazael, Jehu and Elisha. Interspersed are stories of Elijah, Elisha and other prophets, the parts they played in great political events, their marvels on behalf of the state or of private persons. We mingle with the guilds of the prophets at Gilgal, Bethel and Jericho—they were circles likely to cherish traditions of their august heroes, rather than those of the Assyrian campaigns. It is a striking fact that the biblical writers have preserved no memory of the Assyrian events, whereas these guilds are the very bodies among which would circulate the somewhat domestic stories of the wonder-workers (*e.g.* 2 Kings ii, 19–25). Finally, amid fierce Ephraimite-Aramaean wars, Jehu, one of the captains of Israel, fighting at Ramoth-Gilead, was anointed king through Elisha. Raising the revolt, he killed Jehoram at Jezreel, slew Ahaziah of Judah, massacred the princes of both households, and destroyed the Baal-cult in Samaria. In Judah Athaliah, the mother of Ahaziah, exterminated the seed royal and became queen of Judah. A few years later she was killed in a Judaean revolt, and her grandson, the young prince J(eh)oash, who had escaped the massacres, was placed on the throne, the *protégé* of the priests and the choice of the people, and the Baal-cult was thus removed from Jerusalem.

Undoubtedly we have a land-mark in the history of Israel: Elijah himself stands for some far-reaching changes. A vast conflict has been embodied in a single figure who, in fact, came to rank second only to Moses. But, in the incisive words of Wellhausen, 'there remains the vague impression that with him the development of Israel's conception of Yahweh entered upon a new

stadium, rather than any data from which it can be ascertained wherein the contrast of the new with the old lay.' An estimate of the history must be based on four leading arguments: (*a*) there is a gap between the stories of Elisha's part in the Ephraimite-Aramaean wars, and other events *before* the accession of Jehu, on the one hand, and, on the other, his final interview, nearly fifty years later, with Jehu's grandson Jehoash (2 Kings xiii, 14–19). Here the dying prophet is represented as one 'whose spirit had been the best defence of the realm—its chariots and its horsemen' (Skinner). Accordingly, unless this reference be to the events of half-a-century previously, Elisha was evidently the mainstay of Ephraim during the terrible Aramaean wars which we meet *after* the rise of Jehu, although he is not mentioned in them (see p. 374). Hence, it becomes very difficult not to believe that (to quote Robertson Smith) 'those narratives in which the renowned prophet appears as on friendly terms with the king and possessed of influence at court plainly belong to the time of Jehu's dynasty, though they are related before the fall of the house of Omri.'

Further (*b*), chronological and other details (2 Kings i, 17, etc.) combine to show that there have been 'sweeping operations . . . in the course of which the independent Elisha-narratives were freely transposed in accordance with the views of different editors' (Skinner). Thus, there has been transposition of material, and the Elisha narratives belong more naturally to the later dynasty. The effect of these conclusions is incalculable. Moreover (*c*), it proves more than difficult to place the Ephraimite-Aramaean wars, which are so prominent in the stories of Elijah and Elisha, *before* the accession of Jehu. Israel had been a powerful supporter of the anti-Assyrian league; and, as the narrative relates, Elisha *foresees* the horrors of which the Aramaeans would be guilty[1]. Further, the stories of the wars are, as a rule, anonymous[2], or involve situations which either are not in accord with the conditions, or are in marked agreement with events of the Jehu dynasty (see p. 375). For example, not only does the terrible siege of Samaria (2 Kings vi, 24–vii, 20) presuppose a general situation for which there is otherwise no warrant, but Micaiah's impressive prophecy of the utter rout of Israel (1 Kings xxii, 17, 25) is not even substantially fulfilled, though it fits in admirably with the misery of Israel under the later dynasty. In common with the Elisha-stories, the Aramaean wars, as described, more naturally illustrate the dynasty of Jehu, where they form a fairly continuous thread, than that of

[1] See 2 Kings viii, 11 *sqq.*; cf. x, 32, where the wars *begin*.

[2] Cf. 1 Kings xx, 23–34, and note the text of *v.* 34.

Omri; and it is scarcely a coincidence that, as the narratives now read, all the Aramaean wars of Ephraim cover one-third of the total duration of the northern kingdom (cf. vol. I, p. 159). But although the narratives seem to have been reshaped, and arranged in accordance with some historical theory, the fact remains that before the rise of Jehu Aramaean *razzias*, as distinct from campaigns, are entirely probable[1]; for the tendencies which supported the usurper Hazael might well be opposed to his predecessor, Adad-idri, and his Ephraimite ally. For example, the new king Hazael may well have warred against his predecessor's ally, Jehoram, and his Judaean vassal at Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kings viii, 28); and Jehoram's general, Jehu, may well have been induced at this juncture to turn his sword against his own master. So the sword of Hazael could have preceded that of Jehu (1 Kings xix, 17), and Hazael and Jehu may have united against the older alliance of the dynasties of Damascus and of Samaria.

Whatever the *Aramaean* conflicts actually were, we have now to observe that (*d*) there are traces of very serious revolts in the south on the part of Edom and Philistia. Moab too revolted after the death of Ahab (see p. 372). That the petty neighbouring states should seek to take advantage of Ephraim's participation in the war against Assyria is intelligible, but it is not easy to trace the course of events. Asa's son Jehoshaphat outlived Ahab, and maintained the joint trading-journeys from Ezion-geber with Ahaziah of Ephraim. There are vague references to the destruction of the fleet, and these become more clear when, a few years later, Jehoshaphat's successor, Joram or Jehoram (*c.* 850), has to face an Edomite revolt; and, as Libnah in the south revolted at the same time, there was evidently one of the not infrequent alliances of Edom and Philistia. Jehoram attacked Edom at Zair (*Ṣā'īr*, *i.e.* Zoar, south of the Dead Sea?), but was forced to retreat; and it is noteworthy that the Chronicler records quite consistently, though with much embellishment, first, the tribute brought to Jehoshaphat by Philistines and Arabs (*i.e.* Edomites) and, later, their revolt against Jehoram. Meanwhile, in Ephraim, Ahab's weak son Ahaziah was helpless before the revolt of Moab, but his successor, Joram or Jehoram, made an energetic attempt to recover his power (2 Kings iii). His Judaean ally was the good king Jehoshaphat (who is contrasted with his Ephraimite cousin), but other chronological schemes point to Jehoram of Judah, or the latter's successor, the short-lived Ahaziah. The king of Edom appears, strangely enough, as participating in the campaign

[1] Cf. especially 2 Kings v, 2; vi, 23, in contrast to vi, 24 *sqq*.

against the king of Moab; but the story of the latter's attempt to cut his way through to the king of Edom points to the desire, not to destroy a traitor (though subsequently Moab and Edom were bitterly hostile, Am. ii, 1), but to join an ally. Omri's conquests had thrust Moab towards Edom, and the army of Jehoram of Ephraim took the circuitous route by the south of the Dead Sea, evidently in order to drive a wedge between them (2 Kings iii, 8). And Moab in fact was hard pressed, until in obscure circumstances the invading forces were driven off: the king of Moab, we are told, offered up his eldest son as a burnt offering upon the wall of his city, 'and there was great wrath against Israel.' So Jehoram of Ephraim returned in defeat to his land even as, in the independent annals of Judah, a Jehoram suffered defeat, probably in the same region—and on one chronological scheme the two Jehorams were contemporary.

The coincidence of these traditions may tempt the conjecture that there was only one Jehoram over a single kingdom, and that we have the Judaean and Ephraimite versions. It is at least clear that Judah, faced with victorious foes in Moab, Edom and Philistia, was in dire straits, and ran the risk of being blotted out (2 Kings viii, 19). The Chronicler even tells of an invasion of Judah by Philistines, Arabians (*i.e.* Edomites) and others, and the sack of Jerusalem, Jehoahaz (*i.e.* Ahaziah) alone surviving the massacre[1]. Moreover, the stories in Kings of Jehu's slaughter of forty-two Judaean princes and Athaliah's destruction of the seed royal, point to sweeping changes in Judah. Dubious though the Chronicler's unsupported traditions are, there is a certain consistency when they record Jehoshaphat's victory over Moabites and others near Tekoa in the wilderness, and when they state that his alliance with Ephraim was condemned by Eliezer ben Dodovahu, whose name is of an old type, and whose home was at Mareshah, situated in the very district through which attacks would be made upon Judah[2]. Although these traditions of Judaean disaster are unfortunately very obscure, they at least point to some important vicissitudes in Judah and south Palestine not less significant than the Aramaean disturbances in the north. Accordingly, we have next to notice that when, at Elisha's instigation, Jehu made himself king and put down the Baal-cult *in Ephraim*, he was associated with Jehonadab the Rechabite, the representative of a guild famed for its puritanism and its antipathy to settled life (2 Kings x, 15; Jer. xxxv). As a protest against a decadent civilization, this collaboration indicates that Jehu's reforming

[1] Cf. 2 Chron. xxi, 16 *sq.*, xxii, 1. [2] 2 Chron. xiv, 10, xx, 37.

movement had the support of those who favoured a simpler life. It is very noteworthy, therefore, that the Rechabites were related to the Kenites (the kin of Moses), and had Judaean and south Palestinian connections (1 Chron. ii): desert influences played some part in Jehu's reforms. Elijah's visit to Horeb the 'mount of God' and his fight against the Tyrian Baal now have a new significance, since, just as Elisha played a leading part in the political changes in Damascus and Samaria, so the visit of Elijah to the southern desert presumably had some connection with the movements in the south. To Ahab Elijah was 'the troubler of Israel,' he was essentially a political and a religious adversary. Hence, Elijah at Horeb, the warning prophet of Mareshah (above), and the disaster to the Israelite fleet at Ezion-geber, are facts which combine with the other evidence that has been specified to point to far-reaching *political* activity in connection with the religious changes at the rise of Jehu[1].

Although Judah and Ephraim were once closely connected, and the Baal-cult had been introduced into Judah, the history of Judah is made to run an independent course in our sources. Ahaziah of Judah and Jehoram of Ephraim perished together, and Jehu massacred the princely families of both countries; but, curiously enough, Jehu neither became king of Judah, nor does he appear to have laid claim to that throne. What is more striking is that Jehu's reform in collaboration with the Rechabites had no apparent repercussion in Judah. On the contrary, we learn that at Ahaziah's death the queen-mother Athaliah destroyed all the royal family, ascended the throne and reigned six years, when Jehoiada the priest won over the temple-guards, killed the queen, and set up the young Joash (Jehoash), the sole survivor of the Davidic stock. Then only did the people destroy the Baal-temple and slay the priest Mattan: his name (which stands for Mattan-baal) was also the name of Ethbaal's grandson and therefore Athaliah's cousin. But the writer in Kings is chiefly interested in the temple; and we hear of a new plan for providing for repairs because the priests embezzled the offerings. (The Chronicler's version is a classical example of the later 'Levitical' treatment of tradition [2 Chron. xxiii].) The Judaean narrative thus becomes extremely perplexing, for, in view of the vassalage

[1] When Elijah flees across the Jordan and is fed by 'ravens' (*'ōrĕbīm*, 1 Kings xvii, 4, 6) it is generally agreed that the attempt to minimize the marvel by reading 'Arabs' (*'ărābīm*) is 'a rationalistic absurdity' (Skinner). On the other hand, an ancient attempt to make a marvel out of a simple event is as intelligible as the modern attempt to rationalize the result.

of Judah (2 Kings iii, 7) and the apparent strength of Athaliah, the more powerful we reckon the Baal-cult in Judah the less trustworthy become the very favourable estimates of the superior piety of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii; 2 Kings iii, 14), and the greater the likelihood, both of some sanguinary religious and political reform in Judah, and of the stories of sweeping attacks from the southern deserts. As it is, the accession of Joash is, according to the extant narratives, a victory of the priests and the temple-guard over the nobles, and the Chronicler goes on to relate that after the death of the priest Jehoiada the king was seduced by the Judaean princes and 'wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for their guilt.' In a word, the reform, in the Judaean tradition, is essentially a priestly one, and as it opens the second of the three equal periods into which Judaean history is divided (vol. 1, p. 159), some artificial shaping of the events may be suspected, as there was in the account of the Aramaean wars (above, p. 366).

The usual view of the age of Elijah is that it saw a contest between Yahweh and the cult of the Tyrian Baal (and Astarte). But later, even in the days of Zephaniah (i, 4), the name of Baal had not been eradicated, and close relations between Israel and Tyre, both earlier (in the days of David and Solomon), and later, would involve a fairly continuous influence of Phoenician religion. Indeed, the Phoenician and other altars attributed to Solomon are supposed to have lasted from his time until the days of Josiah's reforms (2 Kings xxiii, 13). None the less, the narratives undoubtedly represent some protest against Phoenicia.

In primitive thought the destructive drought of Elijah's age would be taken as a sign of divine displeasure, especially with a bad king; and this fact gives force to Elijah's championship of Yahweh's sovereignty against Ahab and Jezebel. According to Menander (cited by Josephus) there was a year's drought in Phoenicia, and it was removed only through the prayers of Ethbaal the priest-king. Now Ethbaal is no other than the father-in-law of Ahab himself, and it seems very probable that here we have no other than the Phoenician version of the event. But Carmel, itself the scene of Yahweh's victory over Baal, and the break of the drought, belonged at times to the province of Tyre. Elisha goes thither, even as Elijah stays near Sidon (1 Kings xvii, 9). Phoenicians and Israelites, like the later Jews and Egyptians, were not unacquainted with each other's history; and it is difficult to believe that the Phoenician and Israelite traditions are unrelated. So far from Menander's simple statement being the

Phoenician retort to the complex biblical traditions, it is more likely that he has preserved the older tradition. Instead of a one year's drought broken by the prayers of Ahab's father-in-law to Baal, the loyal Israelite knew of a three years' affliction removed by Yahweh; indeed, the part attributed to Elijah and his intense concentration upon the desired effect (1 Kings xviii, 42), really implies that Elijah, the servant of Yahweh, and not Ethbaal, the priest-king of Astarte, was the real rain-maker[1].

The age was one of religious and social evils. The northern alliance against Assyria, of which Israel was so valuable a member, must have weakened the land, and Assyria would have an interest in fomenting attacks upon Israel, utilizing, as was her wont, the tribes of the desert. And while Omri's victories over Moab had once proved the might of Yahweh, now Chemosh, the god of Moab, was showing himself the stronger, and traditions emphasize the lack of faith in Israel[2]. There were bloody reforms —subsequently to be denounced by the prophet Hosea (i, 4)— and the prominence of the Rechabites, Elijah's theophany at Horeb, together with the traditions of attacks from the south, point, as we have seen, to upheavals in which desert and, especially, southern influences were conspicuous. In due course, Elijah came to rank as the greatest personality next to Moses—both alike mysterious in their death—his age became, perhaps, the greatest landmark since the days of Mosaism.

Elijah's visit to the cave at Horeb (or Sinai) recalls that of Moses at Horeb[3], and just as Horeb (Sinai) was once the scene of a gathering of tribes about to invade the land of an effete civilization, so Elijah's visit is associated with great movements and sweeping changes which radically altered history. Accordingly, the events illustrate and supplement one another, though the extent of the movements in the age of Elijah can hardly be guessed. But if Mosaism is rightly interpreted as a new stage in the religion of Palestine (cf. vol. II, p. 404), this is no less true of the work of Elijah. The accounts of his age suggest a new religious enthusiasm of desert origin, they recall the stories of the sanguinary zeal of the Levites (Ex. xxxii); and it must be borne in mind that the account of the birth of Mosaism is, in its

[1] Elijah as a 'rain-maker' would find a parallel later in the godly Onias, whose daring prayers for rain and confident presumption perplexed the more humble-minded Rabbis not a little (see A. Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palest. Piety*, 1922, pp. 198, 221, 246).

[2] 2 Kings i, 3–6; cf. 2 Chron. xxi, 12 *sq.*

[3] 1 Kings xix, 9; cf. Ex. xxxiii, 22.

present form, much later than the age now under discussion. The actual events of the age of Elijah were nearer to the writers than those of the days of Moses, some five or more centuries earlier. Hence, not only are there important points of resemblance between the traditions of Moses and those of Elijah, not only do we find hints of a movement in the age of Jehu's rise which we can interpret in the light of the traditions of the Israelite conquest, but the traditions of the Elijah-age come down to us in sources older, to some extent, than those of the age of Moses.

Elijah ('Yah[weh] is God') became in tradition the one who was to prepare the way for the cataclysm which should usher in a new age. The theophany at Horeb foreshadows an age of blood and iron. Yet the course of events was not as heralded: Hazael of Damascus followed Jehu and we know nothing of the sword of Elisha (1 Kings xix, 17). Unless we acquiesce in the discrepancies, we may suppose that our varied narratives represent a few only of the particular traditions that came to prevail, and that there were others which ran along the lines of the message, and perhaps united Hazael, Jehu and Elisha against the old dynasties of Damascus and Samaria. It was an age to call forth the activities of prophets: the conflicts with Philistines—not to mention others—would not fail to leave their traditions; the age was a crowded one. Yet really little has survived, and we have no *independent* witness until we reach the middle of the eighth century (Amos, p. 379). While hints abound of movements and invasions, of desert influences, and puritanical and fierce reforms, the canonical history concentrates upon the earlier periods; it has no room for more than one great invasion, one great religious inauguration, even as we shall find that only one fall of Jerusalem could be allowed. All the great epoch-making changes are relegated to the past, and the continuity of the history seems to be maintained intact. On the other hand, the closer study of the years from the time of Ahab to the accession of Jehu enhances the fact that we have here a landmark in the history of Palestine. We can recognize the inauguration of a new stage through influences hostile to the civilization of the land. There are internal changes of a social and political nature, due to some extent to movements influenced by the desert, and analogous to those which we associate with the Israelite invasion, although the account of that event is later than the age now under discussion. The more decisive the changes that were made during these stormy years, the more difficult it becomes to estimate the records of the preceding ages, which in their present form date from a much later time; and it

is for this reason that the period is of such outstanding importance for our understanding of the biblical narratives. When properly understood it is a new starting-point, perhaps the most tangible clue to the social and political development of Israel that we have yet found in our survey.

III. THE DYNASTY OF JEHU

Among the states which profited by Israel's troubles was Moab, of whose king Mesha we possess a contemporary record discovered in 1868 at Dhībān (O.T. Dibon), four miles north of the Arnon. It is the oldest historical inscription written in the ancient north Semitic character, the most valuable monument of ancient Palestinian history, and its language and phraseology differ only slightly from Hebrew. The style of the inscription indicates that Moab was no rude land; the same could no doubt be said also of Edom, Ammon and other states. In it Mesha, a wealthy sheep-owner, who had been forced to pay a heavy tribute of wool to Ephraim (2 Kings iii, 4), tells how, through the help of his god Chemosh, he recovered his cities, particularly those north of the Arnon, and sacked the Israelite sanctuary at Nebo, devoting 7000 inhabitants to Ashtor-Chemosh. To commemorate his victory he built a 'high-place' to Chemosh in Ḳĕrēkhōh (the vocalization of all the names is uncertain), possibly a suburb of his city, like the Zion of Jerusalem. The inscription runs as follows[1]:

I am Mesha', son of Chĕmōsh[kān?], king of Moab, the Daibonite. My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I made this high-place for Chemosh in Ḳĕrēkhōh a [? high-place of sal]vation, because he had saved me from all assailants (?), and because he had let me see my pleasure upon all them that hated me (Ps. cxviii, 7). 'Omrī was king of Israel, and he afflicted (Ex. i, 11) Moab for many days, for Chemosh was being angry with his land (2 Kings xvii, 18). And his son (*i.e.* Ahab) succeeded him, and he also said, I will afflict Moab. In my days said he [thus], and I saw my pleasure on him and his house. And Israel perished with an everlasting destruction; now 'Omrī had taken possession of the [lan]d of Mēhdeba (Num. xxi, 30). And it (*i.e.* Israel) dwelt therein his days (viz. 12 years) and half the days of his son (or sons) 40 years; and Chemosh [res]tored it in my days. And I built Baal-Meōn (Josh. xiii, 17), and I made in it the reservoir (cf. Ecclus. l, 3, Heb. text); and I bui[lt] Ḳiryathen (Num. xxxii, 37). Now the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Aṭārōth (Num. xxxii, 34) from of old; and the king of Israel

[1] References are added to parallel O.T. words or usages. Words in brackets are partial or complete restorations. The full-stops correspond precisely to the dividing-lines in the original. The end of the inscription is mutilated.

built for himself 'Aṭārōth. And I warred against the city and seized it. And I slew all the people of the city, a gazing-stock (Nah. iii, 6) to Chemosh and to Moab. And I captured thence the altar-hearth ('Arēl, cf. Ez. xliii, 15) of Dawdoh (? its *numen*, cf. Is. xxix, 1), and I dragged it (2 Sam. xvii, 13) before Chemosh (cf. 'before Yahweh,' 1 Sam. xv, 33) in Ḳeriyyoth (Am. ii, 2). And I settled therein the men of Sheren (? 1 Chron. v, 16, Sharon) and the men of Makharath (?). And Chemosh said unto me, Go (cf. Josh. viii, 1), seize Nebō (Is. xv, 2) against Israel. And I went by night and warred against it from the break of dawn (cf. Is. lviii, 8) unto noon. And I seized it, and slew all of it, 7000 men and male sojourners (or lads), and women and female [sojourner]s (or lasses) and maidens (? slaves, Judg. v, 30). For to 'Ashtōr-Chĕmōsh had I devoted it (Deut. ii, 34, E.V. 'utterly destroyed'). And I took thence th[e vesse]ls of Yahweh (cf. Ex. xxxi, 7),[1] and I dragged them before Chemosh. Now the king of Israel had built Yahaṣ (Jahaz, Num. xxi, 23), and dwelt in it, when he warred against me. And Chemosh drove him out (Josh. xxiv, 18) from before me; and I took of Moab 200 men, all its chiefs (?? or poor ones). And I brought it (*i.e.* them) against Yahaṣ, and seized it, to add it unto Daibon. I built Ḳĕrēkhōh, the wall of the Woods (or Ye'ārīn) and the wall of the Mound (or 'Ōphel, 2 Chron. xxvii, 3). And I built its gates, and I built its towers. And I built the king's house (1 Kings xvi, 18) and I made the two (?) reser[voirs for wat]er in the mid[st] of the city. Now there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in Ḳĕrēkhōh; and I said to all the people, Make you every man a cistern in his house. And I cut out the cutting for Ḳĕrēkhōh with the prisoner[s of] Israel. And I built 'Arō'er, and I made the highway (Num. xx, 19) by the Arnōn. I built Beth-Bāmōth, for it was overthrown (1 Kings xviii, 30). I built Beṣer (Deut. iv, 43), for ruins (Mi. iii, 12) [had it become. And the chie]fs of Daibon were fifty (? or in battle array); for all Daibon was obedient (Is. xi, 14). And I reigned (?) (over) an hundred [chiefs?] in the cities (?) which I added to the land. And I built Mēhdeba (?), and Beth-Diblathen. And Beth-Baal-Meon; and I took thence the *nakad*-keepers (? cf. 2 Kings iii, 4, 'sheep-master'),... the sheep of the land. And as for Ḥoronēn, there dwelt therein...and Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Ḥoronēn (Jer. xlviii, 5). And I went [down...and] Chemosh [resto]red it in my days....

The inscription dates after the weakness of Israel, but whether it is just before or after the rise of Jehu it is difficult to determine. In 841 B.C. Jehu, together with Tyre and Sidon, paid tribute to Shalmaneser (p. 24). Jehu is called 'son of Omri,' an abbreviation of the fuller 'son (inhabitant) of Beth-Omri (*i.e.* Israel).' Hazael, who is called the 'son of a nobody,' was bearing the full weight of the Assyrian attack in 841, and in 837 lost only four cities. Tribute was then received from Tyre, Sidon and Byblus (Palestine is not mentioned), and an inscription found at Ashur records 'booty from the temple of the god Sher of Malakha,

[1] This is the earliest occurrence of the divine name in this spelling outside the O.T.

residence of Hazael of Damascus.' No doubt Damascus still had Ammon as an ally, and was a force not to be despised.

Through some unknown cause the two usurpers, Hazael and Jehu, who had ascended the throne together and in similar circumstances became bitter foes. 'In those days Yahweh began to *cut short* Israel' (some scholars prefer to read *loathe*); and Hazael smote them on both sides of the Jordan. Under Jehu's successor Jehoahaz (? 816 B.C.) Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad redoubled their efforts, and the coastal plain fell into their hands[1]. Ephraim's chariots and horsemen were almost wiped out, and in spite of a temporary relief by some 'deliverer' the land became like dust in the threshing. The Judaean annals agree in so far as they record that Hazael reached Gath, and only a prompt bribe by Joash saved Jerusalem[2]. Whatever happened, Judah, at all events, evidently suffered only slightly, and it is not improbable that the timely payment by Joash conveyed a hint to Damascus to concentrate upon Ephraim. Joash perished in a conspiracy and was succeeded by Amaziah, of whom it is recorded that he slew only the actual murderers of his father. Whatever internal changes lay behind the sparse notices, it is clear that Amaziah was strong enough to recover Edom, and for a time Judah was in a much better position than Ephraim[3].

In Phoenicia, internal strife in the reign of Pygmalion drove away Elissa (Dido), and she founded Carthage (? 822 B.C.) on the site of an earlier trading-station (Cambē or Caccabē); see p. 642. In Ephraim Amaziah's contemporary, with the familiar name of Jehoash (Joash), had some successes against Damascus. The last scene in the life of Elisha tells of the king's visit to him who had been the 'chariots and horsemen of Israel,' words to be illustrated by stories of his achievements now placed before the rise of the Jehu-dynasty (*e.g.* 2 Kings vi, 8–23). With his own wonder-working hands upon the king's hands the dying prophet bade Joash shoot Yahweh's arrow of victory over Syria and smite the ground with the arrows. Thrice only he smote, and only three victories were granted him; had he smitten five or six times, the enemy would have been destroyed (*ib.* xiii, 14–19).

So died the man who raised up the dynasties of Jehu and Hazael, and foresaw the excesses that Damascus would perpetrate. And in truth the brief details of invasion and unforgettable cruelty, still fresh in the days of Amos (i, 3, 13), indicate situations

[1] 2 Kings x, 32, xiii, 22 (on which see the commentaries).

[2] The Chronicler has a curious independent story, 2 Chron. xxiv, 23 *sq.*

[3] 2 Chron. xxv, 6, 13, hint at Judaean control over part of south Ephraim.

which can be interpreted by those stories of Elisha's high position at court and of his powerful aid which now swell the present account of the age of Elijah. For to these later years does Micaiah's vision of the distress of Israel best apply (1 Kings xxii, 17). It was Joash who defeated Ben-Hadad and regained the territory which his father had lost (2 Kings xiii, 25); and here belong most suitably the defeat of Damascus and the treaty referred to in 1 Kings xx, 34 (anonymous). With Elisha's wrath at the failure of Joash to press his opportunity accords the anonymous denunciation of the unnamed king who let slip out of his hand the man whom Yahweh had devoted to destruction (*ib.* 35 *sqq.*). It required little insight to perceive that it was folly to rely upon the temporary weakness of a Damascus which could so valiantly withstand Assyria (note the warning in 1 Kings xx, 22), but events were soon to prove that Damascus, though now the foe of Ephraim, was a buffer the removal of which would open the road for Assyria to Palestine and Egypt.

The western states could never combine for long. As we learn from the very difficult but valuable north Semitic inscription of Kilamu king of Ya'di (pronunciation of both unknown), they were ready to 'hire the king of Assyria' (cf. the 'hired razor,' Is. vii, 20) one against the other, and Assyria was always prompt to suspect and to counter hostile alliances.

Some further light is thrown upon the period by an interesting stele found in north Syria in 1903. A usurper with the good Semitic name of Zakir or Zakar (cf. the names Zaccur, Zechariah), became king of Hamath and La'ash (? near Damascus), and erected this stele to his god El-wad (?) to commemorate his victories over a confederation of Aramaean kings led by Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram[1]. Here are kings of Ḳue (cf. p. 357, n.), 'Amḳ (Coele-Syria, or perhaps Antioch), Gurgum, Sam'āl (near the Gulf of Alexandretta), Malaz (Malatia), and some ten others. 'All these kings laid siege against Ḥazrak (Ḥadrach, Zech. ix, 1), and raised a wall higher than the wall of Ḥazrak, and made a trench deeper than its trench (cf. 2 Sam. xx, 15). And I lifted up my hands (cf. Ps. xxviii, 2) to the Baal of Heaven, and he answered me, and spoke to me by the hand of seers and calculators (?).... Fear not (the word in Job xxxii, 6), for I have made [thee k]ing, [and I will st]and by thee, and I will deliver thee from all [these ki]ngs who have made [siege-works against thee]....' The king of Hamath goes on to record

[1] That is, Ben-Hadad; cf. 2 Kings xiii, 3, and for the league, the thirty-two kings of Ben-Hadad in 1 Kings xx, 1.

his work of fortification and temple-building, and concludes in the familiar manner with an imprecation on all who removed the stele. He, it would seem, was supporting the Assyrian cause, and it is possible that his victory over Bar-Hadad's coalition—which, of course, would relieve the pressure upon Ephraim—was facilitated by Adad-nirari's campaign in the west (*c.* 805–2 B.C.). At all events, the king of Damascus, Mari' (perhaps a title, 'the lord,' or else the son of Bar-Hadad), was besieged, and the Assyrian king records the subjugation of the lands of Ḥatti and Amor (cf. p. 28 *sq.*). It was on this occasion that Adad-nirari received the tribute of Tyre and Sidon, the 'land of Omri,' Edom and 'Palashtu' (Philistia). We have here the first independent reference to the Philistine coastland as a political unit. Both it and Edom (also the first occurrence) are autonomous. But the continued absence of Judah is as striking as it was in the alliance against Shalmaneser at Ḳarḳar (p. 363). Was it included as a vassal of Beth-Omri? or was Judah, like Hamath under Zakar, pro-Assyrian, and, it may be, profiting from the patronage of Assyria? Whatever be the explanation, Ephraim, under Jehoahaz, had found a 'deliverer' (2 Kings xiii, 5)—possibly in the defeat of Damascus by Zakar, or in the attack of Adad-nirari (whose name means 'Adad is a help') upon Damascus: the chronology does not permit a certain decision.

Amaziah of Judah, flushed after his victories over Edom, challenged the Ephraimite Joash and at once received a typically Oriental taunt: the thistle was advised to refrain from meddling with the cedar of Lebanon (2 Kings xi, 8 *sqq.*). The two met at Beth-shemesh (on the Jerusalem-Jaffa road), and Amaziah was captured. Marching to Jerusalem, Joash broke down part of the northern wall, looted palace and temple, and carried off hostages. The treatment is a most significant hint of the embittered relations which had evidently preceded. Judah had been practically a vassal of Ephraim during the Omri dynasty; it had escaped the Aramaean wars. It may be that Jehu himself on his accession had sought and failed to maintain Ephraim's superiority over the south, and that there had been friction: the relations between Ephraim and Judah are obscure. Or it may be that Judah, threatened by Ephraim, as once before in the days of Asa, had bribed the Aramaeans to attack the north. All that can be said is that in some way Jerusalem had come to merit drastic reprisals, and that Ephraim won the day. Once more we are unable to trace the events. A conspiracy in Jerusalem forced Amaziah to flee to Lachish (Tell el-Ḥesy, about 35 miles south-

west of Jerusalem), where he was followed and slain; but the chronological notices leave it uncertain whether Amaziah reigned fifteen years after the death of Joash, or whether Joash's son, the great king Jeroboam II, had reigned twenty-seven of his forty years before Azariah (or Uzziah), the no less famous son of Amaziah, became king of Judah as the popular choice. It would seem that for a time Judah had no king of its own. Ephraim in its turn had witnessed dark days. Joash of Ephraim had gained his three victories over Damascus, he had recovered his cities (2 Kings xiii, 25); but in due course the Aramaeans returned to the attack. Then, when Ephraim almost succumbed, 'Yahweh saw the very bitter affliction of Israel'; 'there was no helper for Israel,' but Yahweh did not intend to blot out the name of Israel from beneath the heavens, so he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam II (xiv, 26 *sq.*). Jeroboam was the real deliverer of Ephraim, and, whatever the true relations were between north and south, for some years, at least (after *c.* 790–785 B.C.), he and Uzziah were evidently contemporary, and the fortunes of the two kingdoms were at their highest.

The circumstances that permitted this new prominence of Israel can perhaps be conjectured. During these years Shalmaneser IV had been endeavouring to subdue Damascus (773) and Ḥatarika (Ḥazrak, 773–2); while his successor, Ashurdan III, warred against both the latter (765 and 755), and the Phoenician Arpad (754). The great protagonists were Assyria, on the one hand, and, on the other, the old heirs of Hittite or Mitannian tradition whose centre was in Urarṭu (O.T. Ararat) or Vān (see pp. 29 *sqq.*). Syria was always exposed to influences from Asia Minor and Armenia, and significant political developments outside her doors usually found an echo within. Ambitious plans were being developed by Urarṭu against a weak Assyria (see pp. 30, 176); and for the key to some of the movements in Syria and Palestine we have to look to the north. Egypt was probably unable to play any controlling part in Palestine and Syria[1]. It is possible that it was the Assyrian campaigns in the north that relieved Israel and first enabled Jeroboam to 'restore the boundary of Israel' from the 'approach to Hamath' (probably the pass between Ḥermon and Lebanon) to the Dead

[1] It is uncertain whether the reference to kings of Hittites and Egyptians in 2 Kings vii, 6 is based on a recollection of the times of the Egypto-Hittite politics of the XIXth Egyptian Dynasty, or relates to the sub-Hittite states and the Muṣri already mentioned above (p. 357 n.); on the whole the latter is more probable, cf. p. 134. See, however, p. 262.

Sea (2 Kings xiv, 25). The possession of Lo-debar (as though 'a thing of nought') and of Karnaim ('horns'), in Gilead beyond the Jordan, is perhaps punningly alluded to by Amos (vi, 13). In Judah Uzziah's reign was not less brilliant. The Edomite port on the Gulf of Akabah was recovered, and the Chronicler, consistently with the situation, tells of fights against Philistines, Arabians, and the people of Ma'in (south-east of Petra). The coast-land was secured, and tribute received even from Ammon: Moab, however, is not mentioned. Much is made of Uzziah's military plans, his fortifications and his strengthening of the (? western) defences of Jerusalem. Under the two kings the Hebrew monarchies extended to their utmost limits—thanks, mainly, to the weakness of Assyria—but upon the all-important question of the relation between them we have no information.

Jeroboam's restoration of Israel is associated with the activity of the prophet Jonah of Zebulun, a district bordering upon the Aramaeans (2 Kings xiv, 25). The canonical book of this name is of a man divinely commissioned to denounce Nineveh for its sins; it is now recognized as a quite late Midrash or didactic story. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that it is based on some genuine tradition of interrelations between Ephraim and Nineveh. In any event, the age which we are now approaching was one when relations between Israel and Assyria became closer than ever they had been before. It is difficult to understand the statement that Jeroboam 'recovered Damascus and Hamath (? which had belonged) to Judah for (or in?) Israel' (2 Kings xiv, 28). We have no evidence that Judah under Uzziah (Azariah) had territory so far north. It is true that the Assyrian records refer to a certain Az-ri-ya-u (Azariah) of Ya'udi, who headed a Hamathite league against Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C. But there are serious chronological and other difficulties in connecting the two, although relations between Judah and Hamath were traditional (David in 2 Sam. viii, 9 *sqq.*), and some kings of Hamath bear names of 'Hebrew' type (Zakar) or compounded with the divine name Yahweh ('Joram' in 2 Sam. *l.c.* and perhaps Yaubidi, below)[1]. All that can safely be said, however, is that the successes of both Jeroboam and Uzziah were no doubt bound up with the far greater political movements in which were involved

[1] See further, p. 36 *sq.*, and on Yaubidi see p. 57 n. If the two groups of names are distinct, 'a somewhat parallel caprice of similarity, which certainly led to a wrong identification, is afforded by Menahem king of Israel (and therefore of Samaria) in 738 B.C., and Menahem king of Samsi-muruna in 701 B.C.' (G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, p. lxx).

Assyria, Urarṭu and Damascus; and it is significant that the contemporary prophet Amos hints ominously at the part Assyria was about to take in changing the face of Ephraimite history. For a new Assyria was arising under Tiglath-pileser (pp. 31 *sqq.*, 176).

Amos is the first of the great prophets whose writings have survived. They are our earliest picture of internal conditions. Amos himself was a shepherd, also a 'dresser' (nipper) of sycamore figs; and his words are dated two years before a certain earthquake which long continued to be remembered (Zech. xiv, 5). An eclipse which he is supposed to have seen (Am. viii, 9) has been calculated to be that of June 15, 763. Like many a rude Arab orator of later days, he possessed a perfect command of language, a breadth of view, and a wealth of passion. Yet his Hebrew is simpler and easier than that of most prophets. He was proud that he was no professional prophet: Yahweh, who declares his words unto his servants, had called him, and who could keep silent? Damascus and Ammon had been guilty of the barbarities of Oriental warfare; Gaza, Ashdod and other Philistine cities had carried off whole communities, and sold them as slaves. Tyre had forgotten its alliance with its 'brother' Israel, and had handed over people to Edom—the trade extends along the coastal plain into south Palestine and north Arabia. Edom also had pitilessly pursued his own 'brother' with the sword, and Moab had perpetrated what was a gross indignity upon the bones of the king of Edom. 'For three transgressions and for four, I will not turn *it* back'—and wise men knew what was impending. Judah and Israel, in their turn, if not responsible for such conspicuous offences as those pilloried, were no less guilty; and their religious, moral and social evils were bringing upon them the inevitable penalty. A nation—it is not explicitly named—was about to afflict Israel (the northern kingdom) from the approach to Hamath unto the Dead Sea (vi, 14). So Amos describes the careless indifference of the people, the serene foolish confidence for which there was no justification, and the unwarrantable reliance upon the national religion. It was his mission to proclaim that Yahweh was the god of other peoples besides Israel, and Israel's conviction of a special relationship with this god only involved a higher standard by which she would be judged. The stern reformer saw the rottenness beneath the religious, social and political brilliance of the age, and the shepherd of Tekoa is an epoch-maker who stands at the head of the succession of prophets who made Israel unique. See chap. xx.

IV. ASSYRIA AND THE FALL OF EPHRAIM

With the death of Jeroboam (? 745 B.C.) the northern kingdom entered upon its last years. His son Zechariah was slain six months later by Shallum of Jabesh, and the dynasty of Jehu perished, as it began, in blood, like that of Omri before it. Only a month and Shallum was slain by Menaḥem, perhaps a Gadite, who after ferocious fighting made himself king. The internal situation, as manifested in the writings of the prophet Hosea, was desperate: 'the bloodshed of Jezreel' was indeed visited upon the house of Jehu (Hos. i, 4). What part was played in these fierce conflicts by Judah, then under Uzziah's little-known son Jotham, cannot be conjectured, though the Chronicler knows of some, perhaps temporary, conquest of Ammon (2 Chron. xxvii, 5 *sq.*). A strong anti-Assyrian movement in Syria, engineered by Urarṭu, was crushed by Tiglath-pileser, who, after taking Arpad, reached the Mediterranean (p. 37). Tribute was received from Ḳue, Carchemish, Damascus (under Raṣun, O.T. Rezin), Tyre (under Ḥirām), Byblus, and the Arabs of the Syrian desert. Menaḥem of Samaria, who is also in the list, gained the recognition of Assyria by the payment of 1000 talents of silver which he raised by levying a payment of fifty shekels upon all the better-class inhabitants, who, accordingly, must have numbered about 60,000[1]. Ten years later his son Peḳaḥiah, of whom nothing is known, was slain by Peḳaḥ ben Remaliah in what was apparently a Gileadite and anti-Assyrian revolt, inspired, it may be, by Urarṭu (p. 38 *sq.*). (On chronological and other grounds it is not unlikely that through some misunderstanding the two kings Peḳaḥiah and Peḳaḥ have arisen out of one.)

When at last we hear something of Judah we find ourselves in the midst of fierce and far-reaching conflicts. Peḳaḥ and Rezon had joined forces in a great attack upon Judah, where Jotham was being succeeded by Ahaz (or Jehoahaz, as the Assyrian form suggests). Judah was hard-pressed. Ammon was presumably hostile; and in the south Edom recovered the port of Elath, while Philistia attacked the Judaean lowlands (2 Chron. xxviii,

[1] 2 Kings xv, 19 *sq.*, see p. 37. Tiglath-pileser is also known by his Babylonian name Pul (p. 32)—1 Chron. v, 26 makes two persons. Hiram is named upon a fragment of a choice ceremonial bronze bowl dedicated by . . . ṭb (? Aḥiṭub), governor (*sōkēn*) of 'Çarthage' (Neapolis, Citium), servant of Hiram king of the Sidonians, to 'the Baal of Lebanon, his lord.' Among the tributaries was Panammu of Sam'āl, now well known for his inscriptions from Zenjirli in north Syria (see, on these, pp. 36, 142 *sqq.*, 157).

17). These are suggestive indications of Judah's earlier strength under Uzziah. It is strange that Egypt is not mentioned. The Syro-Ephraimite army marched against Jerusalem, and the Chronicler records a great slaughter and the removal to Damascus of large bodies of captives. The scene is illumined by the prophet Isaiah (vii, 1–17). The house of David, threatened by the enemy, was seized with panic, and the hearts of the people shook like the trees of the forest before the wind. With hopeful words the court-prophet Isaiah sought to encourage Judah, while expressing his contempt for the weak Peḳaḥ and Rezon, the 'fag-ends of smoking logs.' With one of his characteristic ringing utterances he called to confidence in Yahweh: 'if ye will not confide ye shall not abide' (Wade's rendering), or, 'if ye have not faith ye cannot hath staith' (G. A. Smith). The timidity of Ahaz gave rise to the famous 'sign,' still a subject of discussion: a young woman should bear a son, and give him the significant name, Immanuel ('God with us'); the babe would not lack good food, and in a few years' time the land of the two kings of whom Ahaz was in deadly fear would itself be desolate. The doom of Damascus and Samaria was imminent, and, as another 'sign,' it was declared that Isaiah would have a son who should be called 'Hasten-booty, Speed-spoil,' for before he was old enough to recognize his parents, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria would be carried off by the king of Assyria (Is. viii; cf. also xvii).

But Ahaz had confidence neither in his own power nor in Yahweh, and with gifts he is said to have bought the help which Assyria in any case would have been only too ready to offer. Accordingly, Tiglath-pileser came to him, though the consequences were hardly those that he had anticipated. Practically all the western states were up in arms against Assyria, but their efforts were in vain. Syria and Phoenicia were deliberately ravaged (p. 39). Damascus fell in 732 B.C., and Ephraim's fate was sealed. The O.T. knows of the depopulation of north Palestine (Kadesh, Galilee, Naphtali), and the deportation of men of Reuben, Gad, and other Trans-Jordanic tribes. The Assyrian records name, *inter alia*, the old cities of Merom, by Lake Huleh, and Khinnatun (vol. II, p. 313). Samsi, queen of Aribi ('Arabia,' or the Syrian desert), who had broken her oath by Shamash, and the tribes of Bir'a, Badan (Pliny's Badanatha), Masa, and Tema (in north Arabia), Ḥatti (hardly the neo-Hittites), Sabaeans and Idiba'il (Adbeel, Gen. xxv, 13), brought their tribute of gold and silver, camels and perfumes. Ḥanun king of Gaza fled to Muṣri (on the term see below, p. 383 *sq.*), and

Tiglath-pileser carried off his possessions and his gods. At Askalon the rebel Mitinti was replaced by his brother Rukibtu, and fifteen of his cities were handed over to Idibi'il of 'Arabia,' who was appointed to watch Muṣri (p. 39). This prominence of desert tribes of north Arabia and the Syrian desert is one of the most striking facts of the age.

Meanwhile, Samaria was in a state of anarchy; the anti-Assyrian Peḳaḥ was slain by Hoshea ben Elah—Tiglath-pileser claims the responsibility for the deed—and a heavy tribute was imposed upon him. Among other tributaries were Shalaman of Moab, Sanip of Ammon, Kaush-melek of Edom and Ḥanun of Gaza. Ahaz himself was now a *protégé* of Assyria, and the almost contemporary inscriptions of the House of Panammu in north Syria usefully illustrate the ordinary relations between a loyal vassal and his suzerain. Here Bar-rekub tells how his father Panammu 'laid hold of the skirt of his lord' (cf. Zech. viii, 23), and 'ran at the wheel' of the king (cf. 1 Kings i, 5) in his campaigns east and west. When he died at Damascus the whole camp bewailed him, and 'because of the loyalty (*ṣedeḳ*) of my father and my own loyalty, my lord Rekub-el (*i.e.* the god) and my lord Tiglath-pileser ṣeated me on the throne of my father.' Ahaz, too, must go to Damascus to pay homage, and he sent back a copy of the altar there, which was duly erected in the temple of Jerusalem, the efficacy of the old brazen altar being ceremonially transferred to it. The Chronicler expresses the interesting opinion that Ahaz sacrificed to the gods of Damascus because they were the stronger[1]; but, although Syrian gods were perhaps taken into Ephraim subsequently (2 Kings xvii, 30 *sq.*), it is more likely that subordination to Assyria involved some tangible recognition of Assyrian rather than of Syrian religion. The conquests of Assyria spread the cult of the national god Ashur, and this would naturally involve the introduction of Assyrian gods (as happened in the case of the rebellious city of Gaza), or some intelligible coordination of the gods of the suzerain and of the vassal states.

Damascus fell in 732 B.C. Rezon was slain and the chief of the people deported (to Ḳir, 2 Kings xvi, 9). Tyre capitulated (under Metenna) and paid 150 talents of gold, though its next king, the powerful Luli (Elulaeus), joined in a fresh intrigue against Assyria. The downfall of Syria removed the ancient bulwark against aggression from the north, but Ephraim did not permit itself to be seriously disturbed. The bricks had fallen, but they would use hewn stone; the sycamores were cut down, but they would replace them by cedars (Is. ix, 8–x, 4). The careless

[1] 2 Chron. xxviii, 23; cf. the sentiment in 2 Kings xviii, 33 *sqq.*

SELECT INDEX TO NAMES

The alphabetical arrangement ignores the prefixes baḥr (lake), dēr (monastery), J. (Jebel, mountain), kal'at (castle), kh. (khirbet, ruin), N. (Nahr, river), T. (Tell, mound), umm (mother), w. (wādi, torrent-valley) and the Arabic article el (ed-, esh-, ez-, etc.).

Abil, B 7 and C 5
Accho, A 7
Achzib, A 6
Acre, A 7
'Adlūn, A 6
Adonis, B 4
'Akka, A 7
Amathus, B 7
N. Amrīt, B 3
Antarados, B 3
Antilibanus. *See* esh-Sharḳi
Apamea, D 2
T. Arḳā, B 3
Arvad, B 3
N. el-'Āṣī, C 4
umm el-'Awāmid, A 6

Ba'albek, C 5
Bāniās, B 2
Bāniyās, B 6
w. Barada, C 5
el-Bārūk, B 5
el-Bātrūn, B 4
Beirūt (Berytus), A 5
Bostrenus, AB 5
Botrys, B 4
el-Buḳā', BC 5
Byblus, B 4

Caesarea Paneas, B 6
Mt Carmel, A 7

Damascus, C 5, 6
N. ed-Dāmūr, A 5
Dan, B 6
Dor, A 7

Ecdippa, A 6
Eleutherus, B 3
Epiphania, D 2

el-Fījeh, C 5

Gabala, B 2
Gadara, B 7
Galilee, Sea of, B 7
Gebal, B 4

Ḥalbūn, C 5
Hamāth, D 2
N. el-Ḥāṣbānī, B 6
Heliopolis, C 5
Hemesa, D 3
Hermon, B 6
Ḥomṣ, D 3
el-Ḥūleh, B 6

N. Ibrāhīm, B 4

Jebeil, B 4
Jebla, B 2
Jordan, B 6, 7
w. el-Jōz, B 4
Judeideh, C 5

Kadesh, A 6
T. el-Ḳādi, B 6
dēr el-Ḳal'a, B 5
J. Kalamūn, C 5
Ḳānāh, A 6
N. el-Kāsimiyeh, A 6
N. el-Kebīr, B 3
N. el-Kelb, B 5
umm Kēs, B 7
J. Kuneiseh, B 5

Laodicea, B 1
Larissa, D 2
Lebanon, BC 4, 5
el-Lejā, CD 6, 7
N. Litānī, B 5
Lycus, B 5

J. Makmal, C 4
Ma'lūlā, D 5
Marathus, B 3
el-Mīnā, B 4
Ḳal'at el-Muḍīḳ, D 2
N. el-Muḳaṭṭa', A 7
el-Muzeirīb, C 7

rās en-Nāḳura, A 6
Nazareth, A 7
J. Nīḥā, B 5
J. Nuṣairīyeh, C 1–3
W. en-Nusūr, C 4

Ornithopolis, A 6
Orontes, CD 3, 4
Orthosia, B 3

Paltos, B 2
Ptolemais, A 7

Riblah (not marked; mod. Ribleh is *c.* 35 m. N.N.E. of Ba'albek)
J. Rīḥān, B 5, 6

Ṣadad, D 4
Ṣaidā, A 5
Samakh, B 7
J. Sannīn, B 5
Sarepta, A 6
L. Semachonitis, B 6
J. Shakīf, C 5
J. esh-Sharḳi (Antilibanus), CD 4, 5
J. esh-Sheikh, B 6
J. esh-Shōmariyyeh, D 3
Sidon, A 5
Simyra, B 3
Ṣūr, A 6

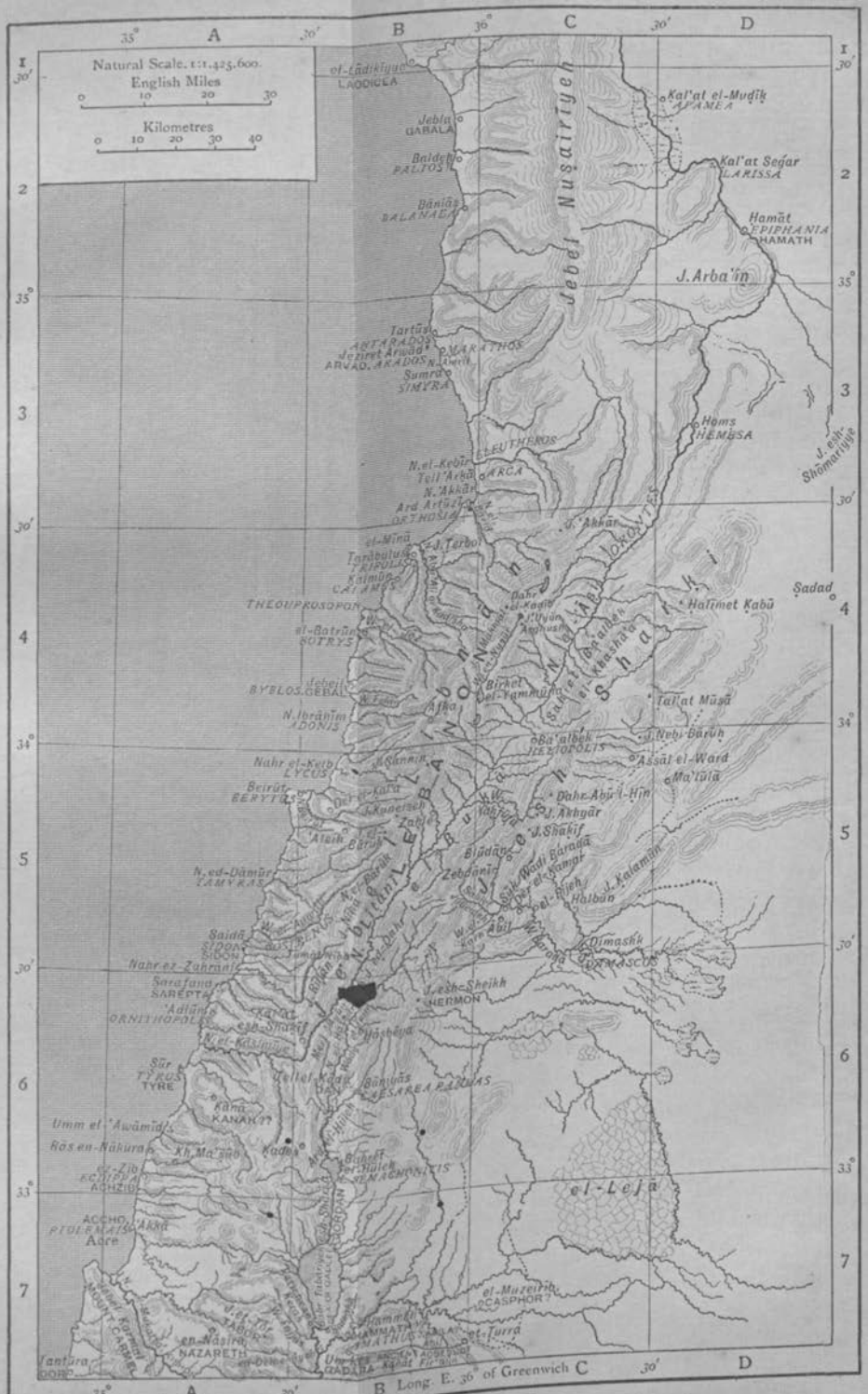
baḥr Tabarīyeh, B 7
Tabor, A 7
Tamyras, A 5
Tanṭūra, A 7
Taricheae, B 7
Ṭarṭūs, B 3
Theouprosōpon, B 4
Tripolis, B 4
Tyre, A 6

J. 'uyūn Arghush, C 4

Assāl el-Ward, D 5

w. Yaḥfūfa, C 5

Zaḥleh, B 5
N. ez-Zahrāni, A 5
Zebdānī, C 5
ez-Zīb, A 6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Jebla
GABALA
Baidha
PALTOS
Banias
BALANEA
Tartus
ANTARADOS
Jezirat Arwad
ARVAD, AKADOS
Sumrata
SIMYRA
N. el-Kebir
Tell 'Arka
ARCA
N. 'Akkar
Ard Artuz
ORTHOSIA
el-Mina
J. Tarbol
Tarabulus
TRIPOLI
Kaimun
CAIAMUS
THEOUPROSOPON
el-Batrun
BOTRYS
Jebeil
BYBLOS, GEBAL
N. Ibrahim
ADONIS
Nahr el-Kelb
LYCUS
Beirut
BERYTUS
Alaih
Baruk
N. ed-Damur
TAMYRAS
Saida
SIDON
Nahr ez-Zahrani
Sarafand
SAREPTA
'Adlun
ORNITHOPOLIS
Sur
TYRUS
TYRE
Umm el 'Awamid
Ras en-Nakura
Ez-Zib
ECHZIB
ACCHO
PTOLEMAIS
'Akka
Acre
Nahr Naaman
Tantura
DORA
en-Nasira
NAZARETH
Jebel Nusairiyeh
Kal'at el-Mudik
APAMEA
Kal'at Segar
LARISSA
Hamat
EPIPHANIA
HAMATH
J. Arba'in
Homs
EMESA
J. esh-Shomariyya
EL-LEUTHEROS
J. Akkar
ANTI-LIBANUS
Hermet Kabu
Sadad
Tal'at Musa
Nebi Baruh
Ba'albek
HELIOPOLIS
Assal el-Ward
Ma'tula
Dahr Abu 'l-Hin
J. Akhdar
J. Shakif
Zebdani
Wadi Barada
Abila
Dimashk
DAMASCUS
J. esh-Sheikh
HERMON
Banias
CAESAREA PANIAS
Hasbeiya
Tell el-Kadi
DAN
Kana
KANAH?
Kadesh
Bahret el-Huleh
MEROM
MEROM?
el-Leja
el-Muzeiriba
CASPHOR?
Hammam
HAMMATH
Tiberias
et-Turra
Umm el Kanatir
GADARA
Nahr Fir'aun
Long. E. 36° of Greenwich
A
B
C
D

land was rent into two factions; without stability or policy, it was sending 'love-gifts' to secure alliances, and vacillating between Egypt and Assyria—like a 'foolish dove' (Hos. v, 13, vii, 11, xii, 1). In 727 B.C. a change on the Assyrian throne gave the signal for open revolt. Hoshea threw off allegiance and is said to have carried on a secret intrigue with So, or rather, Seve, king of Mizraim (2 Kings xvii, 4; see, however, p. 275 *sq.*). After, perhaps, a preliminary campaign against Tyre, Shalmaneser came down and besieged the defaulter. The order of events is not quite clear (pp. 42, 274 *sq.*); but the actual fall of Samaria was achieved by Sargon (722 B.C.), who deported 27,290 people and placed the land under an Assyrian officer, the tribute formerly paid by Hoshea being reimposed. Thus the northern kingdom came to an end. Yet another widespread revolt broke out in 720 B.C. In it participated Ilu-bi'di (or Yau-bi'di) of Hamath, the kings of Damascus, the coastland and Arabia, and Sib'e (Seve) of Muṣri. Two decisive battles were fought: one in the north, at Ḳarḳar, already famous for the battle of 853, the other at Raphia, on the southern border, south of Gaza. Ḥanun of Gaza, who had again rebelled, was captured, but Sib'e escaped. Tribute of gold, camels and horses was received from Piru (? the Pharaoh) of Muṣri, Samsi queen of 'Arabia,' and It'amar the Sabaean. Unrest, however, continued among the desert tribes, and a few years later, in 715, Sargon, possibly in order to secure the southern trade-routes, defeated and deported to the 'House of Omri' (Ephraim) tribes of Tamud (Thamud), Ibadid, Marsiman, Khayapa (the Midianite 'Ēphah, Gen. xxv, 4), and the 'distant Arabs' of the desert (pp. 57 *sq.*, 274 *sqq.*).

As the northern states gradually decreased in power, the bedouin tribes and the peoples of Arabia proper were gaining political importance. It is the distinctive feature of the period, and it has brought with it the problem of the precise application of the term Mizraim (Heb. Miṣrayim, Ass. Muṣri), which is usually rendered 'Egypt.' But could Egypt proper play the part ascribed to her? She was not the powerful Egypt of old, nor was she so influential as subsequently under the Saïte dynasty. Would a sheikh of 'Arabia' (viz. Idibi'il) be naturally appointed to watch her? The prominence of the Ḍelta, the political importance of Edom (at times, however, unaccountably absent), and the various references to 'Arabs,' Sabaeans, etc., allow us to conclude that, in any case, there would be close interrelations between Egypt proper and north Arabia. Again, the fact that Hagar (cf. the Arab Hagarenes), the 'mother' of Ishmaelite tribes, is called an 'Egyptian' (Gen. xvi, 1)—not to mention other data—makes it

entirely probable that the name Mizraim (Muṣri) could and did extend eastwards at least to the south of Palestine, just as, centuries later, the Delta had an 'Arabian' nome. Egyptian influence easily flowed eastward, and a natural eastern border runs from the Wadi el-Arish (the 'River of Egypt') to the Gulf of Akabah. Hence, although the opinion of scholars is definitely opposed to far-reaching speculations of an independent Mizraim, as a political unit, in north Arabia, the theory of a non-Egyptian Mizraim, or Muṣri, cannot be definitely rejected[1].

Besides the growing power of the desert and Arabian tribes, the fact that Sargon settled some of them in the land of Samaria is of capital importance. It meant the entry of a purer, fresher stock, with desert and nomadic ideas, into a land of old, and—to judge from the prophets—of decadent civilization. These tribes would, of course, have their own traditions, and their own views of the circumstances which now enabled them—we may suppose—to possess cities they had not built and vineyards they had not planted (cf. Deut. vi, 10 *sq.*, etc.). If it could be said that Sargon's god had brought them there, the god Ashur was no mean one (see p. 90 *sq.*). Indeed, when Sennacherib claims to have been sent against Judah by Yahweh (2 Kings xviii, 25), it is easy to see how the new emigrants might even be led to ascribe their presence to Yahweh himself. Whatever may have happened more than a century earlier in the age of Elijah (p. 370 *sq.*), many of the vicissitudes which we commonly associate with the entry of Israelite tribes from the desert would again occur at this period, and the recollection of these later events would naturally be more lively than that of the invasion of Israel which happened many centuries before. Moreover, not only is this the second great recognizable landmark in the internal history of the land, but we are now entering a period of unparalleled political and social disintegration. In Syria and Palestine Sargon, it is said, deported Israelites to Assyria, Ḥalaḥ (? near Ḥarran), Gozan (near Nisibis) and Media (2 Kings xvii, 6). Men of Babylonia, Assyria and Urarṭu had been settled in Syria; and into Samaria itself there were introduced at one time or another, besides the desert tribes mentioned above, communities from Cuthah, Babylonia, Sippar

[1] The theory itself was first foreshadowed by C. T. Beke in 1834 (*Origines Biblicae*, p. 167, etc.). It was restated independently and on wholly new lines by Hugo Winckler (1893), see articles 'Mizraim' in *E.Bi.*, *E.Brit.*, and H. W. Hogg, *E.Bi.* col. 4529, n. 5. The Mizraim (Muṣri) to the north of Syria is, of course, quite distinct (p. 357 n.). The word may be originally merely an appellative, 'boundary,' 'territory.'

(or Sibraim), Susa and Elam (2 Kings xvii, 24; Ezr. iv, 2, 9 *sq.*). A priest of Bethel, the old rival city of Jerusalem, was indeed sent back to inculcate the worship of Yahweh; but new gods were introduced, with mixed cults of Babylonian and Syrian origin[1]. Deportation did not necessarily mean captivity; to an oppressed and impoverished people it might hold out hopes of more food (2 Kings xviii, 32). It was a deliberate policy for the purpose of breaking up old alliances, of introducing strangers (who in some cases would have Assyrian sympathies), and of inaugurating new conditions more favourable to Assyrian ambitions of empire. (On the policy, see p. 41 *sq.*) It is difficult to estimate adequately the significance of this dislocation; but it at least involved a destruction of religious, social and political bonds, more drastic than any that had preceded. No doubt the Assyrian conquests only hastened the end of decaying Semitic states; but the old conditions were swept away, old landmarks disappeared, old local and national feelings were dissolved. Buffer states were destroyed, the fall of Aramaean kingdoms weakened Ephraim, and her fall exposed Judah; the decline of Urarṭu opened the road to Scythian and other hordes. New situations began to arise—Media, for example, was now being born. The age in which we now find ourselves marks a decisive break between the old order and the new: the old Egypto-Semitic world is dying, and the stage is being prepared for the dawn of the Persian and Greek world. (Cf. also p. 43.)

While the external and contemporary evidence compels us to regard the period as one of vital importance for subsequent history, its real significance could hardly have been recognized had we been confined to the pages of the Old Testament. This is one of the most conspicuous contributions of the monuments to the interpretation of Ancient History[2]. The prophets, it is true, had seen old age creeping over Ephraim; if her downfall was inevitable, haply Judah might take warning (Is. xxviii). The fate of Samaria is treated by the later historians as the fruits of the original schism of Jeroboam I, as the penalty for apostasy from Yahweh, or for disobedience to the law of Moses. All the northern tribes, it was believed, had been carried off—the enquiry into their fate has

[1] See 2 Kings xvii, 30 *sq.*, details often uncertain.

[2] A certain cultural deterioration which has been observed in the course of excavation in Palestine, and variously attributed to the entrance of rude Israelite tribes, or to a native independence and simplicity of art after the monarchy, may on independent archaeological grounds be better ascribed to this period of disintegration (see *Expositor*, 1909, August, p. 107).

been one of the curiosities of learned and other research; it has been forgotten that they were probably soon swallowed up in their new homes. Yet, in spite of the deportation of Israel to Assyria and elsewhere (2 Kings xvii, 23, xviii, 11), the old territorial and tribal names would neither be removed, nor would they disappear from memory at once. The old names would have a new content. The entry of colonists might make a break in the continuity of tradition, yet there could be intermarriage (as between Israelites and Canaanites, Judg. iii, 6), and their descendants might in time be regarded as truly Israelite, even as the semi-Edomite clans that entered Judah were reckoned as Israelites (below, p. 405). The new-comers might identify themselves with the old local traditions, as Josephus definitely says of the later Samaritans themselves (*Ant.* ix, 14, 3); and it is commonly agreed that, earlier, the Israelites took over traditions from the Canaanites. Moreover, the facility with which the northern tribes continued to be named in much later tradition (*e.g.* Chronicles; cf. also Asher, Luke ii, 36) can hardly be due to antiquarian interest in tribes which centuries earlier had left their native soil. Not only was the deportation not a complete one, but we shall find in the sixth century indications of a more than sympathetic intercourse between Judah and the somewhat mixed north. In other words, a new Israel is being formed—a fact of the greatest importance for our estimate of biblical history.

The Israelites were Hebrews, and not only is this a much wider term than Israel, but Hebrew names and connections can be traced in Hamath (see above) and, to judge from Assyrian contract-tablets, in the neighbourhood of Harran. Moreover, Israelites in exile did not necessarily lose touch with the homeland (Tobit i, 6). On the other hand, in course of time the view came to prevail that (north) Israel was unclean. Judah was the sole heir of the old Israelite tradition, and the north was unworthy to participate[1]. It is necessary, therefore, to recognize that in the O.T. we are looking at history through the eyes of men who cherished a deep antipathy to the Samaritans. And not only this, there were Judaeans who even felt themselves to be of a purer strain than the rest. A more or less intense exclusiveness pervades the biblical narrative, and the idea of a community of tribes, all alike—even Judah—sons of Jacob (Israel), was tolerated only for the distant past and for the glorious days of David and Solomon. The close interrelations that subsisted during the Omri dynasty, and no doubt at other times, were banished from memory: the schismatic

[1] Cf. Ezr. iv, 3, and the spirit of 2 Chron. xiii, 8 *sqq.*, xxv, 7.

Jeroboam had taken the first step on the downward path, and with the fall of the northern kingdom the history of (north) Israel came to an end. Hitherto the annals of Judah and those of Israel had been kept separate—artificially, arbitrarily so; and now that 'Israel was carried away out of their own land,' our sources are confined to the kingdom of Judah. Samaria lies outside the horizon of the writers—it is almost non-existent. Only with the rise of modern criticism have scholars gone behind the Jewish theory, recognizing that, in the nature of things, intercourse between the two would not cease, and that such was the history of south-west Asia after 722 B.C., that only a very imperfect view of the subsequent development of Palestine can be gained from the scanty records of Judah which now claim our attention[1].

[1] Although direct evidence is wanting and hints are few, it is probable that during the great changes of the period (p. 385), and amid the contemporary movements in the Mediterranean (see ch. xxv), 'Hebrews' participated in the trading and colonizing activities of the Phoenicians with whom, as has already been seen (pp. 361, 369), they were closely united (see also vol. I, p. 191). The prophetical writings themselves constantly testify to a knowledge of the outlying lands, *e.g.* Ararat (Urartu), Kir, Tabal, Meshech (Mushki), Lydia and Elam. See further, below, p. 415 n.

New conditions arise about this age, see the Synchronistic Table at the end of the volume. We are at a new stage in the history of the ancient world. It is also a new stage in historical tradition. The Greeks begin to have popular stories of Egypt (p. 289 *sq.*). We have probably the earliest extensive body of historical tradition in Israel: the rise of the Jehu dynasty, the Elijah-Elisha age (the account of the rise of the monarchy being later); the earliest prophets whose writings have survived are Amos and Hosea, and there are popular traditions of Assyria (book of Tobit, story of Aḥiḳar) But of earlier periods only miscellaneous and scattered details seem to have been preserved.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FALL AND RISE OF JUDAH

I. JUDAH UNDER THE ASSYRIANS

GRADUALLY the barriers were broken down and Assyria gained a strangle-hold upon Palestine: henceforth the small Judaean state plays a larger part in the history of Assyrian plots and counter-plots. Although the date of his accession is disputed, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, was contemporary with the fall of the northern kingdom (722 B.C.). He was one of the greatest of the kings of Judah, and tradition has highly extolled him, contrasting him with his father who, for some reason, was not buried in the royal tombs (2 Chron. xxviii, 27). Considerable reforming zeal is ascribed even to the beginning of his reign. It is possible that his accession marked an anti-Assyrian reaction; according to the Chronicler he cleansed the temple. The year of Ahaz's death seems to find Philistia exulting at the removal of some threat (Is. xiv, 28), but the reference may be to the change of throne, not in Judah, but in Assyria (Shalmaneser died in 722 B.C.). On the other hand, the vigorous condemnation of internal abuses in Judah by the prophet Micah (cf. also Jer. xxvi, 18 *sq.*) would suggest that the reputation which Hezekiah came to enjoy must have been earned in his later years: on chronological grounds, too, it can be argued that Hezekiah was only a youth when he ascended the throne. The northern kingdom, as we have seen, did not submit tamely to its misfortunes, and the disturbances which led to the introduction by Sargon of bedouin colonists in 715 (p. 383) were followed almost at once by a more formidable rising. Judah, Philistia, Edom and Moab—all once reckoned as tributaries of the god Ashur—now joined with 'Piru' (Pharaoh) of Muṣri, 'a king who could not save them.' (For the view that this king was Shabaka, see pp. 274 *sqq.*) Sargon promptly sent his general into Philistia, where Ashdod with 'Ashdod-super-Mare' and Gath were the chief centres of revolt (712 B.C., cf. Is. xx, 1). Azur, king of Ashdod, had previously been deposed for his intrigues against Assyria, and his brother Akhi-miti (cf. the O.T. name Aḥimoth) set up in his place. But the Assyrian nominee was rejected by the 'men of Ḥatti' (as a south Palestinian term

cf. the 'Hittites' of Gen. xxiii, 3, xxxvi, 2); and the Yamani (or Yatna), whom they preferred, was, as his name suggests, a Yemenite from south Arabia, or, more probably, an Ionian of Cyprus (pp. 58, 277). He was, however, forced to flee to Melukhkha, whose king was so timid, or so complaisant, as to send him back to Sargon. Nubia (Cush) and Mizraim proved, as usual, a vain help (Is. xx, 5 *sq.*). The Assyrians plundered Samaria and 'all the House of Omri.' Jerusalem, however, appears to have escaped; and although one of Isaiah's most impressive utterances on the levity of the careless city (xxii, 1–14) is usually ascribed to the terrible crisis a decade later in the days of Sennacherib, it illustrates a typical scene of riotous festivity after unexpected deliverance.

Sargon's death (705 B.C.) doubtless aroused new hopes of shaking off the Assyrian yoke. It was probably now, and not earlier, that Merodach-baladan of Babylon, who had already been behind the disturbances in the west-land, entered more decisively into Judaean politics (p. 63). Hezekiah, making a marvellous recovery from a dangerous illness, and confident of deliverance from Assyria, received an embassy which the king of Babylon, in conformity with old royal custom, courteously sent to greet him. Presents were also brought, and Hezekiah—certainly not merely in ostentation—disclosed his treasures and the contents of his armoury. A coalition with Babylon was on foot, in which Arabs and others participated, and, coming after the king's unexpected recovery, it was characteristically regarded by later writers as a gross act of apostasy, which would assuredly be punished, not indeed in his own days, but by the deportation of his sons (2 Kings xx, 6, 17 *sq.*; Is. xxxix).

Meanwhile Sennacherib lost no time in attending to Babylon. He then turned to the west (700 B.C.; see pp. 70 *sqq.*, 277 *sq.*). Luli of Tyre and Sidon, with Cyprus as his base, successfully resisted a combined attack by land and sea, but the Sidonite Tuba'al (Ithobaal) was placed in charge of the Phoenician cities as the Assyrian nominee. Many of the revolting states (Edom, Moab, Ashdod, etc.) submitted, but Askalon (under Ṣidḳa) and Jerusalem were obstinate. Sennacherib marched south. On his course he took Joppa, Bene-berak (to the east), Beth-Dagon and Azur, all under the jurisdiction of Askalon and situated in what was south Danite territory (cf. vol. II, p. 314 n.). Askalon itself fell, and Ṣidḳa, with his household and his gods, was carried away, his place being taken by a son of the earlier king Rukibtu, who bears the significant Assyrian name, Sharru-lūdāri ('the king is truly eternal').

Sennacherib then turned towards Ekron, whose faithful king, Padi, was kept a prisoner in Jerusalem by Hezekiah. At Eltekeh he defeated a large force under the kings of Muṣri and Melukhkha, and captured the city together with Timnah (south-west of Beth-Shemesh). Next, Ekron was taken, and the anti-Assyrian leaders impaled. Lachish was besieged by Sennacherib in person: the well-known bas-reliefs depicting the siege are in the British Museum. One by one Libnah and other cities of western Judah were subdued. A force was detached to demand the capitulation of Jerusalem: the biblical narrative gives us an excellent idea of Assyrian propaganda for the purpose of winning over the population (2 Kings xviii, 26 *sqq.*, cf. pp. 73, 277). Though the events that followed are not quite clear, and different views can be maintained, it would seem that the foreign Urbi troops (Arabs) introduced—like the Kashshi mercenaries in Abdi-Khiba's day (vol. II, p. 317)—to defend the city were thoroughly untrustworthy. Hezekiah was shut up 'like a bird in a cage,' and forty-three of his western cities were cut off and allotted to the pro-Assyrian kings of Ekron, Ashdod and Gaza. 200,150 men are stated to have been taken captive, and a heavy tribute was imposed. Sennacherib describes the train that followed him to Nineveh: princesses and ladies of the court, male and female musicians, thirty talents of gold, eight hundred of silver, thrones, couches, precious stones—'an enormous treasure.' But although Judah was beaten to the ground, it would appear that in some way Jerusalem escaped the worst: the inviolability of the sacred city was preserved. Its god Yahweh prevailed over the gods of Assyria (contrast 2 Kings xix, 10, 12, 17 *sq.*). It was a profound event in the religious history of Jerusalem, though precisely how the city was saved is uncertain. There are traditions of some sudden calamity to the Assyrian army. The question is complicated by the fact that the biblical narratives contain various difficulties which have led to the view that there has been some confusion with the events in a later invasion in connection with Sennacherib's campaign against Arabia (about 690), or, better, with Esarhaddon's campaign (675); in either case, the prominence of the Egyptian Tirhakah (2 Kings xix, 9) would be far more natural then than earlier[1].

[1] See the discussions, pp. 73 *sq.*, 278 *sq.* To the events of 700 B.C. (*not* 701, cf. p. 72, above) have been ascribed the denunciations of a Judaean alliance with Egypt (Is. xxviii–xxxi), the free sketch of the enemy's advance from the *north* (x, 28–32; the Assyrian advance was from the *west*), the fine taunt-song (2 Kings xix, 21 *sqq.*), the revelry at a temporary raising of the

There is at present no evidence that any later campaign by Sennacherib involved a second attack upon Jerusalem. Indeed, the rest of Hezekiah's reign is very obscure. It is uncertain whether his fights with the Philistines (2 Kings xviii, 8) were to break the earlier pro-Assyrian parties, like Padi of Ekron (cf. p. 71), or to recover the cities which Sennacherib took away. At all events, his measures for the water-supply (xx, 20; 2 Chron. xxxii, 30) presumably belonged to the earlier date; and although he became celebrated for the Siloam-conduit (for which cf. Ecclus. xlviii, 17 *sq.*), some watercourse was already in existence (Is. vii, 3), and, to judge from the pottery remains, was of great antiquity[1].

During the next few decades the western states were under the control of Assyria, and helped to swell the forces which it became necessary to send against the bedouins or against Egypt. Hezekiah's son Manasseh, in his long reign of fifty-five years (? 692–638 B.C.), was contemporary with both Esarhaddon (681–669) and Ashurbanipal (668–625). He has the worst of reputations for his heathen cults and his bloodshed; and later writers saw in him the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the exile of Judah (2 Kings xxiii, 26 *sq.*; Jer. xv, 4). The worship of the 'host of heaven' (2 Kings xxi, 3), which he is said to have introduced, points to the influence of Assyrian astral cults. Excavation has unearthed seals and cylinders; and contract tablets (*c.* 650 B.C.), found at Gezer, relating to the sale of fields, testify to the presence of Assyrians, the use of their language, and the Assyrian method of dating (cf. p. 165)[2]. In fact, under Manasseh, Palestine came more directly under Assyrian influence than before; and his reign, on this account, may be regarded as another important landmark in the internal development of the land.

Viewed comprehensively, the age is seen to be one of remarkable interest. The Levant was again beginning to play a more prominent part in Asianic politics. Lydia comes within the horizon of Assyria. Egypt is waking up from its long slumber; and Phoenicians and Arabs are being urged to withstand the Meso-

siege (Is. xxii, 1–14). But all these and other passages (*e.g.* Is. x, 5–15, xiv, 24–27, xvii, 12–14, xxii, 15–18) are extremely difficult to date, because the situations they depict occurred on more than one occasion—and notably in the Babylonian age (see p. 400)—and very delicate criteria alone can establish the truth of any one of the possibilities.

[1] The 'Siloam' inscription, found in the tunnel connecting the Virgin's Spring with the pool of Siloam, tells how the workmen started from different ends and met in the middle. See pp. 351, 424.

[2] The prefect of the town, Ḥuruaṣi, seems to have an Egyptian name.

potamian power. The ambitions of Assyria were now concentrated upon the peoples beyond the coast-lands, and Esarhaddon recognized that Egypt was his most dangerous adversary. Ionians and Carians serve as mercenaries in Egypt (the latter also in the Judaean court), and Phoenicians are in league with Cyprus, and with Cilicia, and other states in Asia Minor. There is unrest in the north: a new Indo-European wave is about to transform entirely the face of ancient Oriental history. Fortunately, the age can be viewed from different angles; see pp. 116, 286, 291 *sqq.*, 507 *sqq.*

In 677 B.C. Sidon, under Abdi-milkut, was destroyed for its revolts: it was part of a movement in which Egypt and Syria were involved. A few years later Esarhaddon concluded a treaty with Baal, king of Tyre. Baal broke his word and allied with Tirhaḳah of Egypt (see p. 280). Esarhaddon's stele at Zenjirli (in the Berlin Museum) represents Baal and another crouching before the mighty king, who holds them with cords passed through rings in their lips (for the practice, cf. 2 Kings xix, 28). Later, Baal and other kings sent each a daughter to the Assyrian harem (cf. p. 115); young princes were also despatched to Nineveh to be kept as hostages. Such customs as these, explicitly mentioned now and again (cf. vol. II, p. 322), were quite familiar, and would be in vogue, *mutatis mutandis*, in the relations between lesser kingdoms and their vassals. When Yakinlu of Arvad died, his ten sons journeyed to the Assyrian king in order that one of them might be appointed to succeed his father: the ten Phoenician names are recorded with commendable accuracy by the Assyrian scribe. Esarhaddon himself records how he honoured them: 'I clad them in coloured garments, I gave them rings of gold, and permitted them to stand erect in my presence.' Rebels might occasionally recover royal favour (cf. Jehoiachin, p. 404 *sq.*), but recalcitrant cities like Accho would be pitilessly destroyed, the people and gods deported, and the leaders impaled around the city. A Judaean king, however, could be scarcely less brutal (David, 2 Sam. viii, 2).

The destruction of No-Amon (Thebes) in 663 B.C. left its mark upon Hebrew literature (Nah. iii, 8–10), but little is known of Palestine under Manasseh. The revival of Egypt under Psamatiko (Psammetichus I, 663–609), and the decline of Assyrian influence there, would not be without its repercussion upon Judah; and when Psamatiko had the Lydian troops of Gyges, and (according to Herodotus) drove out the Assyrian garrisons a few years later (*c.* 658–5), we may suppose that Palestine gained its first introduction to 'Lud' (Gen. x, 22). At

all events, in the great conflict between Ashurbanipal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon (652), all the western states, as once before in the days of Merodach-baladan, ranged themselves, and in vain, against Assyria. What part Egypt took in this is unknown. Chaldaeans and Aramaeans of Babylonia, Arab tribes (of the Syrian desert), together with Palestine, were up in arms. The Arabs, always a disturbing element (*e.g.* already in 676 B.C., see p. 84), were particularly troublesome, especially tribes of Kedar and Nabaite (O.T. Nebaioth; mentioned with Kedar in Is. lx, 7). There was fighting beyond the Jordan from Damascus to Zobah (named in 2 Sam. viii, 12), Ḥauran, Moab and Edom; while farther south the Nabaite were aiding the fugitive Arabs. Assyria, it is true, claimed victories, and enormous booty, particularly of camels. But the turbulence did not cease, and there can be little doubt that a steady pressure was being exerted by desert-tribes upon the settled states, and that we are witnessing another stage in the movements which began nearly a century earlier, and finally led to the Edomites being pushed out of their old seats by the Nabataeans. All these and other changes were gradually reshaping the internal conditions of Palestine, although their mark upon the O.T. narrative can scarcely be recognized.

It is quite possible that Judah suffered during the Assyrian invasions of Egypt (675, 671, 667 and 663 B.C.), and, on the strength of Is. vii, 8, it has often been calculated that there was some fresh deportation of Ephraim, perhaps in connection with a pro-Egyptian revolt. Be that as it may, for some reason Manasseh was carried off in chains to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii, 11), and fresh colonists settled in Samaria by Esarhaddon and, apparently, by Ashurbanipal (Ezr. iv, 2, 10). Necho of Egypt, who had been removed by Ashurbanipal, had been sent back with every mark of royal favour—it was Assyrian policy to conciliate the Delta (p. 284)—and therefore the Chronicler's statement that Manasseh was captured and afterwards allowed to return is not to be regarded as incredible. It is only natural that before Manasseh returned he must have been able to assure Assyria of his loyalty; but it is characteristic of the Chronicler's ideas of history that he ascribes Manasseh's freedom to his submission to Yahweh—which is hardly the same thing. He also records building operations and military organization, and it is conceivable that, as a vassal of Assyria, Judah would be expected to oppose the advance of an Egypt that was gaining in strength and had not forgotten its ancient claims upon Palestine and Syria.

In any case, we have on all sides hints of political activity, though it is to be regretted that we have not the evidence for any reconstruction of this period of tumultuous history. Unsettled internal conditions are, however, suggested by the confusion at the king's death. His son and successor Amon, aged twenty-two, was slain a year later by his own servants in the palace. The crime was avenged by the 'people of the land' (the classes next to the royal and ecclesiastical orders), who placed on the throne his son Josiah, a boy of eight (*c.* 637). Naturally there was a regency, as in the case of the young Joash (p. 364).

II. JOSIAH AND THE DECLINE OF JUDAH

We now reach the last years of the kingdom of Judah, a tragic period, fortunately illumined by the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nahum, Zephaniah and other prophets. The reign of Josiah was contemporary with that fierce struggle in which the protagonists were the dying Assyria and the young neo-Babylonian empire. Directly or indirectly the conflict involved practically the whole of the Near East. There was an interconnection of peoples, for a parallel to which we must go back to the Amarna Age. With a self-conscious and ambitious Egypt in the south, and with the movements of Scythian and other hordes in the north, everything was in the melting-pot, and no one could have foreseen who would inherit the might of Assyria. During the last years of Ashurbanipal the western states were freeing themselves from the Assyrian yoke. The invasion of Scythian bands (635–625) presumably facilitated this step; but too little is known of their movements. On the traditional siege of Ashdod see pp. 189, 295. Apparently the Scythians left Judah untouched; but there are passages in Jeremiah and Zephaniah which are commonly interpreted as depicting the consternation of the country at the uncouth ruthless horsemen prowling like wolves around the cities. Beth-shan, which presumably owes its name Scythopolis to this Scythian inroad, has as yet revealed no certain trace of the hordes (but see p. 146 *sq.*); yet the city, hard by which Circassians even now pasture their steeds, lay on a famous military and trading route and would be among the first to suffer. A few years later came the fall of Nineveh (July-August, 612 B.C., p. 129), hailed with delirious joy by those who supported the Babylonian cause, or who, like Nahum, had seen the downfall of Thebes and anticipated the avenging might of Yahweh upon Assyria. The writings of Nahum are remarkable for their rich vocabulary, their

wealth of description, and the exhibition of a patriotism which exulted in the impending ruin of Israel's brutal foe, and did not concern itself, as did some of the prophets, with the moral or spiritual aspects of history (*e.g.* Zephaniah ii, 15).

The Babylonians in the south, and the Medes in the north, were dividing the spoils between them. The Assyrian government, as is now known, made Harran its centre, until it was captured by the enemy (610 B.C.). Egypt, meanwhile, had been intermittently supporting Assyria against the Babylonians and their allies, and had an army in Syria in 616. Naturally Palestine was not unaffected by the intervention of Egypt in the death-struggle. Necho (newly ascended in 609) marched to Carchemish, doubtless not without the hope of securing Palestine, whether in friendly understanding with Assyria, or, more probably, by his own strength. Josiah's position was a difficult one, and the decay of Assyria, along with the growing strength of Egypt and Babylonia, must have occasioned cross-purposes and intrigues such as have already been met with in the days of Hosea and Isaiah. According to our later sources, Necho went up to fight at Carchemish, Josiah came out from Jerusalem, and, disregarding Necho's conciliatory envoys, forced a battle at Megiddo, where he was mortally wounded, and taken back to Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxv, 20 *sqq.*; cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* x, 5, 1). The earlier source, however, represents Necho going *towards* (or *against*) Assyria—the preposition suggests an act of hostility—and it describes what is essentially an unjustifiable attack upon Josiah, 'when he saw him' (2 Kings xxiii, 29). It is not easy to find a satisfactory explanation of the data, but, on the whole, the late source seems to have preserved the better version of the incident. It is not improbable that, after Manasseh's subservience to Assyria, there was an anti-Assyrian reaction, as there had been when Hezekiah succeeded Ahaz. No doubt there was a powerful Egyptian party, too, as in the days of Hezekiah and, later, among Josiah's successors. Moreover, it is to be observed that in the Chronicler's story Necho is evidently loath to attach Josiah. Josiah himself was presumably favouring Babylonia, even as Hezekiah probably also joined with Merodach-baladan—and probably Manasseh with Shamash-shum-ukin—against Assyria. Further, from the fact that Megiddo was the scene of the fight, it would seem that Josiah could command other than Judaean forces. Judah, and its various neighbours, Ephraim in particular, were never isolated political units, and it is inherently probable that, when occasion offered, Judah would attempt to control an Ephraim

which the Assyrians had placed under one of their own governors, even as there were times when Judah was controlled by Samaria. Josiah might well think that Assyria's extremity was his opportunity; and it is noteworthy that his reforms extend into Samaria, and that the whole land as far as Riblah in the district of Hamath could apparently be regarded as Israelite[1]. Josiah, we may conclude, had been supporting Babylonia against Assyria, and was anxious neither to help Egypt against his enemy, nor to enable Egypt to profit from his enemy's weakness. Be that as it may, he met his end, and Egypt now had Palestine at her feet (p. 297).

As regards Josiah's reforms, the first steps are ascribed, either (*a*) to the twelfth year of his reign (2 Chron. xxxiv, 3; cf. Jer. xxv, 3), which would probably correspond to the year of Ashurbanipal's death, or, (*b*) and, doubtless more correctly, to the eighteenth (621 B.C.; 2 Kings xxii, 3). The temple was being repaired, and a sacred roll was found which aroused the priests and the king to the magnitude of the abuses which had crept into the worship of Yahweh. The efforts to purge and centralize the cults are very fully detailed: they constitute the supreme event in the religious history of Judah and Jerusalem, from the point of view of the Temple: the works of earlier pious kings being merely an approximation. But as we read the details we recover an astonishing picture of what had evidently been introduced even in the days of Solomon and had been tolerated even by the most godly kings. They present a vivid account of the accepted national religion before the days of Josiah's great reform. The old writers clearly thought that the book of Deuteronomy was discovered, and certainly the relationship between it and Josiah's deeds shows that the old religion had not been in accordance with what that book itself inculcated. Ostensibly the book had long been lost. It was, to be sure, not unusual to place inscriptions or records in secret and sacred places, and, consequently, in the discovery of an old-time roll there was nothing unprecedented. But here we have what purports to be a Mosaic document, and we should have to assume that all knowledge of its contents and of its most impressive injunctions had passed out of memory from the days of Solomon. Like the alleged discovery of Numa's laws in Rome—not to cite other parallels—each tradition must be examined on its merits, and the weight of critical opinion is, on a variety of grounds, entirely against the old view (found *e.g.* in Jerome) that the newly-discovered roll—short enough to be read twice in a day (but 2 Chron. xxxiv, 18 has 'read therein')

[1] Ez. vi. 14 (so read for Diblath), xi, 10; cf. Jer. lii, 9 *sq*

—was our book of Deuteronomy, at least in its present form (see further, pp. 407, 481 *sqq.*).

On general grounds it is, of course, by no means unlikely that Josiah intended to centralize and reform the current religion, more especially if he sought to control his northern neighbour. His desecration of Bethel (2 Kings xxiii, 15)—the sanctuary founded by the schismatic Jeroboam on the southern border of Ephraim (p. 358)—was an intelligible step. Religion and politics were closely interconnected, and a natural consequence of an anti-Assyrian policy would be the attack upon the astral cults which is ascribed to him: at all events, in later days the women attributed their misfortunes to the iconoclasm of those reformers who had put down the cult of Ishtar (Astarte), the queen of heaven. On the other hand, contemporary references to the reform are dubious. Jeremiah, for his part, praises the virtues of Josiah (xxii, 15 *sq.*). The king was neither an ascetic nor self-indulgent: he ate and drank, and it was well with him; he did justice and righteousness, and judged the cause of the poor—'Is not that to know me? saith Yahweh.' But the precise nature and extent of Josiah's reforms and Jeremiah's changing attitudes to them raise very difficult questions which cannot be entered upon here. Whatever Josiah's reforms may have been, they came too late to save the country; they do not appear to have ameliorated the social and political conditions of Judah. Jeremiah became more and more hopeless of the future of the Judaean state, and he adopted a thorough-going pro-Babylonian attitude which, though it had apparently also been held by Josiah, seemed now only to hasten the disintegration of a state divided against itself.

Josiah's ill-fated death after the fighting at Megiddo must have been a profound shock to the Babylonian party. Once more it is the 'people' who intervened, and Josiah's son Shallum, or Jehoahaz, by his Libnah wife, became king. But Necho, then with his army at Riblah, had him put in chains, and sent him to Egypt where he died (cf. Jer. xxii, 10). A heavy indemnity of nearly half-a-million pounds sterling was exacted from Judah, and another son, Eliakim (by Josiah's Rumah wife), was appointed, his name being changed by Necho to Jehoiakim. (The point of this change is not clear; it may be some indication of Egyptian suzerainty.) Evidently the new king was more acceptable to Egypt. To the burden of the indemnity, which fell mainly upon the supporters of Jehoahaz, there were added the luxuriousness of Jehoiakim, his ostentatious building and the employment of forced labour (Jer. xxii, 13–17). The prophet Jeremiah was the

more convinced that city and land were doomed, and, to the people gathered together at the Temple on a ceremonial occasion, he uttered a famous denunciation, warning them against their misplaced confidence in the inviolability of the sacred place (Jer. vii, xxvi). Formally brought before the priests—who seem to have been Egyptian in their sympathies—he found support among the princes and the people, and escaped the fate of an earlier colleague, Uriah, who for a similar attack had been forced to flee to Egypt, and had been extradited and slain.

Necho's intervention did not save Assyria, and he now found himself confronted by the victorious Chaldaeans. At the battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.) he was decisively beaten, and the attempt of Egypt to make itself heir to the Assyrian empire failed once and for all. It is one of the supreme turning-points in history (pp. 211 *sqq.*, 298). The sovereignty passed from Assyria to the Chaldaeans, and Jehoiakim, Necho's *protégé*, now found himself subject to Nebuchadrezzar II, one of the most imposing of old Oriental monarchs (p. 212). The significance of Carchemish was not unnoticed; prophets saw the approach of Yahweh's Day of Vengeance upon Egypt (Jer. xlvi), and the punishment of Judah for its apostasy. A vivid account is given of the mission of Jeremiah's scribe Baruch to read to the king, on a cold day in December 604, the summary of all the prophet's previous utterances. Once more the princes sided with Jeremiah; but the messenger was received with contumely, and the reckless king threw the roll into the fire. The statement that Jeremiah again dictated his words to Baruch, and that 'many like words' were added to the new copy (xxxvi, 32), is a valuable side-light upon the early vicissitudes of the present book of Jeremiah[1].

For a time Judah was left to itself. As in Ephraim in earlier days there were divided parties, favouring Egypt or—in this case—Babylonia. The Egyptian party gained the upper hand and Jehoiakim rebelled against his suzerain. Thereupon Yahweh punished him by sending against him bands of Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, Moabites, and others (2 Kings xxiv). There is a hint that they were forced to withdraw, again in accordance with

[1] Thus the prophecies against the nations which now stand at the end of the book (xlvi–li) occur in the Septuagint after xxv, 13, and in another order. There are also other important differences between the Hebrew and the Greek version which show that the book has had a complicated literary history. In its present form it contains, besides writings of Jeremiah, much that belongs to his disciples and followers, and recalls the language of the book of Deuteronomy rather than of the prophet himself.

Yahweh's words to his prophets (Septuagint, 2 Chron. xxxvi, 5); it may perhaps be supplemented by Jer. xii, 7, 17, which represents Yahweh's indignation with those who despoil his heritage. To the same occasion we may also ascribe the flight of Rechabites to the capital from the invading bands; and their loyal adherence to their puritanical tradition is contrasted with the inconstancy of Judah (Jer. xxxv). But the Chaldaean advance-guards were followed by the main forces; Nebuchadrezzar himself drew near to punish the rebellious city, and Jehoiakim perished miserably amid the panic and confusion (Jer. xxii, 18 *sq.*, xxxvi, 30).

His son Jehoiachin, or Coniah, a youth of eighteen, is credited with a reign of three months. The enemy were at the gates, and, seeing that resistance was futile, he, with the queen-mother, his wives, and the royal household, came out and capitulated. They were carried off into exile (597 B.C.). At this, the first great captivity of Judah, thousands of the leading men and the craftsmen were taken away, among them the priest-prophet Ezekiel. The temple was partially despoiled. The catastrophe marks an era. Jehoiachin, according to the story of Josephus (*Ant.* x, 7, 1; *Wars* vi, 2, 1), had generously surrendered himself on the understanding that Jerusalem would not be harmed; but the Chaldaeans broke their word. On the other hand, Jeremiah treats the youth and the queen-mother with some severity (xxii, 24–30; cf. xiii, 18 *sq.*). It may be that much had been hoped from the young king: certainly there sprang up an easy optimism which looked for his triumphant return, and it was destroyed by the prophet, convinced that the worst had yet to come.

For nearly forty years the unfortunate Jehoiachin was kept a prisoner (p. 404 below). But Mattaniah, another son of Josiah (by his Libnah wife), who was among the exiles, was sent back to take the place of his nephew (Ez. xvii, 11 *sqq.*). Nebuchadrezzar changed his name to Zedekiah, and made him take an oath of allegiance. For a time Zedekiah was loyal; then he began the dangerous policy of sending his messengers to Egypt to hire horses and troops. He appears before us as a weakling, and his treachery becomes a blot on his character; he had broken his solemn oath by Yahweh, and must not expect to prosper (Ezek. xvii, 19; cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi, 13). Egyptian policy was now more active, and Psammetichus II in his fourth year (*c.* 590 B.C.) made an expedition into Palestine, though not perhaps for military reasons (see p. 301, n.). It was left for his successor Hophra (Apries) to undertake energetic efforts to gain—if need be by force—fresh allies in order to recover Palestine for Egypt (see pp. 213, 302).

Edom, Moab, Ammon and Tyre and Sidon were in secret alliance with Zedekiah (Jer. xxvii *sq.*): on one side were prophets, like Hananiah, declaring that the Babylonian wooden yoke would be broken; on the other was Jeremiah, maintaining that Nebuchadrezzar was Yahweh's servant, and the yoke one of iron that could never be shattered. Among the exiles, too, there were brave hopes of a dawning freedom. The occasion called forth a document most famous in the history of Judaism. Jeremiah wrote a letter in which he enjoined the exiles to settle down quietly and seek the good of the land, for their welfare was bound up with it (xxix). It established a precedent, laying down the correct attitude of Jewish exiles to the government of the country, while, at the same time, the prophet insisted that, although the exiles might be far removed from the temple at Jerusalem, Yahweh was none the less able to hearken to them.

Zedekiah was probably compelled to visit Babylon and explain his conduct (Jer. li, 59). But Judah was thoroughly demoralized. The long series of misfortunes had led to excesses in the religious and social life. Sacred oaths were broken, Sabbaths desecrated, and the ritual and moral laws set at nought (Ez. xxii). Tammuz and other cults found a place in the temple, to the horror of Ezekiel who saw in a vision the approach of inevitable doom[1]. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel regard Nebuchadrezzar as Yahweh's instrument against Jerusalem, and in their stern attitude towards their city they find a striking parallel in the Jewish historian Josephus, who in his day believed that God was on the side of the Romans, and that Jerusalem was doomed to destruction because of its evils and fratricidal strife, and who repeatedly counselled the city to surrender[2].

The unrest in Palestine demanded Nebuchadrezzar's presence. We see him hesitating whether the sword was to be turned first against Jerusalem or Rabbah of Ammon (Ez. xxi). The lot fell upon Judah, and one by one the minor cities were lost, until only Lachish and Azekah remained. The actual siege of Jerusalem began on the eleventh day of the tenth month of the ninth year of Nebuchadrezzar. Ezekiel is forbidden to mourn the death of his wife, the desire of his eyes: it is a symbol that the beloved sanctuary would fall unmourned (Ez. xxiv, 15–27). Yet, although

[1] Ez. viii *sq.*; cf. also Jer. xxxii, 34; Zeph. iii, 4.

[2] (*Wars* v, 9, 2–4; vi, 2, 1.) It is impossible to discuss here how far the traditions and literature of the *Babylonian* attacks may have influenced those of the *Assyrian* wars earlier (see p. 390 n.). Sennacherib, too, it should be noticed, could be regarded as an emissary of Yahweh (2 Kings xviii, 25).

it was to be the fate of Jerusalem to be overthrown, some day 'he whose right (*mishpāṭ*) it was' should recover it (Ez. xxi, 27; cf. the obscure Messianic verse, Gen. xlix, 10); and although Jeremiah was convinced that the situation was hopeless, he too is not without trust that 'houses and fields and vineyards shall yet again be bought in this land' (Jer. xxxii, 15). But, in the meanwhile, he could only counsel submission to Babylon. Yahweh himself was fighting against the doomed city. Little wonder that the prophet of woe was thrown into prison for his temerity.

Hophra attempted to draw off the investing forces. His movements were no doubt part of a greater effort to seize the Phoenician coast (see pp. 214, 302). The siege of Jerusalem was temporarily raised, and the people, as ever, indulged in the wildest expectations. Jeremiah's gloomy warning that the Chaldaeans would certainly return again naturally did not alleviate his lot (Jer. xxxvii). Hophra's army was defeated (Ez. xxx, 20 *sqq.*), the investing troops returned, and the plight of Jerusalem was worse than before. Meanwhile, a grossly treacherous act had been committed. Before their brief respite the people had solemnly undertaken to emancipate their Hebrew slaves. This was not, perhaps, in order that there might be fewer mouths to feed—Sennacherib in his day had driven back the men who endeavoured to escape from the beleaguered city—possibly it was a fine gesture to win the good-will of Yahweh. At the Egyptian diversion, rashly thinking that the siege was permanently raised, the people had broken their word, and had again enslaved their servants. For this new act of perfidy, following after Zedekiah's broken oath, Yahweh was about to annul his covenant, to 'emancipate' his people, and proclaim 'liberty' to the sword, the pestilence and the famine, and to scatter them in exile (Jer. xxxiv). It may be that the later tradition of Nebuchadrezzar's treatment of the young Jehoiachin, which makes the Babylonians responsible for the initial perfidy, was intended as a set-off to these two acts of Judaean treachery.

Unceasingly Jeremiah urged surrender, and although he was naturally accused of weakening the *morale* of the soldiers it is evident that he did not stand alone (xxi, 9, xxxviii, 4). Divided counsels rent the unhappy city, and while he himself did not 'fall away' to the enemy (xxxvii, 14), he was convinced that reliance upon Egypt was the wrong policy—better surrender to a Semite foe than join a weak and constantly faithless Egypt. Dissension and famine did their work, and at last, on the ninth of the fourth month of the eleventh year, the walls of the city

were breached (Jer. xxxix, 2). Zedekiah and the army endeavoured to escape across the Jordan, but the attempt to remove the government (as in 2 Sam. ii, 8 *sq.*) failed. The king was captured near Jericho, and brought before Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah. His sons were slain before his eyes, and he himself suffered the common lot of rebels and was blinded. He was carried off to Babylon, and the words of the prophet were fulfilled: he saw the king, he went to Babylon, but he did not see the land of Babylon (Ez. xii, 13). All Josiah's sons had indeed been ill-fated, and the elegy of Ezekiel (xix), which their tragic end called forth, is a good example of a Hebrew dirge.

A month passed before orders were given for the destruction of Jerusalem. The general Nebuzaradan came and destroyed the temple, the palace and the important buildings; the city was put to the flames, and the temple-vessels were taken away. The prisoners were collected in readiness for their long journey. The scene was at Ramah, and we hear the compassionate mother Rachel weeping for her children (Jer. xxxi, 15). Among the captives was Jeremiah. Nebuzaradan gave him his freedom, although, according to another story, Nebuchadrezzar was directly responsible for the lenient treatment of one who, after all, had played a very important part in helping him to victory.

Thus ended the Southern Kingdom. The fall of the city was an unforgettable event (586 B.C.). The literature it evoked created a precedent, so that we sometimes have passages which apparently reflect this disaster, but which on internal grounds must refer to another more or less like it: the most obvious illustrations are furnished by the apocryphal and apocalyptical books of Baruch. To a Jeremiah, however, ready to renounce temple and ritual, the destruction was the prelude to reconstruction. From the fulfilment of his worst anticipations he could pass to the new era which would arise out of the ruins of the city. Events had justified his policy of submission to Babylon, and a new chapter was now opened in the relation between the prophet and his country.

III. THE EXILE

Babylon adopted a conciliatory policy. A native governor was appointed over the cities of Judah—Gedaliah, whose father had shown himself friendly towards Jeremiah in the past (Jer. xl *sqq.*). The seat of the new government was Mizpah (Nebi Samwîl), about five miles north-west of Jerusalem, and Jeremiah, now an old man, was one of the most trusted counsellors. Gedaliah very

wisely enjoined loyalty on the part of the population, while undertaking to act as intermediary between them and the Babylonians. A pacific policy won over the wandering guerilla bands, remnants of the Judaean army; fugitives returned from the neighbouring lands, and the normal agricultural life was resumed. Hopes of a happier future could be cherished. A new note in his prophecies is what Jeremiah's character would lead us to expect: the book of 'Lamentations,' traditionally ascribed to him, has quite another standpoint (cf. p. 408). But the new reconstruction after the destruction was foredoomed. There was unceasing intrigue. Some of the royal family entertained hopes of a restoration—evidently not all had been carried away. They found an ally in Baalis king of Ammon, and plotted to assassinate Gedaliah. Johanan, one of his captains, discovering this, at once perceived that the plot, if successful, could only lead to the downfall of the new community. Unfortunately Gedaliah, more generous than acute, refused to take warning, and a band of raiders, headed by the prince Ishmael ben Nethaniah, treacherously slew him at a communal meal (Jer. xli, 1). The tragic day, the third of the seventh month, became one of the principal fasts of the Jews (Zech. vii, 5). An attempt by Ishmael to carry off the princesses and others who were at Mizpah with Gedaliah was frustrated by Johanan; but so fearful were the people of the consequences of the new *émeute*, in which some of the Babylonian troops themselves had been killed, that flight to Egypt seemed the only solution. Jeremiah, however, stoutly opposed this: even for Egypt there were disasters in store. But he was overruled, and Johanan and other captains, together with a large body of Jews, went down to Tahpanhēs, carrying with them the aged prophet and his faithful scribe Baruch. Still the cup of bitterness was not yet full. The conviction grew among the women that their troubles were the result of apostasy—not from Yahweh, but from the worship of the Queen of Heaven. It is the end of Yahwism among the refugees in Egypt—the last scene of the miserable drama (Jer. xliv, 25 *sqq.*), and with it closes the career of one who perhaps more than any other figure of Israelite history has fascinated students of the O.T. (see vol. IV, p. 107).

The syncretism which combined other cults with the worship of Yahweh was not regarded by the prophets as true Yahwism; yet not only had it prevailed in Palestine, but there was then, or at least a little later, a Jewish colony at Elephantine, in Upper Egypt, which worshipped Yahweh together with two female deities, and was in touch with the authorities in both Judah and

Samaria (p. 430, n. 1). But as a matter of fact our sources are under the influence of certain rather one-sided views of the events, and it is not easy to determine the history of the exilic period. On the one hand, there were deportations of Jews on no very considerable scale. Besides that in 597 B.C., there was a second in 586, and possibly a third, a few years later (Jer. lii, 30), it may be in connection with the murder of Gedaliah. (On Nebuchadrezzar's expedition against Egypt in 568–7, see pp. 215, 304.) Efforts were certainly made even at the first captivity to disarm the land by removing all the craftsmen and smiths (2 Kings xxiv, 14; for another policy cf. 1 Sam. xiii, 19). On the other hand, the events after both 597 and 586 B.C. prove that in spite of all its disasters the land remained vigorous, and indeed these western lands were always able to regain strength quickly. Consequently, we must not exaggerate the extent of the desolation, and in no circumstance can we suppose that the districts were denuded of their inhabitants. A considerable body must have remained behind, even though they were of the poorest; and one of the most important tendencies of modern criticism has been to test more carefully the ordinary view in Ezra-Nehemiah that, with an empty or at least 'heathen' Palestine and the extinction of true religion among the refugees in Egypt, the pure worship of Yahweh prevailed only among the exiles in Babylon, whose destiny it was to bring back to Judah and Jerusalem new light from the East.

The books Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah form essentially a single work. They establish a continuity between the old Judah which went into exile and the new organization when, shortly after the accession of Cyrus to the Babylonian throne (539 B.C.), the exiles brought back the holy temple-vessels and returned each man to his own city. This view of the history, however, ignores the native population which had never gone into exile; and the problems of our period turn partly upon the precise character of this return, and partly upon an estimate of the internal conditions in Palestine after the fall of Jerusalem. As regards the latter we are very poorly informed. While the Chronicler's history simply passes over the years of exile, the older source, after the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.), provides an abridgment of the events recorded more fully in the book of Jeremiah, and reports that, at the death of Nebuchadrezzar (562), his son and successor, Evil-Merodach (Amel-Marduk), freed Jehoiachin, who, together with other rebellious kings, had been kept a prisoner in Babylon (2 Kings xxv, 27–30). No further information is preserved in the O.T., although Tyre was once more very favourably treated

(cf. p. 392 above), and Merbaal, who had been carried off when Ithobaal III surrendered to Nebuchadrezzar (*c.* 573), was actually allowed to return. Under Nabonidus (Nabu-na'id, 556) Babylonia continued to maintain a strong hold over the west, and in 554–3 B.C., shortly after Jehoiachin had been freed, the king had to lead his troops through 'Amor' and besiege 'Adummu' (Edom, or ʔel-Jōf), proof of serious unrest to which, however, there is no evident reference in the O.T. All the 'kings' as far as Gaza on the 'border of Egypt' are said to have contributed to the building of his temple in Harran; and, whatever freedom the western lands enjoyed, they remained the vassals of Babylonia, and were expected to be loyal (cf. p. 219 *sq.*). Later traditions were preserved of the Jews at the court of Babylon (Book of Daniel), though very confused ideas were current of the period as a whole. With the growing threat of Persia the influence of Nabonidus weakened in the west, and when at length Babylonia fell (539 B.C.), Palestine and Syria naturally came into the hands of Cyrus (see pp. 222 *sqq.*; and vol. IV, pp. 7 *sqq.*).

A noteworthy feature of the biblical sources is the obvious antipathy both to the native population of Judah and more especially to the Samaritans. Though this is not inexplicable it deserves careful attention. There were considerable internal changes. The weakened state of both Judah and Ephraim gave the opportunity for the neighbouring peoples to enter. There was little love lost between the rivals. Tyre was always ready to gloat over Jerusalem; Edom, too, was envious; the god Milcom (*i.e.* Ammon) possessed Gad; Moab and Ammon 'magnified themselves against Israel; and Philistia was not slow to pay off old scores. The land of Israel was 'profaned' by strangers[1]. The people, however, regarded themselves as possessors of the land (Ez. xi, 15), and the sort of change that could and did ensue is illustrated by the genealogical lists in 1 Chron. ii, iv, which reflect the movement of clans of Edomite or South Palestinian affinity, from the south of Judah, to the district of Jerusalem, and their inclusion among the Judaean division of the Israelite tribes. This movement, which was of immense significance (see p. 478 *sq.*), may have been due to the pressure exerted upon south Judah by Edomites (whence the later name Idumaea); and the Edomites, in turn, were no doubt the victims

[1] Cf. Ez. xxxvi, 3–5. See xxvi, 2; xxxv, 10; Jer. xlix, 1; Zeph. ii, 8; Ez. xxv, 15. Although these references combine to furnish a consistent picture of the internal changes, it is necessary to bear in mind that the precise date of each is not certain, and that similar events could recur at other periods.

of those more important movements which make the Nabataeans and other Arab tribes a new factor in the later history.

As a consequence of these vicissitudes there was an emergence of indigenous elements, a greater prominence of simpler types and of men of desert origin. Not only had the structure of the old civilization been violently broken, but the new importance of these classes meant less advanced social and religious conditions. The fall of the monarchies, first of Ephraim and then of Judah, led to ruder conditions, such as had prevailed when 'there was no king in Israel, and every man used to do that which was right in his own eyes' (Judg. xxi, 25). At Tyre there were actually 'judges,' and in Israel the word 'king' is often avoided, and local leaders would probably also be called 'judges,' as they had been before the monarchy (cf. vol. II, pp. 354, 370). Moreover, circumstances combined to bring the north and the south closer together. Jerusalem was no longer the political and religious centre; other places (Shechem, Mizpah) became more prominent. The fall of the two kingdoms would not mean the extinction of men of the spirit of an Amos, a Hosea or a Micah. There was always a more elemental type of thought outside the towns, and puritanism had before now taken its inspiration from the desert. If anything, Judah in spite of, if not rather because of, its Jerusalem, was more depraved than Ephraim (Jer. iii, 11, xxiii, 14; Ez. xvi, 51). The north with all its mingled population had had time to become stabilized, and Ezekiel (xxiii) could speak of it, in spite of its mixed origin, as the elder sister: this fact is of extreme importance as indicating that a new 'Israel' had grown up in place of the old. And even if its religion was 'heathen,' there was a priest of the old order at Bethel who knew how Yahweh should be worshipped (2 Kings xvii, 28), and Bethel presumably escaped the Judaean disasters. Accordingly, the enquiry into the significance of the sanctuary at Bethel for the history of the development of the religion and law of Israel during the seventh–fifth centuries is of more than ordinary interest[1].

While Bethel lay only a few miles north of the ruined Jerusalem, men of Shechem, on the other hand, were ready to worship at the holy city (Jer. xli, 5). Later, the Samaritans even claimed the right to take part in the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr. iv, 1–5). In the writings of both Jeremiah and Ezekiel we find a living interest in Ephraim; and on these and other grounds we may assume that there was a *rapprochement* between the two districts

[1] It must suffice to refer especially to the work of R. H. Kennett, see the Bibliography, p 735.

which in the past had so often been deadly foes. The whole course of subsequent history and religion in Palestine shows that there must have been a common foundation of Judaism and Samaritanism, and it is most naturally to be found in this, the exilic age, rather than in any other. Even later there was a traditional bond between north and south (Jos. *Ant.* ix, 14, 3, xi, 8, 6, xii, 5, 5); and although the biblical history recognizes a united Israel only for the period before Jeroboam's revolt—ignoring, for example, the age of the Omri dynasty (p. 361 *sq.*)—the exilic age was one in which, before the great Samaritan schism and the historic enmity between Jews and Samaritans, close interrelations can be safely assumed. Further, not only are there weighty and independent arguments for literary productions of an elevated character in Ephraim after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.), but the book of Deuteronomy in its present form presupposes a united Israel and may, with great probability, be assigned to this age. On various grounds, then, we are justified in concluding that in Palestine, during the Exile, the religious conditions, however deplorable from the highest standpoint of prophets and priests, were not necessarily desperate, and there is no reason to suppose that the two neighbours were necessarily held apart by the memory of ancient rivalries. (On the literature of the period see also pp. 478, 481 *sqq.*, 488 *sqq.*)

Apart from the Judaean exiles themselves, it is not improbable that by this time Jews, whether associated with their Phoenician brethren or not, were beginning to be found scattered over the known world. Later, at least, we find Jews at Nippur in Babylonia, while at Elephantine there flourished a far more cosmopolitan colony (cf. p. 294). There were Carian, Ionian and Lydian guards in the eastern Delta, and Egyptian and Assyrian influences meet and blend at Teima in north Arabia, where the religious antiquary Nabonidus seems to have found a refuge (*c.* 548, p. 222). It was another age of international politics, and it left its mark upon Jewish thought. The Jewish exiles could carry on their work (Jer. xxix, 5), and even amass wealth (Ezr. i, 4). Some rose to high positions of trust. Life therefore might be tolerable, and communications with the home-land could be maintained. The glory of Babylon, and the extent and power of its empire, could give the exiles a wider horizon. Certainly, they of 'the exile' (*gōlah*) felt their superiority over the idolaters at home; and to the exiled aristocrats, as so many of them were, the destruction of their sacred city was a grief which time only heightened (Ez. xxiv, 21). There was no doubt a temptation to accept the religion of their

new homes, but that remarkable man, the priest-patriot Ezekiel, would certainly be among the influences that kept alive the belief in Yahweh's care for his own city, land and people. What the overthrow of Jerusalem came to mean for her devoted children is pathetically illustrated in writings of varied origin. In the so-called 'Lamentations,' a lover of Zion and a loyal servant of the king, resentful of the boasting of Edom, and the failure of Egypt to help, is aghast at the sufferings of his class, and laments the fall of the old régime. There are lurid pictures of bloodshed and famine, the criminality and negligence of priests and prophets, and the pride of the foe. Zion's sufferings have reached their limit.

IV. THE RESTORATION

Not all could view with the detachment of a Jeremiah the destruction of temple-ritual and symbolism, nor believe that the Babylonian oppressor was the tool of Yahweh. It would seem that the old conciliatory policy of Babylon underwent change; the conditions of life were harder. Palestine did not submit tamely to Babylonia. It is highly probable that the murder of Gedaliah led to punitive measures which justified the flight of the panic-stricken Jews into Egypt. Nabonidus, as already mentioned, had trouble in the west. The middle of the sixth century B.C. was no quiet age, and it is not to be supposed that Palestine was without stirring internal movements. Gradually, as we scan the prophetical writings, we pass from the iniquity of Jerusalem and her well-deserved fate to the excesses of the enemy. Yahweh was angry a little, but the enemy afflicted Israel beyond all measure (Zech. i, 15). The instruments of his anger impiously boasted of their own strength—how could a pure God witness the evil of the foe (Hab. i, 13)? Yahweh would chastise in moderation, but he would not make an end of Israel; if Israel turned to him they would find him[1]. There are pictures of despair, cries for vengeance, and we pass on to the heralds of consolation. There are expectations of the restoration of Israel, with its own Davidic prince or king[2]. There are programmes for the future, the most striking being that of Ezekiel (xl–xlviii). This, ostensibly written about 572 B.C., is part sketch, part vision, of a new ecclesiastical constitution. One of its most remarkable features is the relatively insignificant position of the secular head. He is called 'prince'; and he is, so to say, a compromise between a thorough-going monarchy and a supreme priesthood (see p. 486).

[1] Jer. xxx. 11; xxix. 10–14; cf. Lam. ii. 14.

[2] Jer. xxx. 9; xxxiii, 17 *sq.*; Ez. xxxvii, 24.

Impassioned address reaches its height in the so-called Second or Deutero-Isaiah (Is. xl–lv): 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God, speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and proclaim unto her that her time of service is over, her guilt pardoned, she hath received of Yahweh's hand double for all her sins.' The day of desolate Zion is at hand, and the processes of history, once for the chastisement of Israel, are now for her exaltation. The Persians were multiplying successes; the fall of Babylon was at hand (p. 222 *sq.*; cf. vol. IV, p. 10 *sq.*). The great events produced some stirring broad-sheets (Is. xiii *sq.*, xxi; Jer. l *sq.*); it was the day of 'the vengeance of Yahweh, the vengeance of his temple.' The imminent overthrow of the oppressive city is viewed from different standpoints; besides amazement and glee, there is also the subdued conviction that it would mean only a change of masters. Especially famous are the hopes entertained of Cyrus: he is Yahweh's 'shepherd' (a familiar Assyrian and Babylonian term), his servant, his friend, his anointed (Is. xliv, 28, xlv, 1). Passing from conquest to conquest, he is destined to execute the purpose of Yahweh, to restore the exiles, and rebuild Zion. A new Exodus is at hand. And in fact, according to the Chronicler, when Cyrus became king of Babylon he was stirred by Yahweh in the first year of his reign to proclaim that he was charged to rebuild the temple, and to allow all who wished to return to Judah (539–8 B.C.). Accordingly, many returned under Shesh-bazzar, the prince, and under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (or Joshua), the priest, and the foundations were laid in the following year. But when the 'adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' were not allowed to co-operate they started intrigues and plots, and the building was hindered for some fifteen years. However, in the second year of Darius (520 B.C.) the prophets Haggai and Zechariah spurred on Zerubbabel and Joshua to undertake the work. To the enquiries of suspicious Persian officials the Jews reported that they had the permission of Cyrus, and that the work had been in progress since their return. Appeal was made to Darius, who confirmed the decree, and generously helped the Jews, and the temple was completed at the end of the king's sixth year (10 March, 515 B.C.). So runs the apparently straightforward statement of the 'Chronicler's' history (Ezr. i–vi).

On the other hand, from the independent prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah it would seem that only in the second year of Darius did the new era dawn. Yahweh had been angry, but he had now ceased from his wrath and had come back to his city, jealous for his people (Zech. i, 14 *sq.*, ii, 10 *sqq.*).

The years of misery lie behind; the promise is for the immediate future. The exiles in Babylon are summoned to escape (ii, 7); evidently there had been no return, at least none of any importance. The temple is desolate, though some sort of cult was practised; and there is a bad season, the penalty for neglecting the sanctuary (Hagg. ii, 9). Evidently there had been no attempt, at least none of any importance, to rebuild the temple. It is the destiny of Zerubbabel to undertake and complete the work (Zech. iv, 9). In the face of these and other data the opinion has gained ground, since the work of the Dutch critic Kosters (1895), that the prophets are a surer guide to the history of the Return than the Chronicler. In contrast to his account, which throws back the return to the very commencement of the new Persian empire (Ezr. i, there is a more moderate statement in vi, 3–5), another story tells how Zerubbabel first won the favour of Darius, who carried out what Cyrus had proposed, and gave permission for the Return, allowing the Jews extensive privileges (1 Esdr. iv). Here, Darius rather than Cyrus appears to have been the original patron of the Jews, and our sources seem to be the result of a fusion of two stories, one the return of Zerubbabel in the second year of Darius, and the other, the earlier return of Shesh-bazzar in the first year of Cyrus. Unfortunately the critical problems are excessively difficult, and they turn largely upon our knowledge of the conditions in the age of the two great reforming leaders, Ezra and Nehemiah, under a later Persian king, Artaxerxes[1].

No doubt the Persian ethical religion would have an attraction for the Jews; no doubt, also, the conciliatory policy, at all events of the earlier Achaemenidae, justified their highest hopes. There is, moreover, a certain agreement between the cylinder-inscription of Cyrus and the words of Is. xliv, 28, xlv, 1. In the inscription Cyrus, it is true, is called the deliverer of oppressed peoples, he is chosen by Marduk, hailed as a saviour, and he claims to have returned the gods of various towns and to have restored temples and houses in the neighbourhood of Babylon (see vol. iv, p. 13). But Cyrus certainly did not come up to the anticipations of the prophets. He did not destroy the Babylonian gods, he was no true monotheist, and his tolerance would have been distasteful to the true Israelite. Moreover, Cambyses showed special favour to the Jewish colony of Elephantine, and Uzahor, an Egyptian official of both

[1] Zerubbabel and Shesh-bazzar, though seemingly identified by the biblical writers, are properly distinct figures; the latter can hardly be Shenazzar, the uncle of Zerubbabel (1 Chron. iii, 17 *sq.*). It is noteworthy that the three names are Babylonian.

Cambyses and Darius, tells how he persuaded his lord to give instructions for the restoration of the temple at Saïs (cf. p. 314, and vol. IV, pp. 25, 188). These special marks of favour show what could and did happen, but they do not prove the accuracy of the Chronicler's narrative, which must be judged in the light of the independent testimony of the prophets[1].

At the death of Cambyses there was widespread revolt (vol. IV, p. 173 *sq.*); but it is difficult to decide whether Judah shared in the excitement when Assyria and Egypt rose against Persia, or whether its quiescence—Palestine is not named among the rebellious provinces—brought its reward. The evidence of the prophets shows, at all events, that Zerubbabel was the figure of a new age. In a striking passage Haggai proclaims the advent of Yahweh, the coming glory of the temple, and the exaltation of Zerubbabel. He is Yahweh's servant and chosen one, his signet ring (cf. Jer. xxii, 24), and the symbol of Yahweh's might. All obstacles are to disappear before him; he will achieve his work, not by might, but by Yahweh's spirit (Zech. iv, 6 *sq.*). We have to understand the events in the light of the Messianic hopes which were kindled when a scion of David was not merely governor of Judah, but the promise of a more ambitious future. In an age which saw both this Davidic prince and the building of a new temple it goes without saying that the scanty writings of Haggai and Zechariah are far from representing all the ideas and hopes of the time. A veritable monarchy was in the air, and it is probable that the extant account of the history of the Judaean monarchy itself, with its emphasis upon the inauguration of the dynasty, the character of the several kings, and the importance of temple, priest and prophet reflects something of these years. The books of Samuel-Kings in their present form are of exilic and later date; and when one looks for an age when the importance of the Davidic dynasty would impress itself upon the old writers, this age of the reconstruction of Judah under Zerubbabel at once suggests itself. So also, as we read the account of the *first* temple, Solomon's 'Prayer of Dedication' has a new interest when one notes the exilic standpoint, and the reference to the penitence of captive exiles[2]. In other words, the account of the early monarchy, and even of the *first* Temple, may well have been

[1] The tradition recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xi, 1, 1 *sq.*) that the favour shown by Cyrus to the Jews was inspired by the prophecies of Isaiah, is but a further illustration of the tendency to regard international history as a divine process and for the greater glory of Israel.

[2] 1 Kings viii, 22–53: cf. Jer. xxix, 10–20, xxx, 1–11.

influenced by the circumstances at the *second* Temple, and the beginning of what bade fair to be a new monarchy. See also p. 479 *sq.*

Zerubbabel and all the aspirations of the age disappear without leaving a trace—we have here one of the most perplexing problems of the biblical history. There are, however, some fragmentary hints of importance. The prophet Zechariah is distinguished for his visions, all of which centre upon the conditions of his day: the building and completion of the temple, the future prospects of Judah. They contain a pronounced Messianic note, and the hope of a speedy national happiness. In them Zerubbabel and the high-priest Joshua play a remarkable rôle. In one vision, Joshua, as the spiritual head and representative of the people, is clad in filthy garments, symbolical of a pollute priesthood, and is cleansed of his guilt; while, in another, sin is symbolically removed from the land (Zech. iii, v). In the former, Joshua is promised permanent authority, provided he remains faithful; whereas Zerubbabel, 'my servant, the shoot' (cf. Jer. xxiii, 5, xxxiii, 15), is the secular head and holds a somewhat subordinate position. But in a third vision (vi, 9–15), the text of which has been altered, there is a significant hint of some conflict between the civil and the priestly leaders. It is healed, and the council of peace is between them; Zerubbabel is to complete the temple, and the two are to rule in perfect harmony, each crowned and sitting on his own throne. But here the priest has the subordinate position. There are, as before, Messianic expectations, but the vision suddenly breaks off: 'and it shall come to pass, if ye will but hearken to the voice of Yahweh your god....' The rest is lost (Zech. vi, 15, in E.V. read 'it' for 'this'), and, as the vision now runs, the rôles of both secular and priestly leader are hopelessly obscured.

This hint of serious conflict between the ecclesiastical and the secular arms finds parallels in the very late and anti-monarchical version of the rise of the first king of all Israel (vol. II, p. 354), and in the Chronicler's story of Uzziah's leprosy, the penalty for encroaching upon priestly prerogatives (2 Chron. xxvi, 16 *sqq.*). A certain tendency to diminish or neutralize kingly power can be seen both in the book of Deuteronomy (p. 483) and in Ezekiel's programme (p. 486); and these evidences become cumulatively important when, after the blank which follows the history of 520–516 B.C., the curtain is lifted again about sixty years later, and a new régime holds the field. This internal political change is the cardinal fact in the history of the post-exilic age, and it is a natural assumption that a serious conflict between the

monarchy and the priesthood was one of the outstanding events during this dark interval.

At this later period (*c.* 450 B.C.) the Judaean state is on the point of becoming a religious community, if not a Church. The Jews are settled in a singularly circumscribed area around Jerusalem. Jerusalem itself is desolate and weak, and it is uncertain whether its unhappy condition is the result of the disasters of 586—that is, nearly 140 years previously—or whether, as seems much more probable, Jerusalem suffered another disaster after 520–516. If Jerusalem had been signally favoured by Darius, even as the Jews of Elephantine had special privileges from Cambyses, it is no less likely that, as the latter in due course suffered from the enmity of the local Egyptians, so Jerusalem and its new temple had to meet the hatred of jealous neighbours, especially of Edom and Samaria. There are various biblical passages which it has seemed only natural to read in the light of events before 520–516, but which may, with perhaps greater probability, belong to a rather later date. In the prominence of Zerubbabel and the Messianic hopes we have to recognize a new era of both religious and political significance. Ambitious dreams of religious and political empire, such as recur much later and in less propitious circumstances, would certainly inspire a city which had a reputation for haughty independence and intransigence (Ezr. iv, 15 *sq.*). The fear of a reconstituted and powerful Jerusalem which we encounter at a later period, and the jealousy with which surrounding peoples watch this mistress of Palestine, throw indirect but invaluable light upon the blank years *c.* 516–450. And if to this we add the internal rivalries, both between priestly and civil power, and between the native population and those who returned from exile, it is easy to see that there was much inflammable material. The history of the unhappy land of Judah under Josiah and his successors, the Exile, the revival under Zerubbabel, and the ruin and misery which we find in the days of Artaxerxes bring with them most fundamental historical problems, yet, between the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and the return of Ezra (? 458), or rather of Nehemiah (445)—for the work of Ezra should doubtless follow that of Nehemiah—the historical material is woefully scanty and isolated, and direct evidence is of the slightest.

The sixth century B.C. thus becomes an age of permanent interest as we go behind our sources and discover some of the profound changes that were taking place in and around Palestine. Events of epoch-making significance for the internal development of the

land can be clearly recognized. The great surrounding empires had either fallen, or were nearing the end of their lengthy history. Their creative period was past, whereas Judah in the Persian age underwent reconstruction, and entered upon a career which ceased only with the rise of Christianity and the downfall of Jerusalem. In fact, while the social and political crises of the eighth to fifth centuries B.C. form the end of one chapter of Oriental history and the beginning of the next, an old Israel gives place to a new Israel. The ordinary reader of the Old Testament is scarcely conscious of the true significance of these years; and modern research, while recognizing the supreme importance of the sixth century B.C. for the development of Judaism, and therefore, also, of Christianity, is only slowly determining its meaning for the origin of the Old Testament (cf. vol. I, p. 223). For the Old Testament, it can be said, was then just beginning to assume its present shape, and the problems of the internal history of Israel must be handled *pari passu* with those of the literary vicissitudes of the narratives.

From what precedes it is now obvious that there was no continuous development from the earliest days of Israel to the times of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah and Ezra. The rise and earliest history of the monarchy can be traced only in the broadest outlines, and catastrophic events sever the monarchy from the highly-developed Judaism which grew up in the post-exilic age. Moreover, not only had Palestine had a long history before the entry of Israelites from the deserts south of Palestine (thirteenth century), but there were later movements and immigrations, all of which influenced the internal conditions of Palestine, and stood much closer to the rise of the O.T. books than did the Israelite Exodus and Conquest, many centuries previously. Much of what is related of the Israelite conquest of Palestine would apply to later immigrations, though it will always be uncertain how far these later events have coloured the genuine traditions of the thirteenth century, and, from the O.T. alone, it will be impossible to sever the early from the late. The reader must remember that he is looking at the past through the eyes of invaders who felt themselves distinct from and superior to the native population; he shares their descent into Egypt, their Exodus, and their conquest of Palestine, ignoring the standpoint of their kinsmen who did not go down. He views the divided Monarchy through Judaean spectacles, and when Samaria falls (722 B.C.) he fixes his gaze upon Judah alone. Finally, he throws in his lot with the exiles of Judah, and participates in their new Exodus and Return,

oblivious of those who had never left the land, and whose perspective of events would differ entirely from that of those who came back from Babylon to restore the true religion of Yahweh. Consequently, to obtain a just view of the history we have to allow for these characteristics of the biblical narrative, and the preceding account of the outlines of the historical thread must be supplemented by an independent survey of the main features in the internal development of Israel[1].

[1] It should be observed that the historical narratives give expression to certain definite theories. The treatment of the monarchies of Israel and Judah is at least somewhat artificial as regards (*a*) the attitude to the schismatic tribes of the north and their religion (p. 387), and (*b*) the religion of Judah and Jerusalem (p. 358): after Josiah's reform (p. 397) we hear no more of the local cults; the centralization is deemed to be complete. Further (*c*) a temple-source has been artificially employed, as when 1 Kings xv, 15 seems to be a misplaced duplicate of vii, 15; 2 Kings xi, 10 ignores 1 Kings xiv, 26 *sq.*; and 2 Kings xxv, 16 *sq.* appears to be taken bodily from an account of the temple-furniture. In particular, not only are the accounts of the temple-repairs by Jehoash and Josiah closely related, and the historical value of the former dubious (p. 368 *sq.*), but the negligence in the *twenty-third* year (of Jehoash, 2 Kings xii, 6) is curiously in harmony with the instruction to repair the temple, in the *eighteenth* year (of Josiah, 2 Kings xxii, 3). If this is mere artificial building-up of history, there is a good parallel in Ex. xvi–xviii (see vol. II, p. 361). Finally (*d*) although all the emphasis is laid upon the post-exilic reconstruction of Judah by exiles from Babylon, no important return can be recognized in Zerubbabel's age (p. 409 *sq.*), and the prophetical and other writings unmistakably testify to the importance of the Palestinian population. There is hope of a reunion of north and south under a Davidic king (Jer. xxiii, 5 *sq.*, Ez. xxxvii); both are Yahweh's, and Ephraim is his first-born (Jer. xiii, 11; xxiii, 13; xxxi, 9). A new Israel was growing up, and the problems of its constitution and history are not less significant than those of the Babylonian exile which is commonly treated as the dominant fact in O.T. criticism and the history of Israel. There are traces of some Palestinian disaster after Zerubbabel's advent (p. 413, cf. p. 488); and while it may be doubtful whether the 'exilic' note (disaster, distress and dispersion) dates from the beginning of the sixth century (after the fall of Jerusalem), or after Zerubbabel and the Second Temple (516 B.C.), an effective return of exiles can hardly be traced before the time of Nehemiah (*c.* 445 B.C.). As first shown by C. C. Torrey (*Ezra Studies* [1910], pp. 287 *sqq.*, etc.) ideas of 'exilic' and 'post-exilic' history need reconsideration, the more especially as, apart from specific deportations, there were 'voluntary exiles' due partly to the migrating impulse dating from the eighth century B.C. (cf. chap. xxv below), and partly to the wars in which Palestinians fought as mercenaries. Only when we come to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra (vol. V, cf. below, p. 499 *sq.*) is it possible to realize more clearly how a special standpoint, that of Jerusalem and of exiles from Babylon, accounts for the exclusive attitudes of the historical sources, and the very imperfect and one-sided records that are preserved of the history of Palestine during a stirring age.

CHAPTER XIX

ISRAEL BEFORE THE PROPHETS

I. RELATION TO THE AMARNA AGE: THE ALPHABET

WHEN Assyria gave way to Babylonia, and Babylonia, after a brief supremacy, fell before the Persians, the Near East underwent profound changes. Palestine, however, amid the widespread disintegration preserved a certain continuity, thanks to the new rise of Judah; and the O.T. is of pre-eminent historical value because it links together the earlier conditions, which were rapidly disappearing, with those which in due course culminated in the rise of the Christian world. For this reason the significance of Palestine proved to be out of all proportion to its subordinate position in the political history of Egypt and south-west Asia, and it is the aim of this chapter and the following to supplement the bare outlines in chapters XVII and XVIII by some account of the more intricate data which directly or indirectly throw light upon the internal vicissitudes of Israel.

Modern biblical study is distinguished from that of the past by its recognition that the prophets of Israel hold the key to these developments. The older and traditional view which was able to fuse together the Pentateuch and the post-exilic Judaism of the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, in spite of the many intervening centuries, did scant justice to these great figures. The more modern criticism (dating from 1870–80) extols them for their part in re-shaping the religious, political and social conditions of their age: to put it in a formula, the Prophets now come before the Law. Scholars are agreed, on a variety of grounds, that the internal history of Israel must be 'reconstructed,' though to what extent and with what results, are questions that are always very keenly disputed.

The 'Amarna age,' upon which such welcome light was thrown by external and contemporary evidence (vol. II, chap. XIII), lies about half-a-millennium behind the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, the earliest contemporary source for the period now under review (p. 372 *sq.*). The days of Sennacherib, Hezekiah and Isaiah come roughly midway between that distant age and the rise of Christianity. So uncertain and fragmentary is our old material that we can hardly form any trustworthy picture

of the internal conditions until we reach the first prophets—Amos and Hosea (eighth century, p. 379 *sq.*); for although we have seen that the age of Elijah (middle of ninth century) is a landmark, it proved difficult to determine precisely what internal changes lay behind the biblical record (p. 371). Generally speaking, there was a certain similarity in all ancient Semitic life and thought (cf. vol. I, pp. 194 *sqq.*); indeed there are literary points of contact between the Amarna age and even the later part of our period (vol. II, pp. 336 *sqq.*). Palestine had a long history both before and after the days of the Israelites, and scholars have found it far from easy to decide to what extent the invading Israelites changed the face of the land upon which they settled (see vol. II, ch. xiv).

There are three very important changes to be noticed since the Amarna age: (*a*) we are now in the age of iron, although bronze still continues in use; (*b*) the intricate cuneiform syllabary with its hundreds of signs has been replaced by a simple alphabet of twenty-two consonants; and (*c*) Yahwism has become the national religion and stands in need of reform. The historical background to these changes is in each case obscure. As regards the introduction of iron, chariots and weapons of iron were no doubt possessed by the native Canaanites and the newly-settled Philistines before the Israelites gained their independence (cf. Josh. xvii, 16; 1 Sam. xiii, 19). The precious metal presumably came from the iron-working tribes of Asia Minor; and its introduction and spread have been conjecturally associated with the extensive and continuous movements in which were involved Philistines, Dorians and others (cf. p. 162, and vol. II, p. 292). The political importance of the secondary Hittite states in north Syria may also have been a factor in the cultural development of that time and, as has sometimes been supposed, may have played a part in the origin and distribution of the alphabet. The latter, however, is still an unsolved problem; and it will be convenient at this place to summarize the leading facts.

There are three main interrelated types of alphabet: (1) the European (Greek, Etruscan, etc.); (2) the North Semitic, with its Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician, etc.) and Aramaean branches; and (3) the South Semitic or Old Arabian. To these add the Indian derivatives, (4), the Brāhmī (the parent of the modern Indian alphabets) and the Kharoshthī, of which the latter is certainly, and the former probably, of Aramaean origin[1]. The South Semitic

[1] See *The Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 62, 104 *sq.*, 657. No. 3 is the parent of the Ethiopic script, whereas 'square' Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic (with Persian, Turkish, etc.) are derived from the Aramaean branch.

itself presumably dates from the Assyrian age, and in some respects appears to stand palaeographically between the North Semitic and the Greek.

As regards the origin of the three main alphabets, they have at one time or another been compared with the scripts (hieroglyphic and linear) of Egypt, Crete, Cyprus and Asia Minor, or with the miscellaneous signs on the pebbles of Mas d'Azil, pottery, bricks, ingots, and so forth. But although many resemblances have been pointed out, there are no obvious indications that the scripts have been directly or indirectly derived from any single source. The work of comparison would be even less conclusive if the characters were selected arbitrarily, regardless of their value (as the old Persians drew upon the Babylonian cuneiform), and had some entirely different sound in the parent script. If, however, weight may be attached to the Hebrew and Greek *names* of the letters—and the names can be traced back to at least the fifth century B.C.—we may suppose that each character was primarily an imitation (rough or conventional) of some simple and familiar object, the name of which began with the letter which it was supposed to represent. The names, as seen in the table facing p. 432, give us house-life, agriculture, water and fishing, and a knowledge of both ox and camel; but it is disputed whether these point to an origin among townsmen, or bedouins, or traders. As a whole, the names stand in contrast to the typically Egyptian objects represented by the Egyptian hieroglyphs and to the highly significant signs on the (undeciphered) Phaestus disk (ship, headdress, shield, bow, etc.). The names themselves are, if anything, Canaanite rather than Aramaean; and the Greeks probably obtained them through the Phoenicians, though, to judge from the variants, neither names nor characters seem to have been received at once or in one form.

The resemblance between name and sign is sometimes far from obvious[1]. It is possible, therefore, that the original *forms* may have been more similar; thus, the mouth (17) is more recognizable in the South Semitic than in the North; while the resemblance to an ox-head (1) is closer in the North Semitic than in the South. But it has also been thought that in some cases we no longer have the original *names*. Thus, Ethiopic replaces the fish (14) by a serpent—not possessing the Semitic word for the former—and the Greek name *zēta* (7) suggests an olive (*zayt*) and not a weapon. It has been conjèctured that *ḳōph* (19) takes the

[1] Contrast the camel (No. 3 in the table) with the recognizable eye (16), and teeth (21).

place of some more appropriate name, such as bow (*ḳésheth*) or helmet (*ḳōba'*). So also, the ox-head (*'eleph*), which has the value of the soft breathing, may have been a tent (*'ōhel*), and an original axe (*garzen*)—hardly a roof (*gāg*)—may have been replaced by the alleged camel (*gimel*). Another possibility has also to be noticed: the names may be of secondary origin and based upon or influenced by some non-Semitic language. Thus, in Sumerian *gam* (cf. the Greek and Arabic names of No. 3) actually has the idea of bending, and represents a bent object; and not only has the same triangular character the values *da* and *ru*, but these letters (Nos. 4 and 20) are almost identical in the Semitic scripts. The conjecture that their present names, too, are not original is enhanced by the fact that *rēsh* (an Aramaic word, the Hebrew would be *rōsh*) is *ro* in Greek, and that *daleth* is called *dal* and *dant* in Arabic and Ethiopic respectively[1]. In fact, the original Semitic name may perhaps have been *dad*, the female breast.

The names whose meaning is uncertain or unknown present a problem in themselves. If, on the one hand, we assume that there was no necessary relation between a sign and its name, simple Semitic words could easily have been found for *h* (*har*, mountain, or *ḥălōm*, hammer), *ḥ* (*ḥallōn*, window), *ṭ* (*ṭabba'ath*, ring, or *ṭīrah*, encampment), *ṣ* (*ṣīṣ*, flower), and so forth. But if, on the other hand, we are to suppose that the two were intended to agree, it would be a tempting conjecture that the strange words *hē*, *ḥēth*, etc., were borrowed together with the corresponding signs. But whence? In Crete, it is true, we find evident forms of hand, palm, eye, etc., but it so happens that the corresponding forms in the Semitic alphabet have thoroughly intelligible Semitic names. Is *hē* (5) the Cretan term for the object the sign is supposed to represent? Is the word *ṭēth* derived from the language where we find the character that most resembles this enigmatic sign? It is equally difficult, either by mere comparison to point to any area as the source of those signs the names of which are obscure, or to guess from inspection of the signs what *hē*, *ḥēth*, etc., presumably meant in some, as yet, undetermined language.

Passing over inconclusive theories of phonetic and linear modifications[2] we note, finally, that the *order* of the North Semitic alphabet seems to have been fixed by about the sixth century B.C.

[1] But if these similarities are purely fortuitous the danger of building solely upon resemblances becomes all the more obvious.

[2] The similarity between the forms of 22 and 9, 21 and 18, 18 and 7, 7 and 15, 5 and 8 throw no light upon the origin of the names they bear. Similarity of phonetic value is accompanied with similarity of name in Arabic

(viz. the alphabetical poems in the Book of Lamentations). The sequence of the liquids, *l*, *m*, *n*, seems hardly a coincidence; and similarity of meaning might account for Nos. 10 and 11, 13 and 14, 16 and 17 (this pair is reversed in Lam. ii–iv), and perhaps 20 and 21. It is to be remembered, also, that in the Assyrian Syllabary (styled S^a), which was found in Egypt among the Amarna tablets, (1) the order is determined partly by the sound, partly by the meaning and also by the form of the characters (though they are not consecutive), and (2) to a certain extent the order of the North Semitic alphabet finds parallels in that of the Syllabary. So far the evidence yields only the negative conclusion that nowhere do we find a single, obvious explanation of all the characters, or the names, or the order. These have been deliberately introduced or fixed, and they persist; intentional changes have been made, which then hold the field. Hence we are obliged to postulate from time to time the act of some definite individual or individuals.

Apart from a few exceptional inscriptions, the continuous history of the North Semitic script begins with the appearance in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. of a fine uniform script and well-developed literary style, in North Syria and Moab (cols. 8, 10). There is also a certain uniformity of language, for, to judge from the consonantal texts, Hebrew, Phoenician and Moabite differed only dialectically. There were, however, some important differences, as the 'shibbōleth' testifies (Judg. xii, 6); and in Moabite the plural ending *-n* agrees with Aramaic and Arabic against the Hebrew *-m*. In the extreme north Phoenician and other inscriptions (Hassan-bey-li, Zenjirli) point to North Semitic (? Canaanite, Amorite) influence in a region where, during the Amarna period, Hittite or Mitannian influence was to be expected (see vol. II, p. 332 on the 'glosses'). The Zenjirli inscriptions, in fact, proceed from a dynasty of foreign origin (Asia Minor) which soon became pretty thoroughly Semitized (pp. 144, 158, 161). One fine contemporary stele (from Ördek-burnu), although in the North Semitic script, is in an entirely unknown language. Consequently, the North Semitic script, language and elements of culture (notably in religion) have, in some way, become firmly established in North Syria. But these inscriptions also reveal the increasing prominence of Aramaic; and the old Canaanite language, which goes back to an early date (vol. I, p. 226; vol. II, p. 332 *sq.*), gradually gives

(cf. nos. 2, 22, 23), but not in Ethiopic, where there are some quite obscure terms (cf. 18 with 26, 8 with 24); and the meaningless syllables in Arabic (*ba, ra, fa, ya*) have no counterpart in North Semitic.

way to Aramaic. At the same time, the North Semitic alphabet soon begins to divide into two distinct branches, of which the one persists in Old Hebrew (seals, etc.), Phoenician and Samaritan, while the other, the Aramaean, became in due course the parent, both of the familiar Hebrew square character, and of the Syriac and Arabic types, with all their manifold derivatives. Accordingly, this North Semitic culture dates *after* the Amarna age (fourteenth century) and *before* the spread of Aramaic (contemporary with the Assyrian conquests), it is strongly entrenched in the extreme north, and the unknown circumstances in which the conditions arose which we find in the ninth–eighth centuries present a problem of considerable significance for our ideas of the early history of Syria and Palestine.

The South Semitic alphabet (see col. 21) is a fine, symmetrical, architectonic script which lasted many centuries, undergoing relatively little change. Evidently it originated, hardly as the climax of some lost earlier development which suddenly came to an end, but as a deliberately formed type, even as the Berber alphabet, in its turn, was the symmetrical reshaping of a Phoenician or Punic script. A striving after symmetry is noticeable also in the Greek alphabet; the Brāhmī, too, has a characteristically Indian treatment. Degraded forms of the South Semitic alphabet appear in the later Liḥyan, Thamud and Safa inscriptions, the work of tribes apparently migrating northwards from Arabia to the east of the Jordan. Among them are found various signs which closely resemble the bedouin 'wasms' (*wusūm*) or cattle-marks; some reciprocal influence may in all probability be assumed—a similar explanation would also account for the various striking resemblances between the North Semitic alphabet and the potters' and other marks scattered over the Mediterranean basin (p. 418).

The care taken in both North and South Semitic to separate words, and even, on the Moabite stone, to divide clauses or sentences, points to a certain literary culture. This refinement was preserved in the quieter history of south Arabia, but it was lost amid the stormy vicissitudes of the northern Semites, until the Phoenician inscriptions of the Greek Age came under Greek influence. Now, only some definite political and cultural uniformity would seem able to account for the distribution of the North Semitic lapidary style from North Syria to Moab—also at Samaria and Gezer (ninth century and later, col. 9): similarly the distribution of the neo-Hittite hieroglyphs is due to some historical factor. But the fact that the alphabet soon subdivides (seventh century) and develops along different lines allows the

assumption that this style did not arise long before the tenth century, or else the divergences would surely have begun earlier. If, on the other hand, it can be traced back before that date, we may assume that nothing had as yet occurred to destroy the uniformity, although it is rather difficult to suppose that this style is earlier than the events which shook the western states towards the close of the second millennium B.C. (cf. p. 636).

The rise of the North Semitic script and the culture which goes with it is a problem not to be confused with that of the origin of the alphabet itself. No one of the three main types—North and South Semitic, Greek—is necessarily to be regarded as standing nearest to an ancestral alphabet. As a matter of fact, it seems impossible by mere comparison to construct the hypothetical parent of them all. Instead of assuming a gradual 'evolution' of the alphabetical types from a single ancestor, therefore, it may be sounder to recognize that the history of languages, alphabets and cultures is a much more complicated process (see vol. I, pp. 187, 224 *sq.*). Accordingly we should distinguish, throughout, between (*a*) the more gradual and unconscious changes and (*b*) the more definite and deliberate steps, when a series of alphabetical characters was initiated or fixed, when their names were introduced or changed, and their order settled. More room must be left for acts of personal choice, and in view of the indications of individuality (signs, their name or order) we must certainly recognize the freedom which those who were responsible for new stages in the alphabet permitted themselves. In other words, then, different types and sub-types, different names and different sequences came into existence and the individual enterprise which alone accounts for them is quite distinct from the more orderly evolution which can be traced after each had once been initiated. The conclusion is not unimportant.

In 1905 Sir Flinders Petrie discovered at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinaitic peninsula some strange signs which are thought by some to link the Egyptian hieroglyphs with the Semitic alphabet. Some of them are partly of Egyptian derivation (ox-head, eye, snake), others are foreign to Egypt but have Semitic analogies, the rest cannot be identified. It is uncertain whether this script (1500 B.C. or earlier) was the ancestor of the Semitic types, or one of a variety of current scripts; it might have been peculiar to the locality, or due to foreign officials. The partly Semitic character of the remains in the locality, and the close proximity to the Philistine and south Palestinian area are, in any

event, especially noteworthy in view of the political and economic significance of the whole district. Gaza itself was the meeting-place of many routes (cf. vol. II, p. 380), and would therefore be a natural centre for the origin, or at least for the distribution, of the three main types. But at present there are no links between these types and the Sinaitic signs[1].

In the eleventh century B.C., as we learn from Wenamon's report, the court of Zakarbaal at Byblus had its archives (vol. II, p. 193). The stele which he enjoined the king to erect to record the despatch of timber to Egypt would be either in cuneiform or alphabetic. Cuneiform was in constant use in the fourteenth century for diplomatic intercourse and for intercommunication, but it was not within everyone's reach (cf. vol. II, p. 334 *sq.*). How long it persisted is uncertain. We find cuneiform contract-tablets at Gezer, *c.* 650, but they probably come from a local Assyrian colony. Moreover, it has sometimes been conjectured that writers of the O.T. used or at least were acquainted with cuneiform texts—cf., for example, Gen. xiv (especially the opening) and the references to Cyrus in Is. xliv, 28, xlv, 1; the influence of Babylonian procedure is also found in the account of Jeremiah's contract (xxxii, 10 *sqq.*). On the other hand, in Assyria itself the use of Aramaic endorsements on contract-tablets shows that the Aramaic language and alphabet began to prevail among the people from the eighth–seventh centuries onwards; and in Palestine, from being the language of official intercourse (2 Kings xviii, 26), it spread and ultimately became the language of the people. Hebrew was no doubt the native language, and the view that some part, at least, of the O.T. was actually written in cuneiform and on clay-tablets has no substantial evidence in its favour. On the contrary, to judge from Is. xxviii, 11, Assyrian seems to have been regarded as a foreign jargon. Limestone tablets have been found inscribed in Hebrew at Gezer and Sandaḥannah, but in Wenamon's time papyrus was being imported from Egypt to Byblus (vol. II, p. 333). The use of papyrus may be implied in the 'blotting out' of Ex. xxxii, 32; but, unfortunately for the possibilities of archaeological research, the climate of Palestine is not conducive to its preservation, and even a white-washed and inscribed stone (Deut. xxvii, 2), suitable enough in Egypt, would hardly survive a few bad seasons.

[1] The Phoenician inscription recently discovered at Byblus, if correctly ascribed to the thirteenth century B.C., proves the antiquity of the North Semitic alphabet, but hardly of the monumental type which later ruled from North Syria to Moab. See col. 11.

In this unfortunate paucity of facts it must suffice to observe that difference of material would tend to produce difference of script. In contrast to the North Semitic monumental style, the ostraka discovered at Samaria (ninth century), like one recently found in Jerusalem, point to the practice of a cursive style and the use of a reed-pen (col. 9). The Siloam inscription, too, is written in a beautiful cursive. Moreover, the latter differs so characteristically from the lapidary style, that, if it has developed from it, it would seem, on purely palaeographical grounds, to be considerably later than the eighth century (see p. 391, n.). On the other hand, the more lapidary and the more cursive scripts should not perhaps be regarded as belonging to the same line of evolution, and in this case we may suppose that an independent cursive style had long been in use. Such a style would be more suitable for trading purposes, and cursive types might well be the source of those different individualistic monumental styles which were deliberately constructed, and owed their origin and distribution to definite though as yet unknown historical factors. Whether the various local Greek types are derived from a cursive or a monumental Semitic type is another question.

One more argument remains to be mentioned, that of archaeology. Assyrian monuments of the eighth century and later sometimes represent two scribes together. The Assyrian is easily recognized holding the stylus in his closed fist and pressing upon the tablet. His beardless colleague has a roll of leather or papyrus, and holds the reed or pen in the familiar way. He is, perhaps, an Aramaean. The Assyrian tablets sometimes refer to Aramaean scribes—who, in half-a-dozen cases are women—and the Aramaeans were the great trading-folk in Mesopotamia. Further, it has been observed that one of the Zenjirli monuments reproduces the ordinary Egyptian writing-outfit, and that the very name of the latter (*gsty*) is preserved in Ezek. ix, 2 (*ḳeseth*, E.V. has 'inkhorn'). The evidence for Egyptian influence is certainly impressive. The Egyptian scribes of the Amarna age knew the Assyrian syllabary (S^a), and they had even attempted to simplify the cuneiform, writing *ga-a-al* for *gal*, *da-ab* for *dab*, *ru-um* for *rum*. From this analysis of syllables the next step might have been to reduce *da*, *di*, etc., to *d*, *ga*, *gi*, etc., to *g*, so that finally, thanks to the essential consonantal nature of Semitic languages, such varying forms as *malak*, *malik*, *malku*, could be recognized as based upon *m*, *l* and *k* (cf. vol. 1, p. 187). After the Amarna age trade gradually passed out of the hands both of the Cretans, whose script is still undeciphered, and of Egyptians, Hittites,

etc., who used cuneiform for diplomatic and other purposes. There were some far-reaching ethnical and political changes. New people took over the trading customs, and new needs arose. Relatively simple linear scripts were in the air, when not already in use (*e.g.* the Cretan linear); even art was geometric. It is noteworthy that in spite of contact with Cyprus, the Cypriote signs—which, however, are syllabic and not alphabetical—exercised no obvious influence; nor can we trace any connection with the Hittite signs. Possibly more than one attempt was made to solve the problem of a simple alphabet, even as happened many centuries later, when the vowel-signs in both Hebrew and Syriac were introduced. It may be that some Egyptian *maher*, cosmopolitan and erudite (cf. vol. II, p. 326), proved a friend in need, like old Sinuhe (vol. I, p. 229). But, however it arose, the so-called 'Phoenician' alphabet was an invention of incalculable value, like the so-called 'Arabic' numerals; and in both instances the Semite was less the inventor than the middleman.

Accordingly, the investigation of the origin of the alphabet illustrates the complexity of the processes of cultural history. The factors are not simple; and individual enterprise, initiating new forms of culture, has operated no less effectively than the more gradual and less conscious processes which carry them on, but could never have given birth to them. To this conclusion, which is of extreme importance for our general ideas of development, there is to be added a fact of interest for the history of Syria. In North Syria (Zenjirli, etc.) we find an area (Canaanite or Amorite), with pronounced neo-Hittite associations, which was broken up by the Assyrian conquests and the spread of the Aramaeans and their language. The North Semitic culture found there presumably arose after the storms that raged towards the close of the second millennium B.C. Moreover, the existence in the extreme north of Syria, and bordering on Muṣri ('border'), of a Semitic state called 'left,' *i.e.* 'north' (*Sam'āl*), seems to point to some well-defined geographical or political unit of which this was the recognized northern frontier. Whether or not the tribal district of Benjamin (*ben-yāmīn*), *i.e.* the 'son of the right hand,' or south, formed the southern limit, it is at least an instructive fact that farther south lay a very distinctive South Palestinian *bloc*. Judah had Edomite and other southern connections, and is sometimes unaccountably absent from the history (pp. 363, 376), whereas the northern kingdom was always more closely associated with its more northerly neighbours (see especially vol. II, p. 406, n. 1). The origin of this presumed unit

in the north is, however, quite conjectural, and we may infer that a whole chapter of political history has disappeared; it is an inference which is not without independent support (p. 432).

II. THE OLD YAHWISM

The conclusion that many different factors went to produce the Semitic alphabetical signs, their names and their order, agrees with the strange blend of Egyptian and Mesopotamian *motifs* found on Syrian and Palestinian seals, and with other indications of complex external influences side by side with a certain individuality. The same may be said of the beliefs and practices. Syria and Palestine were exposed on every quarter, and the extent of foreign influence can hardly be determined with certainty. It should be premised that the O.T. is an *Israelite* work, whereas the Israelites were only part of the Hebrews. There is much in common between Israel and Moab (cf. p. 372), Aram (cf. p. 375), Phoenicia, etc., and between Semitic, Egyptian and other beliefs and practices. There is no sound reason why the Palestinian area should be regarded as distinct in kind from all others, and there are traces enough of very rudimentary and primitive ideas and customs comparable to those in 'savage' lands. There are also many important differences, and therefore a fair estimate must do justice to both the differences and the resemblances. Here it should be observed that from the antiquity of certain ideas, rites, etc., in neighbouring lands *outside* Palestine, it does not follow, as is often supposed, that they must also have been equally familiar *within*. On the other hand, from earlier contemporary evidence (*e.g.* the Amarna letters), and from later biblical, apocalyptical, and other literature it is often possible to infer that certain ideas or beliefs which they contain are not to be regarded as isolated, but must have been current in some more developed or less developed form at later or at earlier periods, as the case may be. That is to say, they either continued to develop, or they had a history before they are first known to us. Consequently the internal development of Palestine involves extremely delicate problems of the true nature of social-religious evolution, and there has been too ready a tendency in the past to assume that from the O.T. itself it is possible to construct some continuous, orderly and complete development of life and thought. This assumption ignores the great break in the seventh and following centuries B.C. (pp. 385, 414); though the fact that it is possible to find an intimate connection between earlier (pre-exilic)

and later (post-exilic) stages, a continuity in spite of the discontinuity, is of the first importance for the problem[1].

The Temple of Jerusalem, as regards construction, contents and ritual, finds analogies among one or other of the surrounding lands, including south Arabia, Crete and Cyprus. (On the general topography of Jerusalem, see above, p. 348 *sq.*) The ark or chest (*arōn*) placed in the dark inner chamber (*dĕbīr*), such as was to be found in other temples, had once been carried about, a receptacle and a palladium. Elsewhere, gods were conveyed in barges (a Palestine seal represents a god conveyed in this manner), or in chariots (cf. 1 Chron. xxviii, 18, and below). Though the ark is not described as a seat, the characteristic Aegean cult of the empty throne may not have been unknown, to judge from the small models of thrones that have been found at Gezer and Beth-Shemesh. The accompanying cherubim (1 Kings vi, 23), who recall the Egyptian goddesses Isis and Nephthys, are elsewhere sacred guardians; they take part in theophanies, and resemble the composite figures of Mesopotamia (where they guard temples), Egypt, and native seals (cf. also the six-winged attendants, Is. vi, 2). The lion-motif (1 Kings vii, 29) seems to have been especially frequent at Megiddo, and on seals there occur winged lions, and lions surmounted by a deity (like the goddess Kadesh in Egypt, vol. II, p. 347): lions are familiar in Hittite and North Syrian iconography. The brazen sea (1 Kings vii, 23), a remarkable and gigantic piece of work, standing upon twelve oxen, represented—at least originally—the world-ocean (as in Marduk's temple in Babylon). It is associated with the myth of the struggle of Marduk with Tiamat—in Assyria the hero is Ashur, while the Israelites applied it to Yahweh (*e.g.* Is. li, 9 *sq.*). The shewbread ('presence bread'), in the outer chamber of the Temple, was properly the food dedicated to the god or gods, and placed on an altar: Ishtar had her cakes (Jer. vii. 18), and tables were spread to 'Fortune' and 'Destiny' (Is. lxv, 11). The sacred altar had corner-pieces—horns; apparently they were substitutes for the horns of the deity, or of the sacrificial victim, or of both. Before the porch stood two bronze pillars (as also at Hierapolis, Paphos, and the temple of Melḳart at Tyre). Like the

[1] The fundamental difficulty throughout is that of determining the approximate date of the various biblical references. To a certain extent, however, it is often immaterial whether archaic and cruder features of belief and practice are—on the 'critical' view—of exilic or post-exilic date, or—on the 'traditional' view—are ancient, and have been preserved unchanged through the exilic and post-exilic ages.

common sacred stones (*maṣṣēbōth*) they were symbols of deity and vehicles of divine power—compare the stone at Bethel[1]. It was by some sacred pillar in the Temple that both Joash and Josiah stood on ceremonial occasions (2 Kings xi, 14, xxiii, 3), just as in Babylonia oaths were sworn and testimonies taken at the pillar of Shamash. And while pairs of well-known gods would guard the entrance to Babylonian temples, the pillars at Jerusalem were called Jakin (*Yākīn*) and Boaz (*Bō'az*): the precise meaning of the words is disputed. Naturally, when men came to 'see' their god there was at least some recognizable symbol, and besides the pillars already mentioned there was also a brazen serpent to which, perhaps as a healing-power, incense was burnt.

Not a few traces of serpent-cults have been found in Palestine (serpent-symbols, models of serpents, etc.); and it has been held by some that the Levites were especially associated with these serpent-cults, and that the name of Eve (*ḥawwah*), the mother of all living things (Gen. iii, 20), proves that she was a serpent-ancestress. At all events, the origin of the temple-serpent is ascribed in the first instance to Moses, while the bullock or calf-cult of the northern kingdom is connected partly with Jeroboam I, its first king (p. 358), or partly with the priest Aaron, perhaps a Bethelite figure (vol. II, p. 363)[2]. From this it follows that, primarily, neither cult was felt to be a late unorthodox introduction. Moreover, not only was the ox an old symbol of Hadad, but Yahweh himself is called the 'steer of Jacob,' and the 'shepherd of the Israel-stone' (viz. the stone of Bethel, or perhaps rather of Shechem, Gen. xlix, 24). Animal symbols abound on Palestinian seals, etc., and an incense-altar, discovered at Taanach, is remarkable for its wealth of decoration (lions, composite figures, human faces, a tree, a boy struggling with a serpent). The sacred tree itself, with an animal on either side, is also a familiar Palestinian *motif*.

In the Temple of Jerusalem there were horses of the sun with their chariots (2 Kings xxiii, 11; cf. xi, 16)—Shamash stands on a horse in the procession of gods sculptured on the rocks at Malatia. The existence of sun-cults is confirmed elsewhere by such place-names as Ēn (or Bēth)-Shemesh, *i.e.* 'Well (or House) of the Sun'; and with this agrees the early prominence of the god Shamash (vol. II, p. 350 *sq.*) and of the symbol of the winged-sun, familiar in Assyria and Egypt (p. 90, cf. Mal. iv, 2). Sun-worship persisted (Ez. viii, 16), and the eastern gate of the Temple was

[1] Gen. xxviii, 22; cf. also xxxi, 45 *sqq.*; Josh. xxiv, 27.

[2] A proper name on a Samarian ostrakon (Egli-yau, or the like) apparently equates Yahweh with the calf.

especially sacred (Ez. x, 19; xliv, 2 *sq.*). The cult of the Queen of Heaven flourished (p. 403); there are also various traces of moon-cult, and men kissed their hand in adoration to sun and moon (Job xxxi, 26 *sq.*).

Passing over other traces of astral cults, we have to notice the myth of rebellious and fallen 'angels' and of primeval Nĕphīlīm, of which only the merest fragment remains (Gen. vi, 4), proof however of a more systematic account *in writing*, of which there are late forms in late works—which would have been quite out of place by the side of Gen. i–iii. Moreover, besides the account of creation in Gen. ii *sq.*, and in Gen. i (behind which lies an older one), there are traces of others with rich imagery, though such a detail as the joy of the heavenly host at the creation may be merely a poetic figure (Job xxxviii, 7). Elsewhere, there are also myths of a primaeval man of superhuman wisdom, of a semi-divine being in Paradise (Ez. xxviii), even as there was also a myth of a cataclysm quite distinct from that of the deluge, but hardly less destructive (see vol. I, p. 235). Of Enoch—a popular figure in later times—much more was evidently known than what is preserved in Gen. v, 21–24. In fact, what is said of Samson (who is to be compared with both Gilgamesh and Hercules), of Jephthah's daughter (cf. the story of Iphigeneia), of Esau (cf. the Phoenician Usōos), not to go into further detail, points to a richness of myth and legend which (*a*) associate the ancient land with the neighbouring peoples with whose fortunes it was so closely bound up, and (*b*) throws into relief our O.T., where we have only a selection made by writers who had definite didactic aims (see vol. II, p. 383 *sq.*, and below, p. 473 *sq.*).

There were some veritable pantheons: Zakir of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'āl, and Baal of Tyre recognize each a number of deities[1]. Israel, Moab and Ammon had each its national god (Yahweh, Chemosh and Milcom respectively), but even in Israel the presence of other gods could not be concealed. As many gods as cities, protested Jeremiah; and we can trace, apart from the evidence of the personal names and obscure references[2], Adonis, Tammuz, the god of Beersheba (see vol. II, p. 394), probably an Ashima of Samaria, and a deity Bethel (cf. Jer. xlviii, 13), whose name reappears in the Anath-bethel and Ashima(?)-bethel whom the Jews of Elephantine venerated by the side of their god

[1] See pp. 375, 433 *n.* Zakir recognizes sun and moon-god and the gods of heaven and earth; Panammu acknowledges Hadad, El, Resheph (?lightning-god), Shamash, etc.

[2] Is. xvii, 10; Ez. viii, 14; cf. also Am. v, 26 and 2 Kings xvii, 30 *sq.*

Yahu (Yahweh)[1]. No deity, least of all a female, is tolerated in Israel by the side of Yahweh (cf. the Decalogue, Ex. xx, 3)—so also the gods Khaldis of Urarṭu and Ashur have no consort (see p. 184); but the numerous images of a mother-goddess unearthed in Palestine and the repeated condemnation of Astartes and Asherahs (see p. 464), together with the occurrence of such place-names as 'Ashtārōth ('the Astartes') and 'Anāthōth ('the Anaths'), not only testify to the forces against which Israelite monolatry and monotheism had to contend, but also indicate how there might be attached to the cult of Yahweh some of the beliefs and practices associated with the deities whom his cult superseded.

There were many famous holy places: Carmel, Hermon, Gilgal, Kadesh, and especially Shechem and its neighbourhood. Around Jerusalem were settled priestly families at Anathoth and Nōb (Nebo?)—the very names and associations are extremely significant, as also are the names of the near-lying Beth-Ninurta (see vol. II, p. 315) and Beth-Leḥem (? cf. the god Laḥmu, p. 234); the two places are possibly identical. Besides Jerusalem itself, the mount of Olives was a sacred locality (2 Sam. xv, 32), at Gibeon was a famous old sanctuary (1 Kings iii, 4), and the valley of Rephaim to the south-west, and that of Hinnom (whence the name Gehenna), with its human sacrifices, all combined to give the district a unique religious significance. The city was a sort of mystical centre, it was regarded with an almost fanatical devotion which has sometimes been remarked in medieval and modern times. Its history goes back many centuries before the days of David and Solomon, and the inauguration of the Temple (cf. p. 344 *sq.*). Jerusalem, with its Hittite and Amorite ancestry (cf. vol. I, p. 233 *sq.*; II, p. 319) and its ancient history, must have had a wealth of belief and ritual firmly established long before it passed into the hands of the Israelites, although the aim of the biblical historians is to trace back the beginnings of its religious importance to the activity of the first Israelite kings.

Yahweh in the O.T. is pre-eminently associated with atmospheric, solar and cosmic imagery. He has volcanic and storm attributes. He rides in the cloud, manifests himself in fire and causes earthquakes. He is not precisely a cosmic power, but

[1] Elephantine was the seat of the cult of the Egyptian god Khnum, with whom were associated two goddesses (the 'mistress of Elephantine' and a sister-goddess): a Greek inscription identifies them with Hera and Hestia. For the two wives, cf. Abraham with his Sarah and Hagar (also the Babylonian custom, vol. I, p. 523).

he works through such powers; he is *behind*, not *in*, nature, and he uses nature for his own purposes (cf. Ps. civ, on which see vol. II, p. 117). Above all, he is a war-god, a 'man of war' (Ex. xv, 3). He arms himself and leads his heroes; he has his chariots, angels and camps; his heavenly host fights for his people Israel; he sends his warrior prince (Josh. v, 14). Moreover, there is a holy mount of the gods, and a heavenly court (1 Kings xxii, 19). Yahweh is not alone; he has coadjutors ('we,' Gen. iii, 22; xi, 7, etc.). We find no pantheon; but the 'angels' of later times (cf. the 'watchers,' Dan. iv, 17) are the later and much modified representatives of the deities who in the past would have been subordinate to the rulers of a pantheon. The old mythology has disappeared, but the imagery which persists and is often extremely picturesque was once part of a more coherent system of ideas, even as the symbols on seals, etc., were once not so empty or conventional as they doubtless became. The cults of Addu (Hadad) and Shamash, and the world of thought associated with them—not to mention the presence of Egyptian temples (vol. II, p. 345 *sq.*)—encouraged an atmosphere which was not at once dispelled by the introduction of the cult of Yahweh, and Yahweh would naturally come to be regarded as a god of the Addu-Shamash type. But these old features lie *behind* and not *in* the O.T., although the strange circumcision-story in Ex. iv, 24–26, for example, speaks volumes for the persistence of a primitive crudeness.

Besides the fact that the old Oriental religions had much in common, the political interrelations between Palestine and her neighbours would undoubtedly react upon the native religious and other thought. After all, it must never be forgotten that the 'Israelites' were only a special branch of the 'Hebrews.' Yahweh, as the book of Genesis itself indicates, was the god not merely of Israel, but of other related tribes (Esau, Hagar, etc.); and all the evidence goes to show that Yahwism, like the surrounding religions, was part of a system of beliefs and practices, certain aspects of which entirely justified the condemnation of the prophets, and the iconoclasm of strenuous reformers. The prophets would be inexplicable were there not flagrant evils which offended their conceptions of a spiritual God. Preserved here and there in the O.T. we have, in fact, the *disjecta membra* of cults which are more reminiscent of the barbarism and mythology of the old Oriental world than of that spiritual idealism and ethical monotheism which distinguish the higher religion of Israel from other religions. How the cult of Yahweh was introduced we do not really know, and the deeper study of the O.T. in the light of

archaeological and other evidence suggests the very important conclusion that an older and cruder Yahwism has disappeared, and an entire chapter is missing between the Amarna age and the rise of the O.T. (cf. p. 425 *sq.* on the alphabet). A stage, which was perhaps more 'Amorite' than 'Israelite,' has disappeared: the O.T. introduces us into the midst of firmly established conditions the origin of which is lost, and, in the absence of external and contemporary evidence, only by a careful study of the O.T. from many different points of view can one hope to throw light upon the internal vicissitudes.

III. FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS: GODS AND THEIR WORSHIPPERS

The worship of Yahweh was planted on and grew up in an old land whereon flourished ideas and tendencies which both outlived Yahwism and also find parallels outside Palestine. The O.T. is our *source* for the study of Yahwism rather than an *exposition* of it. It is possible to find higher and lower forms of Yahwism, and to recognize certain fundamental ideas which were varyingly shaped and developed; and the real history of Israel is essentially that of the life of these ideas, their decay, their re-expression, or the failure to bring them and practical life into harmony with each other.

The worship of Yahweh by Israel implied the existence of other gods distinct from him. There was, in general, a readiness to admit the claims of other gods to other spheres (Judg. xi. 24), to consult them or sacrifice to them (cf. 2 Kings i, 3); if need be, to identify them with or subordinate them to one's own god(s) or otherwise co-ordinate them; to carry them off, to destroy them, to ridicule them, and so forth[1]. The pure monotheism which denies all other gods as being not-gods, is theoretically the culminating point of religion, but is rare and impermanent. Very often the gods are restricted not only (*a*) to particular nations or tribes, but they are limited (*b*) locally (*e.g.* hill-gods are powerless in the plains, 1 Kings xx, 23), or (*c*), as regards function and attribute. In the

[1] To avoid pronouncing the name of an abominated god it was altered; hence Baal was called Bōsheth ('shame'), and the personal name Ish-baal became Ish-bosheth (vol. II, p. 372). For the same reason the king-god (Heb. *mélek*) is called Molek and the goddess Astarte is Ashtoreth. In like manner Chiun (Kiyyūn) and Siccuth (Am. v, 26, R.V.) were so vocalized as to suggest the word *shiḳḳūṣ* ('abomination'); and the 'abomination of desolation' (Matt. xxiv, 15) goes back, through Dan. xi, 31 (*shiḳḳūṣ mĕshōmēm*), to a 'god (or Baal) of heaven' (*shāmayim*), *i.e.* Zeus.

TABLE OF ALPHABETS

Ethiopic name	Agaïte name	Cretan	Sinaïtic	Moabite	Palmyrenian	Phœnician	Byblos	N. Syria	Cyprus	Sardinia	Greek: Cretan	Greek: Thasian	Greek: Ionic	Greek: Attic	Greek: Corinthian	Greek: Chalcidian	Sabæan	Ethiopic	Arabic	
alf (13)	alif (1)																			1
bēth (9)	bā (2)																			2
gaml (30)	jīm (3)																			3
dant, dent (19)	dāl (8)																			4
hēi (1)	hā (26)																			5
wawē (15)	wāw (27)																			6
zai (37)	zā (11)																			7
ḥaut (43)	ḥa (6)																			8
ṭit (21)	ṭā (16)																			9
yaman (18)	yā (28)																			10
kāf (14)	kāf (12)																			11
lawe (2)	lām (13)																			12
māi (4)	mīm (24)																			13
nahāi (12)	nūn (25)																			14
sāt (7)																				15
ʿain (16)	ʿain (18)																			16
af (25)	fā (20)																			17
ṣadai (23)	ṣād (14)																			18
kāf (8)	kāf (21)																			19
rai'n (6)	rā' (10)																			20
shaut (5)	shīn (13) shi (22)																			21
tawe (20)	tā (3)																			22
	thā (4)																			23
kharm (22)	khā (7)																			24
	dhāl (9)																			25
ḍaṗpā (28)	ḍād (15)																			26
	ṭā (17)																			27
	ghain (19)																			28
																				29
																				30
																				31
																				32
																				33
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	

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NOTES TO THE TABLE OF ALPHABETS

The Table, illustrating pp. 417 *sqq.*, gives the more normal forms of the letters. For other tables of Semitic scripts see J. Euting in Bickell, *Hebrew Grammar* (Eng., 1877), Zimmern, *Vergleich. Gramm. d. semit. Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898), also Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.* (St. Petersburg, 1882), and the *Oriental Series of the Palaeographical Society* (Part VII, 1880); more recently M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. Nord-semit. Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), art. Alphabet, in *Jew. Encyc.*, and his *Ephemeris fur semit. Epigraphik*, I, 109, 310, etc. (Giessen, 1902–); cf. also the tables in G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of N. Sem. Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), and in *J.E.A.* (cited below, on col. 7). For a survey of the scripts used in the oriental world see Sir G. Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (1904). See further below on the Greek forms, cols. 15–20. For general bibliography see p. 739 (1).

Cols. 1–5. On the Hebrew and other names, and their meanings, see Lidzbarski and Nöldeke (below, p. 740). In col. 1 the forms in brackets are presumed to be earlier. In col. 2 the meanings are sometimes extremely dubious. In cols. 4 and 5 the figures indicate the present order of the letters in the Ethiopic and Arabic alphabets. Ethiopic (a) has two additional letters [p's] which are not relevant to the discussion. For col. 3 see below on 15–20.

Col. 6 contains (for the sake of comparison) some of the pictographic and linear forms on the tablets discovered by Sir Arthur Evans in Crete (*Scripta Minoa*, I, 1909). Here are to be found (*a*) representations of almost all the objects named in col. 2 where the meaning is certain and linear forms derived therefrom which resemble the Semitic forms, (*b*) in several cases where the meaning of the Semitic name is unknown linear forms similar to Semitic forms and traceable to pictographs (*e.g.* nos. 9 and 18). Evans suggests (I, 95 *sq.*) that 'the Semitic letters...to a great extent represent a selection from a provincial late Minoan signary.'

Col. 7. From the script found at Serabit el-Khadîm in the Sinaitic peninsula, see A. H. Gardiner and A. E. Cowley, *J.E.A.* III (1916), I *sqq.*, and Plates II and III. Nos. 12 and 14 (the fish sign) appear in series of characters which run from left to right, and have been reversed to conform with the rest. For fuller identifications see Hans Jensen (*Geschichte der Schrift*, Hanover, 1925), pp. 109 *sqq.*

Cols. 8–15. All the Semitic scripts *except Ethiopic* run from right to left.

Col. 8. From the Moabite stone (the inscription of Mesha, p. 372 *sq.*); *c.* 850 B.C.

Col. 9. From the Siloam inscription; based on Cooke, plate XII. To these are added S, the Samarian ostraka (from the Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–10, by Reisner, Fisher and Lyon) and G, the Gezer inscription (*Q.S.* of the P.E.F., 1909, p. 28; Driver, *Samuel*, p. vii, Plate I).

Col. 10. The Zenjirli inscriptions (based on Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, Tafeln XXII–XXIV), viz. the Hadad, the Panammu (P), and the Bar-Rekub (B) inscriptions.

Col. 11. Byblus inscription, ascribed to the thirteenth century (p. 423 *n.* 1), from Dussaud, *Syria*, V (1924), p. 148 (cf. *O.L.Z.* 1925, col. 129 *sqq.*). The forms marked B occur on shorter Byblus texts ascribed to the tenth century. The shapes of nos. 1 and 11 are noteworthy, *if the dating is correct*, since they depart from the presumed prototype ox-head and hand more widely than the later signs.

Col. 12. From Hassan-bey-ll, near Zenjirli; based on H. Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, I (1896), 305 *sqq.*, and Lidzbarski, Taf. XLIV (x). Only a few of the letters are here given.

Col. 13. The 'Baal-Lebanon inscription' (*C.I.S.* I, Taf. IV), see p. 380 n.

Col. 14. Archaic inscription from Nora (Sardinia), Lidzb. Taf. XLIV (4).

Cols. 15–20. For general remarks see vol. IV, 396 *sqq.* (Etruscan and western alphabets, with table), 470 (early Greek); also W. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik* (3rd ed., Munich, 1914), pp. 790 *sqq.* and tab. III; art. 'Schrift,' *P. W.* p. 717 *sq.*; *Camb. Companion to Greek Studies*, and H. Jensen (above). As regards the names in col. 3, no. 7 appears to be formed on the analogy of nos. 8 and 9; but it may represent no. 18 (ṣâdê), no. 21 (sigma) may be a new Greek name (from σίζω 'hiss') or may be derived from the Semitic no. 23 (šâmek), no. 17 is doubtless the model for the names of the nozes. 23, 30, 31, 32. The Greek *form* of no. 21 is usually derived from the Semitic no. 22, but some authorities think it comes from no. 18. On the order and value of nos. 31 and 32, see vol. IV, pp. 397, 470.

Col. 17. No. 8 = 9. For no. 18 a sign ⊤ with the value of *ss* occurs in early inscriptions from Ephesus and other places on the Ionic coast.

Col. 18. The forms with asterisk in nos. 1, 10 and 12 come from a very early vase inscription and are found on no other Attic inscription (see Roberts, *Gr. Epig.* I, p. 75).

Col. 19 includes Corinthian colonies. The closed form of no. 5 stands at Corinth for ε and η, the ordinary form stands for ει. On a fragment of a Corinthian *abecedarium* no. 15 comes between nos. 17 and 19 and no. 18 between nos. 20 and 22.

Col. 20. From *abecedaria* on a vase found in a tomb near Veii. The second form for no. 18 comes from an *abecedarium* on a vase found in an Etruscan tomb at Caere. A similar form occurs in early Arcadian inscriptions to denote an η sound arising from an original ει.

Col. 21. The old South Semitic; based on *J.E.A. l.c.*; cf. also Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 109 *sqq.*; II, 23 *sqq.*, 29, 366 *sqq.* The additional letters are possibly derived from North Semitic forms, viz. no. 25 from *N. Sem.* 7, 26 from 9, 27 from 18, and 28 from 23.

Cols. 22 and 23 give the ordinary Ethiopic and Arabic alphabets for purposes of comparison; they are ultimately derived respectively from the S. Semitic (col. 21) and from a late branch of the Aramaic (the modern 'square Hebrew' being from an earlier branch).

	Hebrew name of letter	Apparent meaning	Greek name
1	ʾāleph (ʾalf)	ox	alpha
2	bēth (bēt)	house	bēta
3	gîmel (gaml, giml)	camel	gamma
4	dāleth (delt)	(folding) door	delta
5	hē	lattice window (?)	ei
6	wāw	hook, nail	vau (digamma)
7	zayin	weapon (?), olive (?)	zēta
8	ḥēth (ḥēt)	fence or barrier (??)	(h)ēta
9	ṭēth (ṭēt)	a winding (??)	thēta
10	yōd	hand	iōta
11	kaph	bent hand	kappa
12	lāmed (lamd)	ox-goad	lambda
13	mēm	water	mu
14	nūn	fish	nu
15	sāmek (samk)	prop (?)	xei
16	ʿayin	eye	ou
17	pē	mouth	pei
18	ṣādê	fish-hook (?)	(see no. 7)
19	qōph	eye of needle (??)	koppa
20	rēsh	head	rhō
21	shin, sin	tooth	sigma, san
22	taw	mark	tau
23			
24			
25			
26			
27			
28			
29			u
30			phei
31			khei
32			psei
33			ō
	1	2	3

last case it may be uncertain what is to be expected from any particular god[1]. The conviction of local limitation is persistent —*cujus regio ejus religio*; and emigration, outlawry and exile could deprive a man of the god's protection (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi, 19). Yahweh was especially associated with south Palestine and the desert (Deut. xxxiii, 2; Hab. iii, 3), and a symbol (the ark) accompanies and guides the Israelites on their journey into Palestine (vol. II, p. 362); note, too, the journey of Elijah to the south (p. 370). But Yahweh was closely associated also with the temple at Jerusalem, his presence made the city inviolable, and his departure from and return to this most sacred of all places correspond to its fall and restoration. Again (*d*), any god, even a Baal of Heaven, a sky-god, or any other god, though seemingly unconfined, could be rigorously limited by doctrine or ritual; and the recognition that Yahweh was too vast to be confined locally (1 Kings viii, 27) has to contend with the conviction that only *here* and *thus* may he be found[2]. Men experienced the supersensuous—the sacred or holy—outside, or apart from, the accustomed places, ritual and doctrine; and there is an inevitable conflict between individual experience—of whatever quality—and the efforts to fix and localize the god by organized systems of belief and practice, social or national in their constitution, and directly associated with such accredited representatives as priest-kings or priests.

There is always 'religion' of varying quality outside the recognized and orthodox cults, and the introduction of Yahwism did not exclude the functional and local gods which preceded and outlived it, although it eventually changed their nature. The local cults, which find their last descendants in the modern 'saints' and '*welis*' of Palestine, were more elemental, and answered popular needs. Such local sacred beings were more accessible to the people than were the gods of State and Church; and Yahwism had to face the ever-recurring conflict between the lower and the higher forms of religion. The compromise which regarded the local beings as forms of Yahweh diminished

[1] Cf. Hos. ii, 8; corn, etc., given by Yahweh and not by the Baal.

[2] A Baal of the Heavens, or Sky-god, was known to the Hittites (named in the treaty with Egypt), among the old Amorites (see vol. I, p. 231, II, p. 348), and the Egyptians knew of Baal in heaven (cf. vol. II, p. 349). He was known at Hamath (p. 375); and, in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre, Baal-Shamem is named with other compounds of Baal, and with Melḳart, Eshmun and Astarte. A heavenly Baal was therefore probably known among the Israelites.

polytheism, but at the same time these gained a new importance; and the conception of Yahweh tended to deteriorate, because there were associated with him popular beliefs and practices which more advanced minds condemned. On the other hand, the iconoclasm which suppressed the local cults and sought to centralize religion could be construed as an attack upon religion; and then popular needs would find satisfaction in various private and, often, less reputable directions[1]. Different stages in the history of Yahwism can be recognized: one, where the altars of Baal were replaced by those of Yahweh—a stage in the ideas of the relation between Yahweh and Baal; another where the altars of Yahweh were co-ordinated; and finally their repudiation in favour of a central sanctuary—an important but not a successful stage, and therefore not a final one[2].

When various gods, spirits, demons, and the rest, are regarded as causes of phenomena, the whole world is conveniently mapped out and events find some sort of explanation. Under a strictly centralizing, and especially a monotheizing régime, the supreme god becomes directly or indirectly the sole cause, otherwise his sovereignty is impaired. Accordingly he may be regarded as responsible both for 'good' and 'evil.' Such terms are often quite general; 'good' connotes the advantageous or pleasant (2 Sam. xix, 35), or what is judicially right (1 Kings iii, 9). God sends misfortunes as well as benefits (Job ii, 10). Nay, more, he sets stumbling-blocks and tempts men (Ez. iii, 20, contrast, later, Ja. i, 13), and he gives men 'evil' (terrible) statutes (Ez. xx, 25 *sq.*). In due course efforts are made to escape the consequences of these ideas, and not 'Yahweh,' but 'Satan,' enticed David to number Israel, and not Yahweh, but the 'Evil One,' sought to kill the uncircumcised Moses[3]. But dualism, in turn, weakens the idea of a supreme God, and thus serious difficulties arise in either case concerning the causes of things.

The later tendency to recognize spirits, angels and intermediaries corresponds to the recognition of functional, local and other subordinate gods at earlier stages of development, and both tend to overshadow the Supreme Being who is behind man and

[1] See 2 Kings xviii, 22; and cf. p. 403, on the suppression of the Ishtar cult.

[2] Here and elsewhere a 'critical' standpoint becomes indispensable, for, to take one example only, as the biblical narrative reads, the central sanctuary is inculcated by Moses in Deuteronomy and put into effect by Solomon, yet Elijah, the second great figure in Israelite religion, is in despair because Yahweh's local altars had been destroyed (1 Kings xix, 10).

[3] 1 Chron. xxi, 1, contrast 2 Sam. xxiv, 1; Jubilees xlviii, 2, contrast Ex. iv, 24.

nature (cf. vol. I, p. 198 *sq.*). The precise position of the supreme god is a vital question. For, on the one hand, God cannot be seen by man, He is so pure, so transcendent, that there must be an intermediary, even as there is one between the great king and the humble subject. On the other hand, the quite late idea of Yahweh as unique among the gods (Ps. lxxxix, 6), together with the wider use of the term 'god(s)' (cf. I Sam. xxviii, 13; Ps. lxxxii, 6)—like our free use of the word 'divine'—shows that grades of divinity could be recognized. There is obviously a profound gulf between the scepticism denounced by Zephaniah (i, 12) and the sublime faith which distinguishes the prophets, psalmists, and many humbler individuals; but there are many intermediate nuances, and when the gods are thought of as merely supermen, and outstanding men are thought of as more or less divine and become objects of cult, we have to allow for the existence and varying predominance, now of more spiritual, and now of less spiritual conceptions of divine power and personality. And these fluctuations, so far as they can be determined, are of the first importance for the history of the internal development of Israel.

All the gods and other recognized supernatural beings have their regular haunts or abodes (altar, shrine, tomb, spring, hill, etc.), their visible symbols (tree-trunk [*ăshērāh*], pillar [*maṣṣēbāh*], etc.), and their accredited ministrants. The Temple of Jerusalem is the concrete symbol of Yahweh's effective presence, though Jeremiah attacks the idea (vii, 4). Earth from the sacred land is as sacred and therefore as efficacious as the land itself (cf. 2 Kings v, 17). The symbol or image of the god is virtually as potent as the god, and even the holy man may, in the eyes of the people, be more 'divine' than 'human,' and more effective than the far-off and shadowy god of the ruling classes. There were many ways in which men could ascertain the divine will, and, what was more important, gain its help; but, as we survey the evidence, we pass gradually from the recognition of gods and their understood powers to all sorts of vaguer though thoroughly confirmed beliefs that in some way the ordeal, the omen, the talisman, the uttered word, the blessing and the curse could be genuinely efficacious. So, the god could direct lots, give omens (cf. I Sam. xiv, 10), reveal his will in the stars, and so forth; or there were holy men, cognizant of the god's will, or possessing influence with the gods or over nature; and, finally, there were quite indeterminate ideas of processes, powers and causes. Naturally there were not the definite doctrines or theories by which we ourselves explain the evidence: there were no explicit ideas of any

impersonal power or process (vol. II, p. 401), although it was taken for granted that there was a sort of mechanism at work in man and nature. Consequently, we find a variety of thought ranging between a fear of powerful hostile supernatural beings, or of the fateful influence of the stars (cf. Jer. x, 2), and a confidence that Yahweh was supreme in nature and would protect his own. In such circumstances as these Religion and Magic were not spheres apart. Magic, typically private, anti-social, irreligious and, as such, dangerous, was condemned (Deut. xviii, 9–14; cf. 1 Sam. xxviii, 3, 9); but Religion not only had those phases of extreme confidence which easily tend to Magic, but in due course was condemned for its sterility by the prophets, who gave new life to its fundamental ideas.

The characteristic quality of the gods is their 'holiness' or 'sanctity' (*ḳōdesh*), their supreme separateness, distinctiveness or uniqueness. The idea of what is 'holy' paradoxically extends to the sacred and the unclean alike: in either case there is a profound conviction that care and precaution are required. 'Holy and unclean things have this in common, that in both cases certain restrictions lie on men's use of and contact with them, and that the breach of these restrictions involves supernatural dangers' (Robertson Smith). The 'holy' inspires awe, reverence, or fear; but the wrong attitude to the 'holy' is an abomination. There are ways of 'sanctifying' oneself, of preparing for religious, social or national occasions (a new temple, coronation, war, marriage). 'Holiness' is thought of as contagious; the 'holy' and the 'profane'—like the 'sacred' and the 'secular'—must be held distinct, and the transition from the one state to the other regulated. Ethical considerations, however latent, are not primary. Throughout, the psychological aspects (*e.g.* contagiousness of sanctity) are fundamental. Such measures as washing the body, changing clothes, etc., which primarily could be of no little psychological value, easily become mechanical and mere ritual; and the rites, which in the first instance we may call 'magico-religious,' readily become purely magical, when their value is thought to lie merely in the rite, and their efficacy is, so to say, automatic. It is against such externalism that the prophets inveighed. In the history of ideas of holiness there has been a persisting conflict between (*a*) the psychological, subjective aspects of holiness, as an impressive psychical state and its effects, and (*b*) the more ethical and social aspects of the consequences (cf. vol. I, p. 199). A 'holy' god demanded holiness in his people, his land was holy: a strange land, where he had no altar, being unclean (Josh. xxii, 19; Am. vii, 17;

Hos. ix, 3). God, people and land were linked together by the idea of 'holiness,' and a distinction can be drawn between the more characteristically 'prophetical' development of the idea, as regards the ethical attributes of God and the relations between God and man, and man and man, and the more 'priestly' and ceremonial aspect, which was more concerned to safeguard the transcendent holiness of God, and to ensure the holiness of man in ways which tend to be formal and external, and are reminiscent of world-wide tabus.

The land and people belong to the national god (cf. Lev. xxv, 23); they are his inheritance or allotment. The relationship involves his comprehensive care on their behalf, and the destruction of the well-tended 'vineyard,' should it produce no fruit (Is. v). More typical are the ideas of the kinship of god and people, that of the sonship of the people being especially familiar. The imagery is sometimes very vivid (Is. xlvi, 3; Deut. xxxii, 18); but there is no mythological treatment of the idea in the O.T., though this is not to say that it was wanting among the Hebrews. Or the relationship has no parental suggestions, and (in personal names) the god is brother (Aḥi-nadab) or kinsman (Ammi-nadab)—note the parallelism with such names as Yeho-nadab and the Moabite Chemosh-nadab (Chemosh is noble). Especially vivid and realistic is the marriage-relationship (cf. Ez. xvi); and the union of god with people (Jer. ii, 2) or land (Is. lxii, 4) is developed by the common idea of apostasy as harlotry, and, also, by ideas and practices symbolical of, if not enhancing, the union. The warmth of Semitic religious fervour, sustained by rites of personal contact (*e.g.* kissing, 1 Kings xix, 18), encouraged a sensuous mysticism which could take gross forms; and the zeal of Israelite reformers was especially directed—and not unsuccessfully—against abuses which associated with Yahwism the foul cults of the land.

IV. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE GROUP AND ITS GOD

The widespread conviction of an interrelation, or rather of a certain solidarity of people, land and the gods, was of fundamental importance. Mystical, though it seems in words, its practical effects for men's beliefs and practices were far-reaching. It meant a natural bond which united people and gave them encouragement; but the bond could also be taken for granted and then men became indifferent (below, p. 465). The conviction naturally tended to weaken amid social and political dis-

integration, as ideas of individualism gained ground; and it is of the utmost importance to perceive that there is a profound distinction between the old pre-exilic development under the monarchies and the new conditions that gradually grew up in or about the exilic age and continued until Jewry ceased to be a state. The solidarity of gods and men is, of course, essentially a community of sentiment; but it demanded some concrete expression. Ideas of kinship are not the same everywhere, and although blood-kinship is a most obvious bond of union, and blood-rites are invariably of exceptional significance, kinship is really a thing of ideas in so far as the essential rights and restrictions (*e.g.* marriage, property, genealogy) can be confirmed by such fictitious ceremonies as adoption, blood-drinking, and so forth. In the East, at its best, a religious or spiritual unity rises above social and racial differences; and the question of the nature or the limits of a social-religious community underlies the conflict between the more particularistic or nationalist and the more universalizing tendencies in Israel. Could the client (*gēr*) or the foreigner become an Israelite? Might the Israelite marry a foreigner? Was Yahweh's link with Israel an inevitable one, to be taken as a matter of course? And what was his relation to the non-Israelite? Finally, how was the relationship with Yahweh made, endangered, broken, or remade? All these were practical problems depending upon some at least latent ideas or systems of ideas. In a word, the group-idea, the idea of gods and men as members of the same body, so to speak, all part of one and the same organism, was a profoundly important one, and to Israel more than any other people is due the development of unifying conceptions of national religion, church, and brotherhood.

Group-unity showed itself in ideas of privilege and responsibility, of rights and duties. The group suffered for the offence of any of its members; vengeance could be taken on any member, and the innocent might thereby suffer for or with the guilty. So, the offender endangers his group: *e.g.* the household (Gen. xx), priesthood (1 Sam. xxii), city (Mi. iii, 12), or the whole nation (at war, Josh. vii; or peace, xxii). The extent of each particular group rests ultimately upon the feeling of community—the group-consciousness; but the fundamental principles are the same, and it was possible to extend the limits of the group to all mankind (see below, p. 489). Moreover, this feeling of social or national unity is not limited in time. Yahweh's vengeance was to the third and fourth generation, the offences of Canaan and of Amalek leave their mark upon all their descendants,

and men and women must suffer for the disobedience of their first parents in the garden of Eden (Gen. iii)[1]. So, a people will feel its self-identity in time and space, and lament its own sins and those of its fathers (Jer. iii, 25; Ps. cvi, 6); and although in the internal dislocation in and about the sixth century the idea of group-responsibility was renounced or rejected (Ez. xviii, 2 *sqq.*; Lam. v, 7), in due course a new collective consciousness returned and the national group-idea again ruled. But under what historical circumstances the new solidarity was established can only be conjectured.

The group can profit through one of its members, though this, too, is denied by the thorough-going individualist (Ez. xiv, 14). The idea is not limited: the merits of David postpone the schism (1 Kings xi, 11 *sq.*; cf. also xxi, 29), and, by the side of the intercessory endeavours of great prophets or ancestors, must be placed the common and persisting tendency to regard a powerful sacred being as a member of the group, and especially as an ancestor, and to regard the powerful helper as a more than human figure. The inequalities in the merits or demerits of individual members of a group prevent it from being absolutely homogeneous, but the differences are slight in the simpler desert groups, whereas a highly-complex society has difficulty in maintaining its solidarity. Group-sentiment, which might be aroused *ad hoc* by some peril or some great national occasion[2], could be ceremonially maintained by communal meals, by a family or other festival, by a marriage, or otherwise[3]. Ethical ideas are at least implicit in the group-idea, for the social group protected its poor and weak members—provided the group-sentiment was strong. Hence, the fervent appeals to greater charity and humanity within the group, such as we find in the O.T. laws, evidently point to conditions where a new social conscience was being formed, and hardly to the day when a people, already united by common experiences and aims, had just set forth on its way from Egypt into a Promised Land (see p. 484). The group-idea could also be maintained by ideas of common origin and common destiny; and the growth of a history of each and every member of Israel is a phenomenon of more than ordinary interest, partly because it presupposes certain conditions which called forth such a history, and partly because of the influence of the O.T., or rather, of the Bible, in developing subsequent interest in history.

[1] See Ex. xx, 5; Gen. ix, 24 *sq.*; 1 Sam. xv, 2 *sq.*

[2] *E.g.* the Exodus and the Conquest; cf. Judg. v, especially *vv.* 17 *sq.*, 23.

[3] Cf. 1 Sam. xx, 6; 2 Sam. vi, 19; Ex. xxiv, 11; also Num. xxxvi, 6 *sqq.*

Of peculiar significance is the conception of the *gō'ēl*, who avenges murder, jealously defends the rights of the group (tribe or family), maintains its interests and safeguards its integrity. When the group explicitly includes the god, the latter can be thought of as the 'redeemer,' and a distressed and despairing community can be comforted with the tidings that Yahweh has arisen as his people's *gō'ēl* (Is. xli, 14, see p. 489). While the *gō'ēl* (in practice, the nearest kinsman) enhances the idea of the kinship of god and man, the god is also, in general, the vindicator of justice (cf. Shamash, vol. II, p. 400). Yahweh avenges the broken covenant (1 Sam. xx, 16, omit 'enemies') or the treachery of a Zedekiah (p. 399 *sq.*). He may save men from taking the law into their own hands and thus incurring blood-guiltiness (1 Sam. xxv, 26, 31). He works directly (as in the passage just cited, *v.* 38), or there is a 'bringing about' of events; he frustrates Ahithophel's counsel and turns into good the evil of Joseph's brethren[1]. But although Yahweh thus operates in human events, vindicating his holiness and maintaining 'righteousness,' men must not necessarily wait for him to defend the right: if there is a divine process, men also co-operate in it, and in various ways gods and men are felt to be fellow-workers. Yahweh puts his spirit on the representative men, and the law-giver is the god's own representative and may partake of his glory[2]. Hence there is ambiguity in Ex. xxi, 6, 'God' or 'the judges' (R.V. mg.), and in 1 Sam. ii, 25 (R.V. and mg.). The old Semitic tendency to extremes (cf. vol. I, pp. 200, 205) led now to very active if not fanatical measures on behalf of a 'jealous god' (cf. Num. xxv, 11–13), and now to quietism: but in between was the slow growth of ideas of right and wrong, which were enunciated by reformers and prophets, made effective by the law-givers, and which left their mark upon the legal and other literature (see pp. 481 *sqq.*).

Legal and religious ideas are interwoven (see vol. I, pp. 197 *sqq.*). There is a collective interest in keeping the land pure, and in certain cases the community is expected to execute judgment: blasphemy, Molech cult, divination, Sabbath-breaking, filial disobedience, and attacks on the Temple[3]. Accordingly, executions can be a semi-religious ceremony (cf. Josh. vii, 24 *sqq.*). Men were supposed to know of themselves what ought or ought not to be done, and to be able to choose the right; only the reckless

[1] Cf. 1 Kings xii, 15; 2 Sam. xvii, 14; Gen. xlv, 5 *sqq.*

[2] Num. xi, 17; Ex. xviii, 19; xxxiv, 29–35.

[3] Lev. xxiv, 16; cf. 1 Kings xxi, 13; Lev. xx, 2–5, 27; Num. xv, 35; Deut. xxi, 21; Jer. xxvi, 24.

'wrought folly (better "impiety") in Israel.' Where there is no 'fear of God' there is no safety (Gen. xx, 11), and the 'God-fearing' know the requirements of the Deity and should be chosen as judges (Ex. xviii, 21). Law is *tōrāh*, 'direction' (cf. the verb in Gen. xlvi, 28). The more expressive term *mishpāṭ* connotes what is customary and characteristic—the manner and nature of things; it virtually implies a knowledge of standards or types, whether acquired intuitively or by experience (cf. p. 465 *sq.*). Decision and judgment can also be given by instruments of divination, *e.g.* by the 'Urim and Thummim' (Ex. xxviii, 30), or by shooting arrows (*yārāh*, whence another explanation of *tōrāh*), or by the accredited officials: it is noteworthy that the questions are often framed so as to elicit the simplest answer (1 Sam. xxiii, 11 *sq.*; Hag. ii, 12 *sq.*). And as 'judgement' and like terms are not abstract but apply to highly concrete situations, the tribe of Gad by its victories can be said to execute Yahweh's righteousness (*ṣedāḳāh*) and judgements (Deut. xxxiii, 21). Hence, the 'judge' (*shōphēṭ*) will not only declare judgement, so that men should act as they ought; but more actively as a leader, he achieves victory for his tribe or people, like the 'judges' that preceded the monarchy—and perhaps followed it (see p. 406).

The idea of 'righteousness' is especially suggestive by reason of its social implication—the due behaviour within the kin-group of gods and men (vol. II, p. 398 *sq.*). It, too, implies a standard to which to adhere—a standard to which the prophet or reformer recalled kings and men, a standard to which Yahweh himself conformed, for he too was 'righteous.' Both terms are among the most cardinal in the O.T., and of the first value for the development of Israelite thought. Predominantly legal though they could naturally become, they had a more general root, being expressive of the consciousness of an ideal to be striven after, a conformity to be attained, and the means of reaching the goal. The omnipotence of Yahweh himself was bound by this 'right-ness,' it was a moral necessity (see p. 471). Hence, there were well-understood and conventionalized convictions of what ought to be done—laid down by written law or by the no less powerful custom; there were also the more external and rather special developments, as when the term for 'righteousness' came to connote 'alms'; and, finally, there were the representative individuals who could declare the right and could be consulted in case of doubt. Advance of thought came through individuals—through the prophets with their teaching of Yahweh's conceptions of judgement and righteousness, and through the endeavour to reform society on the

basis of these. And as we proceed step by step we pass from the consciousness that Israel was in the wrong, when tested by a higher standard, to the conviction that her 'righteousness' was to meet with the material rewards to which she was now entitled. There is, at least, a marked transition of thought from the doctrine of Yahweh's righteousness and the shortcomings of the people to Israel's sense of being treated unjustly and Yahweh's intervention on her behalf. It is highly significant for the course of Israel's history, although the steps are far from clear; they start with the pre-prophetic period, upon which we are very imperfectly informed, and they take us down beyond the period covered in this volume (see p. 469 *sq.*).

Wrong-doing, whether ritual (ceremonial) or ethical, struck at Yahweh's holiness. It endangered the solidarity of the group and disturbed the relations between the people and their god. Wrong-doing, it was believed, would be inevitably followed by affliction or disaster; and, conversely, every calamity was the result of some offence, although one might not be conscious of having erred (cf. Jonathan in 1 Sam. xiv, 24–36)[1]. Efforts were made to determine the cause of misfortune (1 Sam. xiv, 38; 2 Sam. xxi). Here there was opportunity for multifarious developments in religion, in magic and witchcraft, or in advance of knowledge[2]. Attention was paid (especially later) to secret or inadvertent faults—at an early date Babylonian and Egyptian 'confessions' collected and enumerated the recognized offences of which one might have been guilty. Accredited and other individuals were resorted to, or they proclaimed the cause of the adversity. The fundamental idea of these all-embracing processes of cause and effect—this mechanism, one might say—is not in itself ethical, though it was treated ethically, or rather theistically, by the prophets; it implied a quasi-mechanical process, so that evil could be kept away ritually, magically or by automatic devices (talismans, etc.). Consequently, 'lower' as well as 'higher' beliefs and practices were always prevalent, and there was no simple development, with each stage surpassing and eliminating its predecessor.

All wrong-doing affected nature through Yahweh who might punish man by withholding rain and destroying the crops (Is. i, 19; v, 6, and often). Agricultural prosperity depended upon Israel's behaviour (Deut. xi, 8–17), and the people depended upon agriculture. The rich variety of agricultural imagery in the O.T. is significant. The festivals were mainly agricultural.

[1] This is instructively treated in Gen. xx, 6.

[2] Note especially Deut. viii, 5, on Yahweh's parental chastening.

Obviously the religious and other ideas associated with agricultural life were neither peculiar to nor created by Yahwism, rather did popular Yahwism embrace the older rites, and only gradually become purged of the cruder features. Religion was nothing if not practical—that is, from some particular point of view; and ideas of all life, growth and increase, both of man and nature, interacted and encouraged practices of a more or less magical character in order to secure the means of life. No doubt we have mere poetry when earth grieves on account of man's evil (Hos. iv, 3), and the beasts suffer for man's iniquity (Jer. xii, 4); but the idea of some interrelation between man and nature is world-wide, and if nature shared in the consequence of Adam's fall (Gen. iii, 17 *sq.*), to Paul all creation shared the travail-pains of a new birth (Rom. viii, 19–22). This sympathy between man and nature which manifests itself in poetry and in elevated religious discourse, also underlies more primitive beliefs of some essential relationship between them, an essential difference between man and nature not being at all clearly recognized (cf. vol. I, pp. 196 *sqq.*, 202; II, 401 *sq.*). Hence, by the side of the 'higher' forms of the fundamental idea we must expect to find forms that are distinctly 'lower.'

Bloodshed defiles land and people (Lev. xviii, 25); it pollutes the earth and enfeebles it (Is. xxiv, 4 *sq.*). Blood must not be lightly shed. The blood of the slain cries out for vengeance, and vengeance is a sacred duty. When efforts were made to regulate the laws of homicide, and provide an asylum for the unintentional murderer, care was taken that the right of asylum was not abused. War is 'sacred,' with characteristic tabus; it concerns gods as well as men, so that bloodshed in war-time is not the same as manslaughter. The blood is the life, the seat and the essence of life (Lev. xvii, 11). This is true of both men and animals, and the blood of both must be shed only ceremonially (like the water gained at the risk of human life, 2 Sam. xxiii, 16). The life is poured out and restored to God who gave it before the flesh—in the case of the animal—can be eaten (cf. Deut. xii, 23). Man, on one view, is composed of earth and God's breath (Gen. ii, 7; iii, 19). All life is in God's hand (Job xii, 10). He is behind the processes of birth and death (cf. Gen. xx, 18); there is, so to say, a spiritual factor in birth. This idea is, of course, not peculiar to Yahwism. Barren women resorted to a holy place and, perhaps, as elsewhere, to holy men[1]. The prevalence of figurines of Astarte, and the part played by the 'mother-goddess,' combine, with the

[1] A family tomb may be meant in Judg. xiii (cf. verse 25; xvi, 31).

many later indications of magical practices, fears of demons, etc., to prove that there was much in the ideas of birth and death (animal and human) that would be in opposition to Yahwism and its reformers. The account of the origin of man in Genesis (i *sq.*) is relatively elevated (note the Babylonian story, pp. 233 *sqq.*); and the distinction which is drawn between man and the animals is not primary, but stands in contrast to the ceremonial treatment of the blood of both, and also to the traces of some close association between man and certain animals, and between the latter and certain gods. It cannot, however, be affirmed that there had existed any form of totemism such as is actually found among some modern rudimentary peoples. Yet, the animal cults in the temple of Jerusalem (Ez. viii, 10, cf. Tammuz, *v.* 14, and the pig-cult) point to totemistic, or at least theriomorphic, ideas akin to those which under rudimentary social conditions might have been totemic. They go back to an old crude Yahwism or to what persisted by the side of Yahwism; and it is important to remember that the old Oriental animal symbolism bespeaks an imperfect type of anthropomorphic religion (cf. vol. I, p. 203), and that at times of national extremity (as in Ezekiel's day) older and abnormal types of religion are apt to prevail.

V. DEATH AND SACRIFICE

Ideas of life and death are, as usual, incomplete and inconsistent. They are not to be examined too literally, for to 'live' is also to 'recover' (Num. xxi, 8 *sq.*; Josh. v, 8) and to 'die' is to be 'as good as dead.' 'Life' is no abstract term; it denotes what is living, what makes life worth living, and so forth. Bodily and moral health are one, so that both sickness and sin and also healing and conversion are closely connected (cf. Is. i, 5). The subjective aspects are highly instructive. There was satisfaction in being written in a 'book of life' (Ex. xxxii, 32 *sq.*), and from this book the 'names' of the wicked would be blotted out (Ps. lxix, 28). There was comfort in being 'remembered,' and in leaving behind one descendants (actual or fictitious) to make mention of one's name, or in erecting a monument in order to preserve the name, or in having a *gō'ēl* to vindicate one's right (Job xix, 25). The seeming reality of the name is widespread and ancient (cf. vol. II, p. 342); and while the name of the righteous flourishes, that of the wicked is 'cut off' (Josh. vii, 9).

An excellent example of the belief in another existence is afforded by the desire of Panammu of Sam'āl (p. 36) that his

offspring should sacrifice to Hadad and ceremonially make mention of him with the words: 'may the soul of Panammu eat with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammu drink with Hadad.' The dead were supposed to need food and drink, and Israelite tradition told how a meal in the presence of Yahweh, the god of Israel, on Mt Sinai was the unique privilege of Moses, Aaron and other great figures of the days of the Exodus (Ex. xxiv, 11). Such beliefs were not necessarily due to Egyptian influence, or rare, and from Panammu's desire we pass ultimately to the prayer preserved in the modern Jewish *Ḳaddīsh*, that God may remember the soul of the dead father on whose behalf alms are vowed. Again, a man's soul might be preserved in Yahweh's 'bundle of life,' and the souls of the wicked could be slung out, as one slings a stone (1 Sam. xxv, 29). Or it might be ensnared and destroyed by witches ('prophetesses,' Ez. xiii, 17). The language points to the material ideas of the soul and of its risks that are familiar among rudimentary peoples. So also, ideas of 'taking hold' of Yahweh, of 'cleaving to' him, and even of 'trusting' (*bāṭaḥ*, 'to rest upon one') point to primitive physical ideas of contact, and to ritual which gave the worshipper the assurance he required. The soul that sins 'dies' (Ez. xviii, 4), and the wicked may be 'cut off' (Lev. xvii, 4; xix, 8)—it is thought of as an effective annihilation; and since judgement was often believed to come swiftly or not at all, the zealous might be tempted to hasten the doom. When such ideas as these are held with conviction tabus are effective and a Nabal is smitten by Yahweh and dies; but in times of scepticism Baal's power is doubted and Yahweh can do neither good nor harm[1].

Israelite ideas of another existence were not clear. With the exception of Moses, Enoch and Elijah, even the best of men at their death are gathered to their clansmen or people (so Abraham), or their fathers—contrast Panammu and Hadad. There was no doubt an advantage in being buried in a sacred locality; and here the powerful dead could be approached by descendants who besought their help. Men were also buried in their houses (1 Sam. xxv, 1; 1 Kings ii, 34), possibly that they, too, might be near at hand. Offerings to the dead were familiar, and necromantic and other practices which kept the living in touch with the dead were rife enough to be denounced by the reformers. In general, thought was practical and 'this-worldly.' The ordinary individual was one with the group, the group had a life of its own of which the individual was only a part. All was well so long as the group-idea

[1] Cf. 1 Sam. xxv, 37 *sq.*; Judg. vi, 31; 1 Kings xviii, 21 *sqq.*; Zeph. i, 12.

prevailed; and when faith was strong the question of death called forth little speculation (cf. Ps. lxxiii, 25). But, at other times there might be neither trust, nor dogma, nor curious speculation —merely indifference; and pessimistic and hedonistic outlooks easily prevailed as the ideas of group-solidarity or of the relations between God and man broke down. Old age was always a blessing and a consolation, and premature death a misfortune[1]. Even Agbar, priest of Nerab in north Syria (? sixth century B.C.), in his funeral inscription, is mainly concerned that his resting-place should not be disturbed, and he rejoices in his good name, length of days and his descendants to the fourth generation. There was an underworld, Sheol, where men led a dusty and gloomy life, away from Yahweh (Is. xxxviii, 18), possibly outside Yahweh's reach (contrast Am. ix, 2); but it may be questioned whether the belief in Sheol prevailed early among the more unsophisticated classes.

When men were more concerned with this than with another world, and speculation was avoided, the inquisitive and the anxious had to find their own answers. The canonical history that grew up certainly made the pious Israelite feel his unity with the great body of Israel and the patriarchal ancestors; but the mourning customs, necromancy, and other practices in which the dead were involved, and which the stricter reformers condemned, point to more popular forms of Yahwism, if not to other cults, which supplied the elemental needs. Agricultural practices readily embody ideas of the death and rebirth of nature, but too little is known of those that ruled in old Israel for us to estimate how far ideas of human death and rebirth accompanied them. Although precise evidence for the resurrection of the ordinary individual comes later (see p. 491), *the* individual, *par excellence* —the king—could be thought to live on in the dynasty (p. 454 *sq.*), as did the ordinary Israelite in the tribe, and the prophets were already developing ideas of the continuity of the people. With the prophets there is always a 'seed of a better hope' (Robertson Smith). Israel might perish but a 'remnant' would survive, the tree might be cut down but the 'stump' would put forth new shoots[2]. In a marvellous picture the dead bones of Israel are reclothed and come to life again (Ez. xxxvii, 1–14). There was nothing so concrete as a 'remnant' or 'stump' to encourage the idea of the continuity of the individual; but the ritual use of blood seems to show that here was a vehicle for ideas of the preservation and persistence of life. The most striking feature in early religion

[1] Is. lxv, 20 *sqq.*; Job v, 26; Is. xxxviii, 10 *sqq.*

[2] Is. vi, 13, xi, 1; Zech. iii, 8; and later, Dan. iv, 15, 26; contrast Job xiv, 7–12.

is, in fact, the sanctity of blood—the blood being the seat of the life or soul—by the side of a whole-hearted indifference to animal and human life in sacrificial rites, or where the occasion (as in war) was a religious one. In given circumstances sacrifice of animal or human life was both laudable and necessary, but it was to or for the god, or, as in the case of war, the god participated, and the spilling of blood was safeguarded by the preliminary and concluding rites. Thus, life was in some way bound up with the god, and the life of the god guaranteed that of the group—whence an insistence upon the 'living god.' It must be recognized that there is much in the old blood-rites which represents primitive modes of thought and feeling, and can with difficulty be interpreted. This is especially true of those which involve animals and appear to be of a totemistic character.

Sin endangered group-unity, forgiveness restored it. Subjectively it could be felt that the punishment had been unduly severe (Is. xl, 2) or that the sin had been forgiven (Is. liii, 4 *sq.*). Such convictions come before us as decisive landmarks in the national history (see pp. 408, 494). The objective consequences of sin are set forth in a moral interpretation of history, which describes the varying relations between Yahweh and his people (cf. Judg. ii, 10 *sqq.*; 2 Sam. xii, 10). Sin was also a ceremonial offence, one to be repaired ceremonially; it brought about, however unwittingly, conditions which could only be remedied by appropriate rites. Again, sin could be removed ritually (by a scape-goat), or symbolically, it could be washed away, covered up, or thrown into the sea[1]. It was a burden to be removed, a stain to be cleansed. To the symbolical language there might, as elsewhere, correspond appropriate 'magico-religious' rites of washing, etc., and these, becoming purely external, would be strictly 'magical' (cf. p. 436). Or, the offended god could be propitiated and pacified by an offering, a sacrifice. Jacob 'covers' the face of the angry Esau with a gift, and a present could blind the eyes of the judge[2]; but a pure God could neither bear the sight of evil (Hab. i, 13), nor accept a bribe. Again, Yahweh, like an angry tyrant, might wreak his vengeance upon the offender (Is. i, 24), and, that done, he would feel appeased and turn from the fierceness of his anger; Job prays to be hidden away in Sheol (xiv, 13), and when Israel provoked Yahweh to anger, Moses bears his wrath (Deut. i, 37; iii, 26). In the outburst of divine anger the innocent may suffer with the guilty; but one man can bear

[1] Cf. Lev. xvi, 8, 10; Zech. v, 5–11; Is. i, 16; Mi. vii, 19.

[2] Gen. xxxii, 20; cf. the 'covering of the eyes,' xx, 16; see also Deut. xvi, 19; Is. xxxviii, 17.

the guilt (*i.e.* the penalty) of another[1], and the doom can be averted through the merits of a few 'righteous' men—or even one[2]. There were some famous intercessors (cf. Jer. xv, 1); and one of the most impressive chapters in the O.T. is that where Israel has been purged and forgiven through a despised and rejected saviour (Is. liii). See pp. 491 *sqq.*

It would be difficult to point to any explicit ideas touching the *rationale* of sin and forgiveness. On the one side are the subjective feelings of guilt or of forgiveness, and, on the other, various rites and undeveloped ideas of Yahweh's attitude. For example, Yahweh will not 'deem' a thing evil, or he will 'repent' and change his mind. Men may 'set evil in motion' (2 Sam. xv, 14), but Yahweh can and will alter the course of events and turn evil into good (p. 440 above). According to the great prophets he is moved by men's penitence and humility, their loving-kindness and integrity. Sacrifices and lamentations are not effective in themselves (Hos. vi, 6); change in personal conduct rather than ritual restores the broken relation—and the ritual lays relatively less emphasis upon repentance. The markedly anthropomorphic conception that Yahweh may change his plans is especially noteworthy, in that he controls all things; and when it is taught that he is unchangeable and without man's arbitrariness (Num. xxiii, 19), the ethical prophets ascribed to Yahweh absolute freedom, Yahweh being a God of Righteousness and Justice (p. 471).

Still, the deep-rooted idea of the efficacious atoning power of blood persists. Blood restores the relationship between man and god, and such are the ideas of the sanctity and potency of blood that, although the blood-rites in themselves easily become purely mechanical, only some primitive conviction of their value can explain their antiquity and persistent recurrence. Redemption, purification, atoning blood, and related ideas 'go back,' as Robertson Smith has shown, 'to antique ritual,' and in ancient religion these terms are 'impressions produced on the mind of the worshipper by features of the ritual.' The ideas which later become definite and explicit are first grasped 'in a merely physical and mechanical shape.' So, the fundamental conception of the solidarity of men and their gods, with the accompanying convictions as to how this unity is broken and repaired, is one that takes very different forms, and besides the 'higher' ideas or systems of ideas which we regard as ethical and spiritual, there are 'lower' rites and systems of behaviour where—as even in pure totemism—the ideas are latent, implicit or in a germinal state.

[1] Gen. xliii, 9; 1 Sam. xxv, 24; 2 Sam. xiv, 9. [2] Gen. xviii, 23 *sqq.*; Ez. xxii, 30.

Ancient religion was marked by violent activities which were not only an outlet for emotion, but so transported men that they felt themselves to be in closer contact with their gods. They shed blood, they cut themselves in frenzy, as a sign of grief, or, for special purposes, in order to arouse the god to send rain or give them corn and wine[1]. Like the ceremonial horn-blowing, the aim was partly also to attract the attention of the god whether for very general or for quite special reasons. The word 'to pray' in Aramaic (*keshaph*), and perhaps in Hebrew (*pālal*), meant primarily to 'notch oneself'; and prayer and sacrifice are closely associated (as in the Heb. and Arab. '*āthar*), for both involve a very special relationship with and appeal to the god, and in both there is an easy transition from religion to magic. On this intricate subject it must suffice merely to refer to such anthropomorphic aspects as when the solidarity of the group and the god is confirmed by a communal meal or a festal assembly (Ex. xviii, 12; Deut. xii, 7), and when the sacrificial gifts of food, etc., are intended to feed, satisfy and propitiate the gods, and directly or indirectly to induce them, forthwith or in the future, to act as required. Consequently, the god is treated much as one would treat a very powerful human being, while at the same time his efficiency, or his particular function, is being maintained or strengthened. Importance is attached to the appropriateness of the offering. It should not be without cost (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv, 24), and the more valuable it is the more likely is it to be effective in a crisis. But what constituted the value of a sacrifice? Human sacrifice seems to have been far from rare. The king of Moab sacrificed his son as a burnt-offering to enlist the aid of Chemosh: it was thus interpreted by Israel, then in an age of religious decline, and their *morale* was broken (2 Kings iii). When religion became formal any tainted offering might be made; and the condemnation of the indifferent worshipper in the post-exilic period (Mal. i, 7 *sq.*) finds a striking parallel much earlier when human sacrifice was more in vogue. A foundation-sacrifice discovered at Gezer proves to be that of a woman, probably over fifty, so diseased that 'possibly she was selected because she was useless to the community' (Macalister). It points to a certain decay at some earlier period, even as the complaint of Malachi does for the fifth century B.C.; and, to descend further, the Carthaginians attributed their misfortunes in the days of Agathocles (310 B.C.) to the fact that the rich had ceased to sacrifice their own children

[1] Cf. Mi. v, 1 (see the commentaries); 1 Kings xviii, 28; Hos. vii, 14, R.V. mg.

and were purchasing others in their stead, a negligence that was speedily repaired (Diodor. xx, 14). Such examples as these are enough to show that the evolution of religion or of ideas of sacrifice was by no means simple.

More precise ideas of sacrifice are involved when attention is directed to the special requirements of a god, or to the means of obtaining a specific result. Ethically, this meant, as the prophets taught, that a holy and righteous God required holiness and righteousness in men; men must resemble God and give to Him what befits His character. But there are more elementary and widespread ideas of the *Imitatio Dei*, where the relationship is enhanced concretely, for example, by external approximation to the god in dress and toilet, or adornment. Again, while in Babylonian hepatoscopy the liver used for purposes of divination must be perfect and pure, so that the god may enter it, the rule that the Israelite priest must be physically and socially without blemish (Lev. xxi), is evidently in order that he too may receive of the god's spirit. The unclean man dare not approach the divine (Is. vi, 5), but the pure is Yahweh's mouthpiece (Jer. xv, 19), and with him the Holy One abides (Is. lvii, 15). In priestly ritual, as in prophetic teaching, God and man can be brought closer together, with the result that man participates in the powers of the god, or moves him to carry out his desires. Prayer and conjuration here overlap, and the superb intimacy and confident assurance, so often impressive in the old Semitic religions, have, as their reverse, more primitive ideas of the effective relationship between special men and the realm of the gods[1].

Fear undoubtedly played a large part in religion, but the relationship between the god and the worshipper, and the solidarity of the group of gods and men are much more significant for the actual development of the religious beliefs and practices. Indeed, so deep-rooted is the conviction of the solidarity that a national god can hardly be thought of as utterly independent of his worshippers. Even the sternest ethical prophets felt that Israel's god could not ultimately cast off his people—the God of whom they were so profoundly conscious could not be conceived as lastingly severed from the people of which they felt themselves to be an organic part.

[1] As a modern illustration of this it may be noticed that the founder of Ḥasidism, Israel ben Eliezer (1700–1760 A.D.) was called *Baal Shēm*, 'master of the Name,' because he was supposed to be able to use his knowledge of the Sacred Name in order to work miracles; cf. also the 'rain-maker' Onias, p. 370 n. (On the *baal* as essentially one who has rights, and who can utilize, exploit or manipulate powers, see vol. I, p. 208.)

VI. SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE OLD RELIGION

Although Yahwism doubtless began as an ethical teaching—cf. the early ideas of the Indian god Varuna (vol. II, p. 401)—like other religions it speedily deteriorated. It must have been thoroughly barbaric, with its wine and feasting (Is. xxviii, 7; cf. Judg. ix, 27), its noise (Lam. ii, 7), the smell of countless animal sacrifices, its unrestrained dancing, and, on occasion, practices of the sort that made Baal-peor an abomination (Num. xxv). The frenzied rites gave reality to the sense of communion with the deity; and, since life depended on the fertilization of the ground and the fruits of the soil, ideas of growth and increase, pursued to the extreme, gave the rites a quasi-magical significance. Ordinary sacrifices, once believed to be effective, readily acquire a sort of coercive power, and there is no wide gulf between the familiar 'sympathetic magic' and the symbolical practices of the prophets, as when a stone is tied to Jeremiah's prophecy against Babylon, and both are to be flung into the Euphrates with the words: '*so* shall Babylon sink' (Jer. li, 64). Even a post-exilic prophet could declare that if the Feast of Tabernacles were not kept there would be no rain (Zech. xiv, 16 *sq.*); and a ceremonial pouring-out of water persisted till late times, as a conscious or unconscious rain-charm. To the Oriental the possibility of controlling nature is in no way strange; and in ancient Palestine such were the ideas of the sympathy between people and land that the inveterate licentious cults themselves were not mere foul orgies, but meant a union with the deity, perhaps not without some effect upon the general fertility of all life and growth. That such cults lost their magico-religious force and became temple-prostitution seems to follow from the otherwise inexplicable Deuteronomic law which prohibits the hire of a prostitute from being paid into the temple-treasury (Deut. xxiii, 18).

In the old religion such practices were not isolated. Even later Judaism, apropos of the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii), knew of an 'Amorite' custom of a compulsory sacrifice of chastity before marriage, evidently analogous to what was known at Babylon[1]. The original motive of this is uncertain: different reasons may have been current (an initiation rite, a safeguard against demons, etc.). As regards circumcision, this rite as a prelude to marriage (the father-in-law being the 'circumciser,' *ḥōthēn*) qualified for entry into the group with all its privileges and duties; and 'circumcision of the heart' (Jer. iv, 4), which is held out as a

[1] Test. of Judah xii; cf. Epist. of Jeremy, *v.* 43; Herodot. i, 199.

preliminary to a new relationship with Yahweh, is the ethical equivalent. It is a suggestive fact that the law regarded fruit-trees as 'uncircumcised' for the first three years, 'sacred' to Yahweh in the fourth, while in the fifth their fruits could be enjoyed (Lev. xix, 23). It is unlawful or unsafe to partake of the fruit until a sacrifice has been made, and when an archaic story tells how the married but uncircumcised Moses was all but slain by Yahweh (Ex. iv, 24 *sqq.*), it is understood that the marriage of an uncircumcised man was—to say the least—an insult to the god. Accordingly, if circumcision may be regarded as the sacrifice of a part for the whole it comes into line with the practice of offering first-fruits and firstlings to the god or his representative before putting them to ordinary use. The first of its kind was sacred, and, theoretically, even the male firstborn, in whom resided a special virtue, also belonged to the god—the Levites come to be regarded as surrogates—and in extreme cases the idea was put into effect. Hence, if what is 'sacred' can be touched only by the god or his 'sacred' representative, it is possible that the 'Amorite' custom mentioned above was a ceremonial deflowering, and that, as analogy suggests, the god or his representative primarily had the first claim (*i.e.* performed the rite).

In any case, the belief has always prevailed that sacrifices, even precious ones, are necessary when a new operation is undertaken or accomplished—they serve to initiate, consecrate and inaugurate new stages. Often, no doubt, there was merely a vague conviction of their necessity and appropriateness. For example, foundation sacrifices, once familiar—to judge from the excavations at Gezer and elsewhere—but, later, rare enough to demand explicit mention in the case of the rebuilding of Jericho (1 Kings xvi, 34, cf. Josh. vi, 26), were not necessarily explained as other than required by the god (note Abraham's acquiescence, Gen. xxii). Abundant animal-sacrifices mark the inauguration of the temple of Jerusalem, and behind the closely-related accounts of the inauguration of altars by Gideon and by Manoah, and the mysterious disappearance of the holy messengers—one of whom actually ascends in the flame of the burnt-offering—it is possible that we have the last trace of human sacrifice at such occasions (Judg. vi, xiii). If the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, the potency of human sacrifice on solemn dedicatory ceremonies of whatever kind is equally intelligible. More specific ideas can be recognized when an annual mourning-ceremony by Gileadite women (Judg. xi) is explained by the sacrifice of a young virgin whose 'father,' Jephthah, bears the significant name 'he (the god)

opens,' that is, grants offspring[1]. There is a similar appropriateness in the case of the new-born children found buried under the floor of the sacred place at Gezer. Evidently they were either sacrificed in order to form, so to speak, a stock upon which to draw, or they had died naturally and were buried there in order that they might be reborn. The resort of women to shrines in the hope of obtaining offspring goes back, in any event, to ideas which were bound up with very realistic practices.

Sacrifice is commonly a typical means of establishing contact with the world of spirits—like prayer. It is also regarded as a way of strengthening them and of enabling them to perform their general or special functions. Similarly, offerings of all sorts are made to chiefs, essentially in order that they too may perform those duties which the group expects of them—*e.g.* they receive a share of the booty in order that they may perform the duties of hospitality. Accordingly, while sacrifices are made to the gods to keep them effective, in monarchical religion they could be made for their human representatives, so that, to the ceremonial slaughter by the Egyptian king of captives that 'his name might live,' there correspond in old Israel the human sacrifices to the king-god Molech, or rather, Melek, by whom we should probably understand the god regarded as king, and the king as the representative or embodiment of the god.

The old religion was monarchical (cf. Assyria, p. 95). The king is the head and representative of the people, even as among bedouins the sheikh's act will be regarded as essentially that of the tribe. He is the sole actor: Mesha of Moab 'made' the Arnon road (p. 373), and the regal inscriptions describe the achievements of the king and the national gods. The kingship tends to centralize religion. The king is the head of the national religious and political system; the temple is the royal sanctuary, and temple and palace adjoin. The king controls temple and cult, and, like the priestly-king Ithobaal of Phoenicia (p. 361), or the priestly queens of Arabia (cf. p. 84), performs a twofold function. He prays and sacrifices on behalf of the people in peace and in war (cf. Ez. xlv, 17); and in all crises he consults the god, the oracle or the sacred symbols (1 Sam. xxiii, 2, 4; 2 Kings xix, 14). His privileges are primarily that he may fulfil his duties. He has remarkable powers and responsibilities, and corresponding opportunities for influencing life and thought. More than ordinary members of the community he, like other representative men, can bring guilt upon a people (cf. David, 2 Sam. xxiv, 17; the

[1] Gen. xxix, 31; cf. the name [J]iphtah-el, Josh. xix, 14.

priest, Lev. iv, 3), and the evil Manasseh is the recognized cause of the nation's downfall (Jer. xv, 4). He is a convenient scapegoat in misfortune (1 Sam. xxx, 6), and can symbolically bear a people's guilt (cf. the priest, Zech. iii; Ez. iv, 4). The king fights the wars of Yahweh: the two are united ('for Yahweh and for Gideon,' Judg. vii, 20), and the victories which the god grants the king add also to the prestige of the god. Hence the fortunes of the king can be an index to the relations between him and his god (so in Chronicles, etc., see p. 485). This relation imposed appropriate ritual and other demands upon the king; and in the O.T. two characteristic tendencies can be discerned: the one, anti-monarchical, the other, resting the monarchy entirely upon the king's obedience to Yahweh (see vol. I, pp. 214 *sqq.*).

The coronation was a religious ceremony with symbolical acts of divine recognition (cf. p. 93); sometimes there were covenants with the people (2 Kings xi, 17, cf. 1 Sam. x, 25), especially after a period of internal dissension. As supreme judge and court of appeal a strong king could protect his people from the powerful nobles, who no doubt frequently played a prominent part in the political and religious development. A usurper might arise at the head of a band of warriors and malcontents (1 Sam. xxii, 2), and the division of the land among his followers (*ib. v.* 7) was, in David's case, one of the causes of interminable strife between Judah and Israel (vol. II, p. 373). Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i), Kilammu (p. 144), Ashurbanipal, and many another ruler could be praised, or could praise themselves, for bringing wealth and prosperity to their people; and a new king—and, later, a new high-priest—could mark a new era.

The king, like the priest and prophet, is Yahweh's anointed. He is inviolable, and stories of David's attitude to Saul significantly stress the inviolability even of a bad king (1 Sam. xxvi, 9, etc.). It is blasphemy to curse God and King (Ex. xxii, 28), and the relationship between them embodies some pregnant ideas. Jerusalem is Yahweh's throne, and David sits upon it; the god of Ammon wore a crown, and the kings of Damascus were perhaps regarded as 'sons of Hadad[1].' Yahweh is king of Israel, the nation is the god's kingdom, and the god and the nation (tribe, etc.) can bear the same name (*e.g.* Atarsamain, *i.e.* Ishtar of Heaven)[2]. Also, the king and the kingdom are one, and in the 'kings' of Tyre, Egypt, etc., in Ezek. xxviii–xxxii, and Is. xiv, 4–21, the

[1] Jer. iii, 17; 1 Chron. xxix, 23 (cf. xxviii, 5; 2 Chron. xxix, 23); also vol. II, p. 394, and above, p. 362 n. 2.

[2] 1 Sam. xii, 11; Is. x, 10 (cf. 2 Kings xix, 15); and see vol. II, p. 348.

people are included with their monarchs. 'David' is typical of the people, and Yahweh's promises to David are transferred to the people (Is. lv, 3–5); 'remember David' means ultimately 'remember us' (Ps. cxxxii), and the commemoration of Yahweh's choice of David becomes a prayer for the future (Ps. lxxxix). 'David' represents equally the Davidic dynasty and any member of it (Ez. xxxiv, 23), and the ideas expressed in the monarchy find a parallel in the conviction that the ancestral patriarchs of the distant past are one with their descendants (cf. the use of the names Israel, Jacob, Isaac), and are still interested in their people who profit from Yahweh's promises to them (Is. li, 2, note the complaint, lxiii, 16). (See also vol. II, p. 397, on Melchizedek.)

The gods can be thought of as kings, and the kings as gods (cf. the Amarna letters, vol. II, p. 341 *sq.*): the two lines of thought influence each other, and with striking effects. Originally the names Malchiel and Malchiyah presumably referred to the king as El or Yah[weh]; but Israelite usage became more cautious, and the king is '*like* an angel of God' (2 Sam. xiv, 17). Language could be used of the king as of no other individual, and, with all allowance for conventional phraseology in addressing the god or the king, the beliefs implied could be as genuine as the extravagant joy, centuries later, at the sight of Simon the Just (Ecclus. l, 5–12). Ideas formerly associated with the kings were in due course taken over by the high-priests; the 'Mosaic' priestly régime, as a whole, being explicable only as a post-monarchical, rather than as a pre-monarchical phenomenon. Moreover, ideas of the king could also be applied to the people ('the man of thy right hand,' Ps. lxxx, 17, where the parallel 'son of man' is used of Israel, as in Dan. vii, 13); and the most significant developments in Old Testament thought are due to the conscious or unconscious transference, with adjustment and reshaping, of great conceptions from one group or one type of individual to another. (On the 'servant of Yahweh,' see below, pp. 489 *sqq.*)

The kingship, shaped by ideas of the gods, in turn developed certain ideas which became more prominent after its decay. It must suffice to refer, for example, to the inculcation of absolute obedience: Obey and trust the man you have chosen. This is the essence of Jotham's parable (Judg. ix, 15). Assyrian kings distinguish between ordinary enemies and those who treacherously break their covenants. The treatment of the latter is far more harsh; even as sons who repudiate the parents who adopted them are the more severely punished by the Code of Hammurabi. A sterner view of the relations between Yahweh and Israel grew

up, along with the conviction that the covenant was a free one on both sides (cf. especially Josh. xxiv, 14–25), and that it was Yahweh who alone was 'loyal' (*ṣaddīḳ*) throughout. Again, the inauguration of a new era by a new king influenced ideas of a Messiah; and these, especially with the conception of a semi-divine hero (Is. ix; xi, 1–8), not only prove the strength of ancient ideas of the divine kingship, but also explain the enthusiasm at the rise of a Zerubbabel (p. 414 *sq.*). Further, they led up to profounder developments as men thought of God in terms of man, and of the supreme representative man in terms of God. The king, as the breath or light of the people (Lam. iv, 20; 2 Sam. xxi, 17), and the representative of the god to men and of men to the god, shaped ideas of intermediaries and the anthropomorphic and concrete conceptions of the god. At the same time, he enhanced current ideas of group or national solidarity (p. 438), seeing that he himself was the obvious nucleus of the group. Again, the sacred king was the individual, *par excellence*, and the more 'aristocratic' ideas of the unique relationship between him and his god or gods led on gradually to more 'democratic' convictions of the way in which this relationship could be extended and become one between the gods and less exalted individuals.

The history of these and other fundamental ideas in Israel was no simple process; but enough can perhaps be determined both to illumine some significant social and political changes, the character of which otherwise could hardly have been recovered, and to indicate how vital these ideas become as we pass from a barbaric age to those ethical movements which are associated with the prophets of Israel. The 'higher' sacrificial and other ideas of the great prophets which so powerfully shaped the history of religion cannot be entirely severed from the 'lower,' whether in Yahwism or in the cults of other lands. It is both legitimate and necessary, therefore, to look for the more rudimentary and popular ideas which were capable of being ethically sublimated. And if we thus postulate a certain essential continuity between 'lower' and 'higher' forms we are only in harmony (*a*) with the age-long recognition of a fundamental relationship both between the Old Testament and the New, and between the biblical doctrine of sacrifice, including therein, of course, the Pentateuchal, and the Christian, and (*b*) with the modern recognition of fundamental parallels between the O.T. and ancient and rudimentary religions.

What was latent in current belief and practice the prophets seized, and they re-expressed it in their ethical theism. It remained for their teaching to be adjusted to social, political and religious

conditions. They were successful in so far as they disentangled and reshaped the fundamental ideas of the interrelations of God and Man; and if much older and cruder forms persist or emerge —as is evident from many of the references in the preceding pages—it is largely because the more abstract ideas demanded concrete and physical forms which should be intelligible to the community as a whole. None the less, the results were a Yahwism essentially different from, in spite of many resemblances to, that of the pre-prophetic age. It resulted in a new stage of religious evolution, a new organism, or, if we may so say, a new species. Some steps in this process have now to be noticed and discussed[1].

[1] The religion against which the great prophets contended was one that justified their condemnation, and was more akin to the old religion of the land (*e.g.* in the Amarna period) and to the surrounding religions than that which is presented in Genesis–Kings. The distinctive spirituality which gives the O.T. its permanent religious value, and which seems to go back to the time of Moses (*c.* Amarna age) and Abraham (*c.* Hammurabi age)—if not earlier—is in reality due to the *description* of the past in sources which are far from contemporary, and which are clearly influenced by particular views (see p. 415 n). The modern view that the prophets were responsible for a new stage in the religious history of Palestine is confirmed by the archaeological and other 'external' evidence for the conditions in early Palestine, and by a critical study of the quality of the beliefs and practices. The result is a picture in which there is scarcely place for the pre-prophetic religion as described in the historical sources, and it is possible with due caution to give a very much fuller account of the old religion than has been begun in this chapter. In such a reconstruction considerably more could be said on (1) the monarchical character of the religion, the dynastic idea and all that is bound up with the priestly kingship; (2) ideas of life after death (the case of Panammu being typical, p. 445), cult of the dead, ancestor cults; (3) human sacrifice, temple prostitution, castration, ritual change of garments, and cruel and gross ideas of the interconnection of man, nature and the spirit-world; (4) polytheism, cosmic, animal and mystical cults, and (5) the richness of myth. In general, all the indications point to a systematized barbaric religion, such as would find abundant parallels from Egypt and Carthage to Mexico and Peru, but with all the latent and potential higher ideas (see especially, vol. II, p. 403) that lurk in all religions, and whose vitality and growth depend upon the way in which they are expressed in beliefs and practices. That this old religion was intense, if not fanatical, and militant, is suggested by the vigour and energy of even the later and much modified forms of Yahwism. If it be objected that the religion as reconstructed would be the old religion of Palestine or of the *Amorites* or *Hebrews*, and that the religion of *Israel* had always been characterized by the spiritual features which mark the beginning of a religion or subsequent reforming periods, any attempt to describe the early history of Israelite religion must at all events pay heed to the nature of our sources, the religious features already summarized, and the principles of the scientific study of religion.

CHAPTER XX

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

REFERENCE has already been made to the position which modern criticism ascribes to the prophets, and its bearing upon modern views of the development of Israel (p. 416). Even the history of the interpretation of the prophets of Israel is of the first importance for the understanding of these figures; and it is perhaps not the least significant fact that the main progressive steps in this interpretation have been due to Western (almost wholly Christian) rather than to Eastern (or wholly Oriental) minds. The prophets of Israel have been variously regarded as foretellers of the Messiah, predictors of the future (prophecy being 'history written in advance'), social reformers, and so forth. On the assumption that every prophecy must have some natural relation to contemporary circumstances (whether events, ideas or aims), modern historical interpretation endeavours to determine this relationship, and the place, temporary or more permanent, of each prophet in the development of life and thought. But this is no easy task, because the writings are often composite, and the particular age which they illumine, difficult to fix with any certainty.

In its widest sense, prophecy is, of course, peculiar to no people: there are 'diversities of gifts but the same spirit'; and the word itself (*nābī'*, 'prophet,' and the derivatives) is used in Hebrew for very different phenomena. In Israel there were bodies ('sons') of prophets, often married, associated with Bethel, Jericho and elsewhere, possibly recognizable by some mark on their face, or by their dress, and apt to indulge in wild dervish-like performances, on occasion throwing off their clothes (1 Sam. xix, 24), or possessed of unusual endurance (1 Kings xviii, 46). There were men who could 'divine' for a fee; keen-witted, able to disclose the secrets of the heart, readers of the past, and with a foreknowledge of events. Frenzy, at the lowest estimate, was regarded as inspiration: the maniac and the mantic were akin (note the combination in Jer. xxix, 26), and Saul's 'prophesying' was rather mere 'raving' (see 1 Sam. xviii, 10, R.V.; cf. x, 10–13,

xix, 24). From the ecstatic and the 'professional,' who might be thoroughly mercenary (Mic. iii, 11; contrast Am. vii, 12 *sqq.*), to the grand and lonely figures of the greatest prophets there were many gradations, and the term 'prophet,' thus widely applied (*e.g.* also to Moses), is, in its highest sense, best applicable only to the more responsible men who, being neither fanatics nor merely moralists, based their teaching upon a comprehensive and thorough-going theistic position.

Stirred by music, laceration, strong drink and otherwise, the prophets (of whatever grade) saw visions—with an inner eye (Num. xxiv, 3–8); or they heard noises, voices; or a spirit came, or they felt the hand of Yahweh upon their mouth. Or the occasion was more majestic: there was a theophany, an inaugural summons (Job speaks of an awful and terrifying vision, Job iv, 15), or the meeting was more intimate, Yahweh himself spoke to Moses (Ex. xxxiii, 11; Num. xii, 6 *sqq.*). Sometimes the occasion left them weak (Dan. viii, 27), and different forms of abnormal personality are well illustrated in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In varying degrees all these figures, especially Ezekiel, were psychologically outside the normal. Artificial means, such as are everywhere employed in order to provoke an abnormal state, are not to be confused with the abnormal or ecstatic experiences which may have led up to the prophecy; for not all prophecy was due to excitation, as we see from Jeremiah's case in xlii, 4, 7 (cf. his slow conviction in xxviii), although Jeremiah himself stands out above all the other prophets for his intense subjectivity.

There is something objective in the divine message. An overpowering spirit (*rūḥ*) compels the man to absolute obedience, and he can speak only Yahweh's message (cf. story of Balaam, Num. xxii *sq.*). The vision arouses questioning or causes dismay (Amos vii *sq.*), and Elisha the seer is stricken with grief at what he sees in the face of Hazael (2 Kings viii, 11 *sq.*). There is at times a divided personality (cf. Is. xxi, 6). We have scenes of diffidence and internal struggle, or of expostulation and complaint; sometimes there is a remarkable familiarity, for which we have parallels in naïve religion and in deep personal experience, in contrast to the organized religion. Jeremiah, especially, is characterized by an introspection, a self-revelation, which make him and his age a landmark in the growth of knowledge of human personality. The prophet (*nābī'*) is not his own master: his name recalls the god Nebo, the divine herald, the intermediary later identified with Mercury. He is Yahweh's messenger (*mal'ākh*), or his interpreter (Job xxxiii, 23), perhaps even preordained like Jeremiah (i, 5).

It is his duty to guard, to warn, and pray for the people: his responsibility is a heavy one[1]. Like the 'messenger' he may be, virtually, Yahweh himself (cf. Judg. x, 11, with ii, 1, vi, 8). 'Thus saith Yahweh,' and Yahweh's utterance, however imparted or received previously, now has an immediate authority.

They speak, chant or sing—sometimes in fine rhythm; they 'exude' (*nāṭaph*), and sometimes there is a strange incoherence (Ezek. xxi, 26). There are some splendid examples of spontaneous literary skill as also of rather over-elaborated writing; and there is the widest gulf between an Amos or an Isaiah and the somewhat lifeless lay-figures that cross the stage in the later historical narratives (*e.g.* Chronicles)[2]. We have the grand simplicity of Amos, Micah, the 'prophet of the poor,' Hosea's pathos, the unequalled 'confessions' of Jeremiah, the vehemence and wealth of diction of Isaiah, who is the prophet of Yahweh's sovereignty. At their best the prophetic writings are unique for their fire, their superb confidence, their depth, and the immediacy of their appeal. But when all has been said—and much has to be said—the prophets were Semites, supreme examples of the ancient Semitic mentality; and we misunderstand them and their influence if we separate them too rigorously from the lower and cruder phenomena of their day. The prophets, taken as a whole, included enthusiasts and fanatics, men of genius and of perverse genius, and men often as much a problem to their age as they are to their modern interpreters. On these and other grounds the latter must be permitted the exercise of criticism which tests and rejuvenates great literature. But unfortunately the literary remains of the prophets are often in a very fragmentary state, and provide only partial aspects of their authors. Often they have been supplemented, embellished or modified by later hands, and this with a freedom which, familiar enough in the Ancient East, seriously embarrasses the modern critic. Each fragment illumines the age to which it belongs, but to what age it does belong is often disputed; and, consequently, although the writings reflect the vicissitudes of Israel's life and thought, it is extremely difficult to present an account of the development. Slowly, however, the methods of these old writers and editors are being determined, and with interesting results; for example, although the books that go under the names of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel are to a varying degree of composite origin, one can distinguish, none the less, different spirits of prophecy, which one may call 'Isaianic,'

[1] Cf. Ez. iii, 17; xiii *sq.*; xxxiii, 2–9; and the watchman in Hab. ii, 1.

[2] Contrast 'the Valley of the Bones,' Ez. xxxvii, with the rather laboured programme in xl–xlviii.

'Jeremian,' etc.; whence it would seem that, answering to the earlier and later versions of events such as we find collected in the narratives, there are in the prophetical writings earlier and later passages relating to similar events (*e.g.* the fall of Jerusalem, Babylon, etc.), or topics (individualism, false prophecy, the Servant of Yahweh, etc.).

Not infrequently where the western mind finds abrupt transitions and absence of sequence of thought there is an underlying coherence and an association of ideas (cf. vol. 1, p. 196). Among the literary characteristics of the prophets especially typical is the free association of words, ideas and events, *e.g.* the basket of summer fruit (*ḳáyiṣ*) suggests the consummation (*ḳēṣ*) of Israel (Am. viii, 2). Plays upon names recur (especially Mi. i, 10 *sqq.*); and, conversely, significant names are given as an indication of imminent events (Hos. i; Is. viii, 3). Appropriate ideas are duly aroused by the sight of the potter at his work and the melting pot[1]. Vivid imagery is effectively employed. The prophet performs symbolical acts: he goes bare-footed (Is. xx), he spoils his girdle (Jer. xiii, 1); the story of Hosea's tragic marriage is a classic. On a higher level the prophet's life becomes a 'type.' His message is often delivered in the form of a similitude (*māshāl*), and such symbolic acts as the ceremonial breaking of the bottle or of the wooden yoke (Jer. xix, xxvii) so emphasize the certainty of the prediction that they recall the world-wide imitative magical ceremonies which seem to control nature or the gods. The real and ideal are one: in a dramatic scene Jeremiah makes the peoples drink of the cup of Yahweh's wrath (Jer. xxv, 15 *sqq.*), and a well-known Psalm (xxii) gives us a fusion of history and art. The border-line between a significant fact and allegory is apt to be obscured (note the locusts in Joel); the speaker will be carried away by his own hyperbole, and, as often, similitude and identity are confused.

Characteristic also is the coalescing of cause and effect, of prelude and sequel, of purpose and result. An inevitable effect is identified with the intention of the people or of Yahweh[2]; though this fusion of prospective and retrospective attitudes may be merely verbal—like the literary use of such words as 'destined' or 'fated'—the more especially as Yahweh was believed to be the ultimate cause of all things. At the same time, it is a Semitic tendency to associate both sides of a relation (*e.g.* the same word in Arabic, etc., means 'client' and 'patron'), or both parts of a process (the same Hebrew word means work *or* reward,

[1] See Jer. xviii, 1–6; and Is. i, 25; Jer. vi, 27–30, R.V.; Ez. xxii, 17–22.

[2] Jer. vii, 10 (end); Hos. viii, 4 (end); Ez. xx, 25; Ex. vii, 4; Is. vi, 9 *sq.*

force *or* wealth, guilt *or* punishment, covenant *or* concord). Similar tendencies manifest themselves when past and future blend (as in Is. ix. 7–x, 4; xxii, 1–14); and the sense of time is readily lost. The prophet sees and even presupposes the realization of a future event or of a truth which has yet to be worked out. Imagination and historic fact are interwoven, and, linking together his people and his god, he lives at once in the past, the present and the future, a conscious part of a unit unlimited in both time and space (cf. above, p. 438 *sq.*).

Associating themselves with their eternal god whose mouthpiece they are, or with their land or people, with whom they identify themselves, the great prophets *par excellence* interpret the history and destiny of Israel. Personal and national experiences are interwoven, and they draw out and apply the principles that are implicit in them. Men are thereby made to become conscious of their own principles and pass judgment upon themselves; the consequences of their most fundamental convictions are brought home to them[1]. There is an inevitable nemesis in history, but it is essentially a divine judgment[2]. Though long-suffering, Yahweh does not leave guilt unpunished (Ex. xxxiv, 6 *sq.*). Stress is indeed laid upon the fulfilment of prediction (Deut. xviii, 22), but wonder-working and the like is in itself no criterion of authenticity (*ib.* xiii, 1–5).

The real value of the prophets lies in the significance of their utterances for contemporary needs; they were forth-tellers rather than fore-tellers—as is often said nowadays. It may be observed, in passing, that Is. xl–lxvi is no longer regarded as Isaiah's, and that such detailed prophecies as that concerning Josiah and Bethel (1 Kings xiii) are not regarded as other than *post eventum*. On the other hand, it has to be recognized that the prophets emphasize ethical and spiritual truths which must realize themselves in the course of history; and, what is particularly important, they, more than others, helped to shape that history, and make it work out their purposes. What they read in the past was, they felt, true for the future, and the analogies or resemblances which they find become more than these, as though in all history there was manifesting itself an inner principle, and that a theistic one[3].

[1] Am. iii, 2; 2 Sam. xii, 5–7, xiv; 1 Kings xx, 40 *sqq.*

[2] Judg. ix, 56 *sq.*, and especially 2 Sam. xii, 10 and the revolt of Absalom.

[3] The old-fashioned 'typology' which also found a certain essential relation between analogous events, processes, and historical figures, has given place to the 'comparative method'; and the importance of both can be seen

Often men acquainted with the tribes and peoples of the day, the prophets took a distinguished part in high politics (cf. Jer. i, 10, xxviii, 8; for Jonah, see p. 378). Isaiah was a court-prophet, and, like Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, shows a wide knowledge which stands in contrast to the somewhat narrow horizons of the so-called 'historical' books (cf. pp. 387 n., 415 n.). Here, in a sense, the keen-eyed prophet could predict the future (see, *e.g.* 1 Kings xx, 22); and it is not unlikely that later 'schools of the prophets' were responsible for the historical narratives in which a Jeremiah plays a leading part (*e.g.* Jer. xxxii *sqq.*), or the simple marvels of an Elisha are carefully preserved by the side of records of more 'historical' value (see p. 364). The great prophets themselves differed from the statesmen of later ages in that domestic and foreign questions were handled along theistic lines: their social and political philosophy and their supreme religious convictions forming, one might say, a single coherent system. But the fact that in the East there have been varying qualities of theism, differing manifestly in their ethical and rational value, is apt to be overlooked by those moderns who approach every theism in the light of their own, and give such ideas as 'righteousness,' for example, some more deeply spiritual connotation than they necessarily possessed (see vol. II, p. 402 *sq.*). It is for such reasons as these that the interpretation of the prophets of Israel is attended with peculiar difficulties.

The prophets were very far from being pacifists where Yahweh's enemies were concerned; Yahweh's enemies were their own—and *vice versa*[1]. If they advise surrender, it is in the conviction that this is Yahweh's will; though it may not be easy to see why Jeremiah and Ezekiel favoured submission to Babylon rather than alliance with Egypt (p. 397 *sq.*). There is sometimes a characteristic detestation of foreign alliance; sometimes an antipathy to trade, civilization and all that exposed the people to foreign cults—here the prophets were, however, surpassed by such bodies as the Nazirites and Rechabites who were professional ascetics and keen, not to say fanatical, upholders of the nomadic ideal. A certain vacillation can be traced in the history of prophecy between a universalism too indefinite to be practicable, an excessively narrow, nationalist spirit, and a religious imperialism to the glory of Yahweh. More significant is the insistence upon self-reliance: Israel errs in not trusting sufficiently in herself and in Yahweh; and the

in such difficult questions as those referred to on p. 456 (the king-Messiah) and pp. 489, 498 (Is. liii).

[1] Cf. 1 Sam. xv, 18 *sqq.*; 1 Kings xx, 42; 2 Kings xiii, 19.

kernel of the teaching of the prophets might be summed up in the words, Religion as the foundation of national polity, and confidence that Yahweh would care for the people who did his will. This necessitated a purged Israel, and in the experience of Jeremiah, who perhaps more than any other figure represents the true genius of Israel, the reward of purgation is higher and more responsible service (Jer. xv, 19).

The prophets denounce social and commercial abuses—the false weights unearthed in excavation frequently substantiate their denunciations. Internal domestic sins are as reprehensible as those of nation against nation (Am. i *sq.*). There are scathing pictures of inhumanity and selfishness, and of gross indifference (*e.g.* Am. vi; Mi. iii), when men eat of the good pastures and trample them down, and drink of the clear water and then befoul it with their feet (Ez. xxxiv, 18). Estates grow at the expense of the unfortunate; immorality, lying and drunkenness increase. The understanding is destroyed (Hos. iv, 11). The whole social life is endangered, and the leaders—the evil 'shepherds'—are generally held responsible. The princes are bad judges, the judges pervert justice, the priests are adulterous and break the laws, and like the rank and file of the prophets are mere mercenaries. At an age of unrest 'false prophets' multiply, and are with difficulty recognized for what they are; but they have no independence, they aim at popularity, they are mercenary and humour the current temper, they cry peace when there is no peace, they take too much for granted, and do not go to the roots of the disease. They prophesy what is not of Yahweh, and by their character they discredit prophecy (Jer. xxiii, 9 *sqq.*). All the sanctuaries are unholy, even Jerusalem is rotten at the core (Jer. v, 1). Altars are multiplied, only to increase sin; and Ezekiel (xx, 29) condemns those who 'hie' (*bā'īm*) to the 'high place' (*bāmāh*). As many gods as cities, and the people become as the object of their love (Hos. ix, 10). There is no lack of religion; but it is false and hateful (vii, 14). The pillars, trees and other objects of cult seduce people from Yahweh, and the systematic ceremonial immorality comes in for repeated denunciation. The old paths have been forsaken (Jer. vi, 16; xviii, 15), and the religion is sheer harlotry. The fountain of living waters has been repudiated for broken, useless cisterns (Jer. ii, 13). The ritual is not acceptable, it is external; and the prophets denounce the way in which the old religion has been over-loaded with ritual, and men have done what never entered Yahweh's head[1]. With all their

[1] Jer. vi, 20; Is. i, 11 *sqq.*; Am. v, 25; Jer. vii, 22, 31, xxxii, 35; Ez. xx, 25 *sqq.*

vehemence the prophets may not have absolutely rejected sacrifices; but, on the whole, they were destructive in their attitude to current conditions, though constructive in their inculcation of pregnant ideas, which, however, needed systematizing.

II. DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Israel had been truly planted—a well-kept vineyard; but she had forgotten the early innocence of her youth (Is. v; Jer. ii, 21). The presence of Yahweh lent a false security (Mi. iii, 11 *sq.*), the holy temple was almost a talisman (Jeremiah's protest, vii, 4), and the possession of a Law was taken—wrongly (Jer. viii, 8)—to be a guarantee of divine favour. Amos long before had shown that the claim of Israel to be a chosen people involved heavier obligations; and the commonly-expected 'Day of Yahweh,' as he and his successors warned, would be a day of judgment on all evil, a grim sacrificial feast with Judah as the victim. It was an accepted conviction that the national god worked for the glory of the king (so Assyria) or the people (Israel); but the prophets, living at a time of social and political disintegration, destroyed the notion of any natural or necessary bond between the people and its god. In one of Ezekiel's most realistic chapters Israel is an outcast (xvi). Yahweh, as Amos taught, was no merely national God (Am. ix, 7); his sphere was universal. If need be, he would destroy his own vineyard (Is. v), he would act like a stranger to his people (Jer. xiv, 8 *sq.*), and he would manifest himself to those who neither sought for him nor were called after his name (Is. lxv, 1). Nebuchadrezzar was his servant to punish Israel, Cyrus to restore her. He breaks down what he builds up, plucks up what he has planted, and it is not for men to complain (Jer. xlv; Jon. iii, 10–iv). He works for his Name, not for Israel; and accordingly his name is interpreted: 'I will be what I will be' (Ex. iii, 14)—a familiar idiom expressive of absolute freedom and unrestricted possibilities. And Yahwism undergoes development by reason of the conviction of the intimate relation between the people and its god and the growth of ideas regarding the character, attributes and consistent righteousness of Yahweh.

Morality, according to the prophets, did not rest upon men's ideas, but upon divine laws—not laws of society or of nature, but God's demands. Men were expected to know these, and it was for the prophets to inculcate, or rather, to recall them. What they taught was not necessarily regarded by them as new, but a restatement or a reminder. And, in accord with this, we find,

instead of the artificial and stagnant antiquarianism of Egypt and Babylonia of the sixth century, that the history of the past was rewritten to conform with the ideas of the present, a procedure which finds further illustration when we compare Chronicles with Samuel-Kings or the book of Jubilees with Genesis (see further pp. 355, 476, 478). This vital difference between Palestine and the surrounding lands is the outstanding fact when we take a wider view of ancient history, and, in particular, of the impressive religious movements of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; but it then becomes necessary to recognize the further fact that the early history of Israel has been so reshaped and rewritten that the task of recovering the older traditions becomes, in the absence of external evidence, all the more difficult.

The achievement of the prophets lay in their moralizing the religion, and in separating it from the decaying systems of social organization and thought in which it had been confined. The union of Yahweh and Israel rested on ethical grounds; and therefore ethical sin is worse than ritual error. Purity of heart and lips (Is. vi, 5) is of more avail than ritual purity. Sacrifice is not a mechanism, but partly an attitude of the donor, aroused by a truer idea of what most pleases God. Holiness and fasting are spiritual qualities, not states of tabu; and Yahweh's holiness demands moral and not ceremonial purity. Circumcision should be that of the heart, and hearts, not garments, should be rent. Accordingly, the prophets call for righteousness to stream like an ever-flowing river, for loving-kindness rather than sacrifice, for moral purity, obedience, justice, mercy and humility[1]. Israel's apostasy is unnatural: men had a natural knowledge of agriculture, the birds had their instinct to guide them, the ox knew its owner, and the ass its crib; but Israel had no *mishpāṭ*, no knowledge of Yahweh[2]. It was something astounding. Israel would not learn the lessons of affliction, she ignored the teaching of history, and refused to accept 'chastisement' (cf. p. 442 n.). There was a dulling of the senses, and blindness of eye (Is. vi, 9 *sq.*), a fatal 'constriction' (*shĕrīrūth*); and the people are destroyed for lack of knowledge (Hos. iv, 6).

Repeatedly Israel is threatened with disaster; but the threats are conditional (Jer. xviii, 7–10). Man is free to choose (Is. lv, 6 *sq.*), and Yahweh could change his purpose. But to Jeremiah and Ezekiel the moral situation was hopeless. A change in Israel would even be contrary to nature (Jer. xiii, 23). No one could

[1] Am. v, 24; Hos. vi, 6; Is. i; 1 Sam. xv, 22; Mi. vi, 8.

[2] Is. xxviii, 23–29; Jer. viii, 7; Is. *i*, 3; cf. p. 441.

intercede (Jer. vii, 16; Ez. xiv, 14). The malady could not be easily healed (Jer. vi, 14). Therefore the ground must be broken up to receive the seed (Jer. iv, 3 *sqq.*), and there are strange forebodings of cosmic changes, catastrophes, invasions, sieges and suffering before a new age could dawn. Such writers, it is interesting to note, were 'transformists,' not 'reformists.' But with all this there is utter grief. Men must inevitably reap what they sow, and Hosea—a far more emotional figure than Amos—pictures Yahweh torn between mercy and righteousness, for Yahweh has no pleasure in inflicting death. Jeremiah, the most sensitive and tender of creatures, closely examines himself as to the sincerity of his attacks upon his own people[1]. Yet, through all the pessimism and denunciation run the hopes—not necessarily due to later insertion (see p. 469 n.)—of a rebuilding, of a new stock, and of a purified remnant. These will bridge the gulf between the old and the new; and, accordingly, new men are needed, and they need a new heart[2].

Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel feel after a doctrine of individual responsibility: it is significant of an age when the old group-systems were breaking down, and men were no longer linked by common sentiment. Men were protesting that Yahweh was unfair: they ought not to suffer for the sins of their parents; 'the fathers eat sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge.' But henceforth, say these prophets, Yahweh will give to every man according to his ways; all souls are Yahweh's, every man is to die only for his own sin[3]. To this the obvious corollary is that no man can save others, and the just can deliver only themselves (Ez. xiv, xviii). Men cannot have it both ways, and the logical issue of individualism stands out in striking contrast to the advantages and disadvantages of group-unity (p. 438 *sq.*). The ideas are handled in an intuitive manner, or they are somewhat doctrinaire; they are not developed, nor could they stand the test of hard experience. The teaching is a landmark in the history of ideas, but it was not the final stage. Men were realists, their interests were far from being 'other-worldly.' There was a thoroughly characteristic conviction that every man has an appropriate recompense in *this* world (cf. Prov. xi, 31), and his misfortunes or his successes are consequently held to be due to his own evil or his own righteousness. In such circumstances

[1] See Hos. vi, 4, viii, 7, x, 13, xi, 8; Jer. xvii, 16, xviii, 20.

[2] Jer. xxiv, 7, xxxii, 39; Ez. xi, 19, xviii, 31, xxxvi, 26.

[3] Ez. xviii, 25, 29, xxxiii, 17; Jer. xxxi, 29 *sq.*, Ez. xviii, 2; Jer. xvii, 10; Ez. xviii, 4.

tormenting problems of suffering innocence and of unpunished wickedness remain unsolved; evil flourishes, and the penalty—on the theory of a thorough-going individualism—falls neither on a man's group nor on his descendants. In the absence of ideas both of group-unity and responsibility, and of individual recompense or retribution after death, the imperfect ideas of individual responsibility could not be the last word in the history of Israelite thought, and in due course we meet with important developments in the problem of undeserved suffering (viz. Is. liii; Psalms, Job).

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the stage marked by Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the slow growth of ideas of individual worth and in the heightening of personal piety. Of supreme interest is the conception of a relationship *de novo*, a 'New Covenant' between Yahweh and every Israelite (Jer. xxxi, 33 *sq.*), an immediate alliance requiring neither written law nor organized worship. If it is not Jeremiah's, it belongs to his followers—it is 'Jeremian'; if it is not of his age, it is a link in the chain of Israelite prophecy. It went behind the formalism both of the priesthood and of the written law; although (on the view that the biblical narratives are late) it was in due course taken up and worked into the history and the law. It comes logically *after* the condemnation of the old complacence and unjustifiable sense of national security and *before* the insistence (in our narratives) upon a permanent relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Jeremiah, a thorough-going iconoclast, could view with equanimity the disappearance of religious symbols (the ark, see Jer. iii, 16); and to him the temple of Jerusalem was not of supreme value. If Deuteronomy (in its present form at least) was promulgated in his day, he would hardly have welcomed its insistence upon a single sanctuary (Deut. xii. 1–7). So far from identifying religion and cult (like Hosea, ix, 3–5), Jeremiah would sever religion from concrete institutional forms, and free it of civic and national bonds. Profoundly important as this is for the history of Israelite thought, yet, all said and done, the idea of corporate responsibility was not entirely renounced by the prophets themselves (Ez. xx, 47; xxi, 3 *sq.*), and Ezekiel treats Israel as a moral unity (xvi). Nor could they relinquish the hope of a new Jerusalem. Deep in their hearts was the confidence that there could be no Yahweh apart from his people: Yahweh could not forsake his land[1]. Thus, typically enough, there is no ending on a gloomy note[2], and, similarly Paul, too, in his day, has hope of Israel (Rom. xi, 25 *sq.*); and when a book, like Malachi, concluded

[1] Jer. xiv, 21 *sq.*; Ez. xxxv, 10 *sqq.* [2] Cf. Am. ix, 11–15; Hos. xiv.

inauspiciously, Jewish usage demanded that the preceding and less unhappy verse be read a second time[1].

The disasters at and after the fall of Jerusalem could be taken to prove that Yahweh was negligible, or, again, that he had cast off his people, or that he was, as the prophets had said, all-righteous, and was chastening his 'son' Israel who had broken the old-time covenant (cf. Deut. xxix, 24 *sq.*). The widespread political instability would encourage the belief in a blind, irresistible fate outside human control. To some it could give an excessive self-confidence, an energy which had no place for a Supreme Being ruling over men's destiny; but to Israel it gradually brought a new conception of Yahweh's justice and righteousness, and his power in the Universe. This, the most fruitful of all current ideas, overrode the rest, though it is more than difficult to trace even in outline the steps in the process. The fact remains that as we attempt to follow the development of thought we leave behind us Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and subsequently find ourselves in a new age which takes us outside the period covered in this volume (cf. pp. 412 *sq.*, 488). Once more Yahweh intervenes on behalf of Israel: this is the most conspicuous fact. He acts for his Name's sake, and saves Israel for the honour of his own glory (Is. xlii, 8; xlviii, 9). The processes of history are again for the benefit of Israel—note the account of the return from Exile (p. 411 n.)—and the purely ethical aspects often seem to shrink into the background. Tribulation and disaster have a ritual cause—the temple has not been rebuilt (Hag. i, 9 *sq.*) nor the tithes paid (Mal. iii, 8 *sqq.*). Yahweh is again the old war-god—there is a remarkable passage in Is. lxiii, 1–6; and striking anthropomorphisms recur (cf. Is. xlii, 13 *sq.*). The idea of the Day of the Lord, against which Amos and Zephaniah had contended, returns; it is the Day of Vengeance upon Israel's enemies[2]. Yahweh's righteousness now shows itself in the vindication of Israel's righteousness and the

[1] It is always open to dispute how far the brighter passages in the writings of the prophets represent the less pessimistic ideas of the original authors or of later disciples or editors (if not later versions of the original).

[2] As a matter of *historical* development we pass from the threats against Israel to her exaltation and the punishment of her foes; but, by a peculiar *literary* treatment, the denunciation of Israel sometimes passes into that of her enemies, and instead of their attack upon Israel we have an attack upon them for their arrogance or oppression (Zeph. iii; Hab. i; Joel). Through an editorial process, the sequel in the first stage and the prelude in the second are wanting. There are other serious difficulties in the attempt to co-ordinate the historical and the religious vicissitudes, especially as regards the age of Zerubbabel (p. 413), and the 'Servant of Yahweh' (pp. 496 n., 497).

emphasis falls, not on Israel's national character but on the relationship with Yahweh: the cause of Israel is Yahweh's cause, and *vice versa*. There is to be a wealthy and populous Jerusalem, a splendid temple with priests and Levites, sacrifices and tithes, festivals, and the old rite of circumcision. There is a new nationalism. The peoples will come, bringing their wealth, to pay homage. An inviolable Zion is the fountain of religion and morality (Is. ii, 3), the temple of a universal religion, and Israel is its priesthood. Zion is the centre of a world-wide religious empire, universalism is under Jewish aegis. Such post-exilic sentiments, dating after the age of the reforming prophets, afford a telling picture of what the fusion of religious and political ideals could have meant in the earlier pre-exilic days of monarchical religion (cf. p. 453 *sq.*).

There are, it is true, widely different sentiments in the post-exilic literature, but the outstanding facts are (*a*) the continuity in the religious history of Israel throughout the great crises, (*b*) the ability to undergo reconstruction and pass to a new stage, and (*c*) the persistence or re-emergence in the new community of an older and less spiritual stamp of thought. There are still the crude and foreign cults, and the social and religious evils (cf. Is. lvii, 3–10; lxv, 2–5). But Israel is to endure like the sun (Jer. xxxi, 35 *sq.*); the covenant with David shall never be abrogated nor indeed shall there again be a destructive deluge (Is. liv. 9). The past is left behind, an old chapter with the warnings and threats of the ethical reformers is closed, and a new chapter is opened. We find ourselves at the head of a new current of history. We have, after all, a reformation, not a transformation; and as we go down deeper into the literature of the post-exilic age the more does the work of the ethical reforming prophets appear to be undone. But the failure is only an apparent one, and the permanent interest of the O.T., from the purely historical point of view, is the light it throws upon the decay of one régime and the inauguration and growth of another.

The actual steps cannot be traced owing to the character of our sources, but it is evident that the great prophets were too isolated, too apart from the world of affairs to succeed. Jeremiah was unique, but hardly a systematizer, and Ezekiel's theocratic system was too doctrinaire. Yet the great prophets and their disciples were more truly of the Israelite genius than their successors; they brought out and made explicit, once and for all, ideas of divine justice, holiness and love. Yahweh was behind and over nature, he chastened Israel because he loved her, and all

misfortunes were due to some flaw in the relationship between them. By a terrible necessity Yahweh, on account of his absolute 'righteousness' (p. 441), could not help destroying Israel; but it was no less inevitable that he must again take to himself a penitent and a 'righteous' people. A foreign nation might be raised up against Israel, but when it sacrificed to its net and burnt incense to its drag (Hab. i, 16), the failure to recognize Yahweh as the supreme power brought an inevitable retribution, and Yahweh was again reconciled to his own. The relationship between Yahweh and Israel was a reciprocal one, it did not rest primarily upon physical ideas of kinship, common ancestry or common traditions, or on membership of State or of Church—in this the prophets found their last echo in Paul. It was essentially a community of sentiment and conviction (cf. p. 438). It was spiritual, although it was speedily symbolized in rites and ceremonies, in adherence to common principles, and, it will presently be urged, in the growth of a common history.

So profound has been the influence of the prophetic literature that it is rightly felt that the influence of the prophets themselves must have begun with their own age. Gradually they infused a new life into Yahwism; they were the life-blood of a new Israel. But the striking individualism of a Jeremiah and an Ezekiel could not of itself lead forthwith to that elaborate system which we call post-exilic Judaism. More was needed than the influence of exceptional men of intense religious genius of a by-gone generation, if we are to explain the subsequent coherence and reconstruction of Israel, and the stream of events that led on to Christianity. Jeremiah himself was too indifferent to the practical and social aspects of religion, Ezekiel's programme tends to ignore brute facts. Consequently, we have to look for the popularizers and compromisers, the intermediaries between the spiritual experts or pioneers and the rank and file, the men who helped to build the bridge between the majestic seers of Israel and the Judaism of the post-exilic and later ages. And for these we have to look, not among the prophets, but in the literature which reflects their influence.

To sum up, the debt of Israel to religious, literary, or cultural influences of the surrounding peoples (cf. p. 426 *sq.*) proves to be of minor importance for the interpretation of her prophets. There is a marvellous originality about her great figures—some of whom, it must be remembered, are quite unknown even by name. This gives them a lasting interest. They are extreme examples of the Semitic religious consciousness which, to adapt the words of Pascal, combines a deep sense of man's insignificance

before a Supreme Power and an intense conviction of man's exceeding greatness by reason of the very experience of this relationship (cf. Ps. viii, 4 *sqq.*). They are of the first historical importance for their part in enabling the small land of Palestine to survive the crises of the eighth and following centuries B.C., and it is safe to say that the problems of that momentous period, intricate though they are, will never fail to attract, so varied are they, so far-reaching the issues they raise, and so suggestive for the deeper study of other momentous periods of social and political disorganization and reconstruction.

III. THE PATRIARCHAL HISTORY

The book of Deuteronomy in its present form is not earlier than the exile; there are, in fact, references to a restoration (iv, 29–31; xxx, 1–10), and, as a whole, it presupposes the great prophetic movement. The account of Josiah's reform (see p. 396 *sq.*), which ostensibly refers to the discovery and introduction of the book, is evidently intended to describe the promulgation of the teaching under which the exilic or post-exilic writer is living. It is generally agreed that in Joshua-Kings there is a specific editorial treatment of the history by 'Deuteronomic' hands, and this 'Deuteronomic' tendency certainly lasted well into the fifth century B.C., if not later. Subsequently, a specific 'Priestly' treatment gained the upper hand; it predominates in Genesis-Numbers and Joshua, and has left traces in the other books. Finally, in the 'Chronicler's' history, our sole source for post-exilic history, this 'Priestly' trend is thoroughly established, and, indeed, is taken for granted (cf. p. 355). Thus there are three distinctive editorial processes: Deuteronomic, Priestly and that of the Chronicler; each uses material which is partly contemporary, and partly older, though how old is disputed; and the analysis of the constituent portions of each is indispensable in order to ascertain their approximate date and value, and the various historical circumstances which they reflect.

In these histories the great prophets do not receive the attention which we might have expected. For example, Amos, Micah and Jeremiah are ignored, and what is related of Isaiah (2 Kings xix *sq.*) hardly indicates his true position in his age. But the histories are written for general didactic purposes, whereas these prophets were rather isolated and uncompromising figures. They were not all of the same way of thinking. Jeremiah had antagonists

in his own household, and when he denounces the false pen of the scribes (Jer. viii, 8) it is clear that there was literature with which he, for one, would not compromise. 'False prophets,' too, abounded (p. 464). Needless to say, in the apparent 'reaction' which manifests itself in post-exilic times (p. 470) there would be much to offend those who partook of the uncompromising spirit of the prophets; and even in the older material to which reference has just been made it is easy to point to parts which are contrary to the highest ideals of the prophets, but nevertheless have been preserved. The question of their date is, therefore, an extremely important one.

The older portions (which in the Pentateuch and Joshua are designated J [Yahwist] and E [Elohist]), on account of their divergence from the prophetic teaching, and for their general spirit, are commonly regarded as 'pre-prophetic.' This, however, seems doubtful. The difference between the older narratives and the prophets is partly, at least, one of *milieu*. The vivid realism and anthropomorphism of the former can be exemplified among the prophets and in post-exilic days; and the naïve ideas of Yahweh, and the primitive thought so familiar in the patriarchal stories, are peculiar to no age, and recur much later in the popular Midrash as opposed to the more formal and legalistic Mishnah. And if there is an absence of ethico-religious spirit in them (Gen. xii, 13; xx, 12), this does not necessarily point to a very early date—even Jeremiah's standard of truth demands on one occasion an explanation (xxxviii, 27). In the patriarchal narratives the local sanctuaries are tacitly recognized and tolerated—indeed, Bethel's tithes are shown to be a pre-Mosaic institution (Gen. xxviii, 22; Am. iv, 4). This is in marked contrast to the centralizing tendencies of certain kings (especially Josiah) and reformers (pp. 434, 453). On the other hand, Jerusalem is practically ignored, and the holy places have evidently been purged of the vices against which the prophets thundered. In the older stories, so far from any centralization of cult, while one story of Gideon tells how he broke down his father's altar to Baal, another describes his erection of a new altar to Yahweh Shālōm ('Y. is peace,' Judg. vi). There are, in fact, various local Yahwehs and Els (*e.g.* Gen. xxii, 14; Ex. xvii, 15); the local altar was permissible, and Yahweh could even be worshipped at the high places[1]. Thus, there are compromises which would no more have been tolerated by the strict puritans of the day than the Wahhābis would tolerate the local *welis* and shrines which persist and flourish

[1] Ex. xx, 24; cf. Samuel, 1 Sam. ix; also 2 Chron. xxxiii, 17.

under Islam. Nevertheless, the sacred sites are not so much abodes as memorials; if these are 'holy' places, 'holiness' has a new meaning: they are still sacred, but ideas of sanctity have been purified. The tree, pillar and well may be sacred, but the cults themselves are harmless. The Teraphim are hardly idolatrous objects but, so to say, mascots: one may compare the amulets worn by the Jewish soldiers under Judas Maccabaeus in the war against heathenism (2 Macc. xii, 40). Later on, the Ephod, which some reformers regarded as idolatrous (Judg. viii, 27), is regularized by being worn by the high-priest; and the fringes on the priestly garments are not the amulets that they primarily were, but mere reminders (Num. xv, 37–41; Deut. xxii, 12). Sacrifice in the patriarchal narratives is mainly in order to give thanks, to call on the name of Yahweh. There is no human sacrifice—though Abraham obediently prepared to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. xxii); we find no New Moon, no Yahweh of Hosts, no astral cults, no cult of or resort to the dead. The conditions, in a word, may be taken to represent a compromise between the teaching of the great prophets and popular religion, like the compromise that has often resulted at the local shrines in Roman Catholic and Mohammedan lands.

Instead of the centralization of the worship we have a common unifying tradition. The old history of the beginnings of Israel is strongly national and throughout didactic. We read of the origins of institutions (see vol. II, p. 383), but there is no institutionalism; of different Els and Yahwehs, but the prevailing spirit is monotheistic, or rather—since the monotheism of the patriarchs is in some respects hardly a natural one—henotheistic. The history is for a 'treasured people' (cf. Ex. xix, 5), a people that is a type and ideal for other peoples. The history is essentially for a people with a destiny—conditionally. It gave them a status and a charter. It was the history of every son of Israel in his relation to Yahweh and the outside world. We may perhaps say that it is the application of the idea of Jeremiah's New Covenant to every Israelite. As opposed to the spirit of Oriental royal and other official records there is a catholicity, a certain democratic note. Israel is to be a holy people, a kingdom of priests, a nation of prophets (Ex. xix, 6; Num. xi, 29); and it is noteworthy that the rite of circumcision is no puberty rite performed at an age of responsibility (p. 451 *sq.*), but is performed upon the young babe.

In the old narratives the moralizing is done by the characters and not by the narrators (cf. *e.g.* Gen. xx, 9 *sq.*; xxvii, 12). In this

way truths are set forth or are seen to work themselves out in the history. If we miss the moral earnestness and passion of the prophets, there is none the less a moral order, a divine operation in history (cf. Gen. xlv, 5, 8; l, 20). Sodom is destroyed for its iniquity (Gen. xviii *sq.*). Simeon and Levi are outspokenly condemned (Gen. xxxiv, xlix), and the denunciation of their bloody deeds stands in marked contrast to the later fanatical aversion from foreign marriages (cf. Judith ix, 2, etc.). The Israelite reads how Yahweh guarded and guided his fathers, how he rewarded kindness (Ex. i, 20), helped the suffering Hagar, and so forth. The theophanies usually have no terrifying cosmical accompaniments (contrast, however, Gen. xv, 12; Ex. xix); and we miss the almost barbaric picturesqueness of some of the prophetical writers (cf. Nah. ii; Ezek. i). It is as though Yahweh were not in the tempest, earthquake or fire (1 Kings xix, 11 *sq.*); and, indeed, we may observe a certain quiet and restrained type of piety, often not a little impressive. Yahweh is patient, in spite of man's evil (Gen. viii, 21 *sq.*, contrast vi, 3), but he is transcendent; he is both supreme and near, and men must not forget their own inferiority (note the stories of Eden and Babel)[1]. He is in the sky, whereas the pious dead join their forefathers in the grave (cf. p. 445). Apart from an occasional note of pessimism (agriculture a curse, etc., Gen. iii, 15 *sqq.*), the religion, on the whole, is happy and confident: men must believe, trust, and must have faith. Especially striking is the religious intimacy, and the way in which men may put Yahweh to the test and have their prayers answered[2]. In the account of the Exodus, however, the teaching is more severe, and the disciplinary aspect more pronounced; an Ezekiel, too, would have given a more sombre picture of the early history (cf. Ez. xvi, xx).

Throughout the older narratives there is no definite time-mark, no obvious reference to current social or political conditions. It can scarcely be argued that the 'primitiveness' of the patriarchal and other narratives demands an early date, seeing that the conditions of the sixth century alone would bring the more primitive elements of life and thought to the front. Nor is any early date required on the view that there is no presentiment of the exile, or no conception of the moral necessity of catastrophic change—these are not to be expected in popular literature. On the other hand, the argument that the narratives presuppose an untried and untested people, a people that had not yet learnt its measure,

[1] See Gen. iii, 5, xi, 6; cf. also Ex. xix, 12.

[2] Ex. iv, 1 *sqq.*; Judg. vi, 17, 36 *sqq.*; with Gen. xv, 8, contrast *v.* 6.

would point equally to the new community that grew up in and about the exilic age itself. Primitive features (*e.g.* ideas of prehistoric giants, Gen. vi, 4, etc.) are not in themselves criteria of date, and although supernatural and mythological details abound —and they also abound in much later periods—they have been toned down, and only faint echoes remain. The stories of Creation and Deluge, the origin of civilization, the ante-diluvian heroes (notably Enoch, Gen. v, 24), the wrestling of Jacob, the birth of Moses and his circumcision, even the stories of Samson—all stand apart, in their spirit, from the myths and legends of other peoples. As in the account of the fate of Jephthah's daughter there is often an objective, matter-of-fact simplicity and realism which, strictly speaking, is no more chronologically primitive than the mediaeval and modern treatment of old Greek myths in painting or in poetry.

There are indications of a rationalizing tendency. Jacob's wealth, on one version, was due to his cunning, and the editor makes this the basis of his narrative, although another version ascribes his wealth to divine intervention (Gen. xxx, 28 *sqq.*; xxxi, 4 *sqq.*). In striking contrast to Gideon's terror, when he realizes that he has seen Yahweh, Manoah, in a closely-related story, has his fears calmed by the mother-wit of his matter-of-fact wife—'had Yahweh desired to kill us he would not have acted as he did' (Judg. vi, 22 *sq.*; xiii, 22 *sq.*). Generally speaking, we find a certain absence of crass supernaturalism, and also an attitude to Yahweh which in some respects finds parallels in Homer; it represents an age not necessarily of naïve childlike religion, but rather of a later maturity. After all, the middle centuries of the first millennium B.C. saw many varieties of thought. Besides the intense spirituality of a Jeremiah and the strange mystical cults practised even in the temple itself (Ez. viii), there was extreme scepticism (viz. Zeph. i, 12). In the nature of the case there must have been many nuances between these extremes; and, as at other periods of upheaval, there was a medley of individualistic traits only some of which persisted, were developed, and were found worthy of preservation. Of political history-writing there are some good specimens[1], although the narratives have been used for the greater honour of the prophetical figures and have been worked into the history of Israel and Judah and the temple of Jerusalem (p. 364). Indeed, literary analysis brings to light traces of a secular and realistic treatment of history, well-written, and characterized by a grasp of the details, the best

[1] Cf. 1 Kings xx; 2 Kings vi, 24–vii, 20, ix *sq.*; cf. especially Judg. ix.

example being the fine, though by no means faultless, 'Court-history of David[1].'

In general, the older material, though not all of the same date and spirit, reveals a striking simplicity, spontaneity and craftsmanship. Pictures are painted in the fewest words with composition of types (*e.g.* Cain, Jacob), and a concentration of *motifs* (Jacob at Peniel, Gen. xxxii, 24 *sqq.*). A monarchy is—with rare exceptions—ignored, and the time-standpoint is sometimes well-maintained, as when Gen. x, 19 treats Sodom as existing, and Deut. xxix, 23 looks back upon its destruction. But there is also an antiquarianism which is not early, and there are enough inconsistencies to make keen readers (beginning with the Jews themselves) set out upon the long road of historical and literary criticism. The history is written for the glory of neither gods nor kings, there is not the personal intrusion of a Nehemiah (xiii, 14, 31); it is impersonally written—for Israel and every Israelite. It may be disputed how far the artistic treatment, as a whole, is due to professional reciters, to schools of the prophets, or to priestly families; but the fact remains that, besides her prophets, Israel was able to produce men who could create literature of permanent interest for its rich human appeal. There is in it a serenity, friendliness and universality, which bespeak a *milieu* of spiritual artists, perhaps a school of men, who helped to bridge the gulf between the prophets and the people, and like the prophets they are undying examples of the genius of Israel.

If, then, these older sources were, as is usually supposed, really earlier than the prophetic reformation, it is astonishing that so few traces of the latter can be recognized in the shape of later insertions, and that it was left for post-exilic priestly writers to make the first serious adjustments. The view that the difference between the alleged older sources and the prophets proves the former to be the earlier forgets that they were preserved by the later post-exilic editors, and accordingly have received their *imprimatur*. The reaction or 'counter-reformation' which impresses one in the post-exilic sources as a whole (pp. 470, 488) is a proof that compromising tendencies had been in the air; and

[1] 2 Sam. ix–xx; 1 Kings i *sq.* The well-supported view that 2 Sam. ix–xx was rejected by the Deuteronomic editor of Samuel and owes its reinsertion and present position to a later hand, is of importance as indicating the late origin of the chapters in their present form; and it is therefore futile to speculate on their form before the first editor (on this view) rejected them. The narrative portions of Jeremiah (*e.g.* xl *sqq.*) are also good examples of historical and biographical writing of the sixth century (or later).

since modern opinion would agree with the words of A. B. Davidson that the prophets 'fertilized the religious life of the nation with new thoughts,' we may look for some of the results in the material which the Deuteronomic and later editors have preserved. Though there is undoubtedly much here that is ancient, we have to start from the present form, which is that in which these later editors left them. At an earlier stage of biblical criticism the close relation as regards subject-matter (as distinct from style, spirit and tendency) between the earlier (JE) and the later (P) sources of the Pentateuch and Joshua led to their being placed together, P being given the priority; but P is now commonly held to be post-exilic in its present form, and the view that JE goes back to an early date and represents early views of the beginnings of Israel only aggravates the problems of the O.T.

Of the old religion which the prophets condemn we have merely the traces, but enough to prove that they were not guilty of exaggeration. Moreover, the simpler conditions *after* the fall of the two kingdoms (seventh–sixth centuries B.C.) will explain that simplicity and primitiveness in the older narratives which might otherwise suggest an early, if not pre-Davidic date. The most significant truths hammered out during those centuries were worked into the history of the past. The teaching of the prophets was popularized and the great ideas which the stories contain are really independent of their setting.

Another point has next to be made. The internal social and political disintegration must have affected all current traditions most seriously, for we can no longer maintain that these were already 'canonical.' Now, analysis has shown that the patriarchal history is that of a united Israel, consisting of Judah, Joseph and other tribes, but written mainly from a southern standpoint. Not only are there southern and local forms of legends, which one would expect to have been well-distributed (*e.g.* Esau, see vol. I, p. 206), but there are some which would naturally arise only in the south. Here the standpoint is not precisely Judaean, but south Palestinian, or rather Judaeo-Edomite; and there is an attention to Edomite, Midianite, Ishmaelite and related tribes which at once recalls the period when the desert-tribes became prominent in the political history of Palestine (cf. p. 383 *sq.*). Further, the genealogical lists and traditions strongly suggest that clans or tribes of south Palestinian affinity left their kin and, moving northwards, ultimately formed part of Judah. This is not surprising: the south was especially associated both with the cult of Yahweh and with reforms of Yahwism; and Edom

(Esau) the 'brother' of Israel (Jacob) has no separate god, as have Moab and Ammon (cf. vol. II, p. 404). Now, not only was Israel indebted to Midian and the Kenites, but specifically Kenite and related traditions (Calebite, etc.) have been plausibly recognized in Genesis and elsewhere, the inference being that these clans were able to impress their traditions upon the literature. Like those famous puritans, the Rechabites, the Kenites and other clans were in some way associated with the families of the scribes (1 Chron. ii, 55); and they may be regarded as to some extent at least responsible both for the prominence of their own interests, and for the insertion of their own lore, and, therefore, as contributing to the growth of the O.T.

The investigation of the actual history of these southern immigrants and that of the passages which directly or indirectly concern them here converge. From the Judaean genealogies in 1 Chron. ii and iv it has long been seen (since Wellhausen's monograph in 1870) that the tribe of Judah, after suffering heavy losses—ostensibly before the monarchy—was built up again through Calebite and other clans of south Palestinian and Edomite affinity. These became genuinely 'Israelite,' and finally (presumably during the exile) moved northwards to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; indeed, as late as the days of Nehemiah (fifth century) traces of Calebites can be found among the leading men who helped to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. The evidence, on the face of it, might seem to point naturally to a Judah of semi-Edomite origin, the creation of David, in whose early days these clans had an independent existence in the *south* of Judah (1 Sam. xxv; xxx, 29; cf. vol. II, p. 406 n.). It is quite in agreement with this perspective of history that the Chronicler, after describing the singularly mixed constitution of the new Judah (Benjamin can also be included), proceeds to represent a Temple-service inaugurated by David, where the names of prominent Levites are appreciably of semi-Edomite, south Palestinian and non-Israelite origin. Hence, it is possible to trace a close connection between (*a*) the southern clans who became Judaean, or rather, Israelite, (*b*) the temple-personnel, and (*c*) the families of the scribes; and, accordingly, the Chronicler's information by no means inconsistently supplements the earlier narratives. On the other hand, his history, as a whole, is admittedly a late post-exilic view of the past, his temple is the post-exilic temple; and, not only this, even the earlier narratives, in turn, are not, in their present form at least, pre-exilic. The question arises, therefore, how much of the evidence really holds good for pre-Davidic conditions, and how

much is exclusively exilic or post-exilic? Does the stormy history of the monarchy really separate a south Palestinian intrusion (Calebites, etc.) before or at the rise of David from the post-exilic conditions? It has always to be remembered that intrusions from the desert were not confined to any one age; one has been conjectured at the rise of Jehu (p. 370 *sq.*), and, later, about the seventh century there were movements from without apparently of considerable significance for the internal development of Palestine (pp. 383, 405 *sq.*). It is surely impossible to suppose that the Calebite and other clans, if already in south Judah before the days of David, could have survived some four or more centuries of these and other disintegrating events. Hence, as the Chronicler's perspective of history cannot be accepted for the Davidic age, and the older sources are not early in their present form, the only alternative appears to be that the story of the inauguration of the Davidic monarchy has been pretty thoroughly influenced by the actual conditions centuries later—perhaps of the time of Zerubbabel (p. 411)—and that the movements which account for the present prominence of south Palestinian traditions and standpoints presumably date somewhere about the same age.

It has already been seen that the 'canonical' history, when carefully analyzed, breaks down at the most vital points (cf. vol. I, p. 234 *sq.*; II, p. 358 *sq.*). Beneath it are to be found traces of very different traditions, which have been subordinated and adjusted to those that have come to prevail. Not only have we found traces of a lost age, and of a Yahwism which the prophets succeeded in reforming, but there is reason to believe that even our older sources (JE), in their present form, are not prior to the great prophets. Of the history of the past we have only relatively late and untrustworthy representations, and although much genuine ancient tradition has undoubtedly been retained, it is impossible to determine from the O.T. alone the part played in history by the great figures of old whose names are older than what is related of them. We have merely those traditions which have been selected and preserved, and there is something to be said for the view that a rationalizing process has been at work on a large scale[1].

[1] That what is told of Jephthah and Samson is a 'rationalization' of legendary and mythical heroes, incorporating some possibly good historical material, is very evident; for David, see vol. II, p. 393 *sq.*, and for Jacob, Esau, etc., as originally gods, see Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 249 *sq.*, 278, 282.

IV. THE GROWTH OF THE LAW

A canonical history grew up; it welded together the sons of Israel and gave them, late-comers though they were, an old claim to the land. It ushered in a new series of stages in both the history and the historiography. A canonical law also came into existence; and, once established, underwent continuous development in Talmudic and post-Talmudic times. How it arose is uncertain. There are certain significant points of contact between the laws of Israel and those of Mesopotamia (Babylonia and Assyria), but they are not so numerous as might be expected. The Pentateuchal legislation is inadequate for a land situated as was Palestine; it is equally unsuitable for a people coming from the civilization of Egypt or entering that of Palestine. It is true we hear later of an 'oral law,' and no doubt there was a large body of unwritten customary usage. But among the Jews of Elephantine, as also in later Palestine, there are many indications of elaborate laws for marriage, commerce, etc., whereas the O.T. laws are for the country rather than the town, and presuppose a somewhat undeveloped community. At least three major collections can be distinguished—pre-Deuteronomic, Deuteronomic and Priestly; these differ in complexity, and it could be argued that the differences are due to the increasing complexity of Israelite society. On the other hand, the task of tracing the internal development of Israel from the days of the Exodus onwards is too precarious in view of the results of criticism and the external evidence for conditions in and around Palestine. Babylonian and Assyrian codes of law may well have been known even at an early date (cf. vol. II, p. 384 *sq.*), and it is preferable to hold (with the late C. H. W. Johns) that the likenesses and differences between the O.T. and the Babylonian code point to 'an independent recension of ancient custom deeply influenced by Babylonian law[1].' That is to say, there may lie behind the O.T. law a knowledge of Mesopotamian usage, even as, *e.g.*, the institution of the Sabbath in Israel looks back to Babylonia, though it is not Babylonian in its spirit, and Babylonian myths (*e.g.* the Deluge) or antiquities (*e.g.* the Tower of Babel) stand out behind the biblical versions, but have not been slavishly copied.

O.T. law as a whole is more 'primitive' than the Mesopotamian, and as such is not necessarily pre-monarchical but, rather, post-monarchical, typical of the simpler conditions of about the sixth century. As in Assyria, law is not clearly separated from

[1] Johns, *Schweich Lectures* (1912), pp. vii, ix *sqq.*, etc.

religion, in striking contrast to the much older Code of Hammurabi. The goring ox is punished, there is resort to ordeal; writing is rare, there are, instead, oaths, symbols and divine sanctions: the legal machinery is archaic. The whole spirit of the laws, especially the Deuteronomic, suggests the influence of the reforming prophets, and the difference between the relatively earlier and the relatively later (and priestly) law is, once more, essentially that of *milieu*, like the difference between the earlier and more popular narratives (JE) and the more legalistic (P). Throughout, there is much that is ancient, much that cannot be dated. Ethical ideas, taken by themselves, are not easily dated: lofty ideas were concentrated in their day upon Shamash, Ashur and other gods; perhaps the best sketch of Hebrew ethics lies before us in the post-exilic book of Job (xxxi). Positive ethical movements are always wont to work themselves out and degenerate (cf. vol. I, p. 223 *sq.*; II, p. 401); but whatever their nature in pre-Davidic times—and an ethico-religious leader like Moses must in any event be postulated—the Decalogue itself points to a systematizing of what may be called 'Jeremian' tendencies[1]. It existed in at least two versions[2]; and a more archaic series can be traced in Ex. xxxiv, which was perhaps a ritual for a local Judaean sanctuary.

The first great collection of laws, the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. xx, 22–xxiii), presupposes an agricultural community. It may be the code of Bethel, drawn up to suit the conditions after the fall of Samaria[3]; and, if it be Ephraimite, it is noteworthy that the famous central sanctuary of Shechem is, in turn, associated with some covenant and law-giving (Josh. xxiv, 25), and with a Dodecalogue (Deut. xxvii) of a popular type, characterized by its attention to sexual offences. Indeed, the large section of various laws (about seventy in number) in Deut. xii–xxvi is so placed as to suggest that these, too, were Shechemite (xi, 26 *sqq.*, compared with xxvii); and both the book (or the nucleus) of Deuteronomy and the 'Deuteronomic' editorial processes (both are very intricate, see p. 472) appear to have emanated, in the first instance, from Samaria.

Deuteronomy—'the first Bible' as it has been called—is a book of religious instruction and of law. 'It will ever stand as one

[1] Note the lists of offences in Ezek. xviii, 5–8, xxii, 7–12, and earlier in Hosea iv, 2.

[2] Besides Ex. xx and Deut. v, the 'Nash Papyrus' (Cambridge University Library) of about the second century A.D. contains striking divergences which, however, are supported by the Septuagint.

[3] So Kennett (*Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, p. 10); cf. p. 406.

of the noblest monuments of the religion of Israel, and as one of the most noteworthy attempts in history to regulate the whole life of a people by its highest religious principles'[1]. A people, separating itself from an unholy environment, enters upon a new life (xii, 8). There is unceasing fear of heathen influence, and strict measures are taken to put down all idolatry—image-worship was evidently rampant—to prevent inter-marriage with the 'Canaanite,' and to avoid customs with 'Canaanite' associations which led to polytheism. Yahweh is one God (vi, 4): he is a jealous god. There is a passionate hatred of what is contrary to the purer Yahwism: the offender must be cut off, even if he be of one's own kin (xiii, 6); evil is exterminated, 'burnt out'; the Canaanite is 'devoted,' put to the ban (*ḥērem*). It recalls the zeal of the Rechabites (2 Kings x), Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxiv), and the Levites (Ex. xxxii, 27). The religious observances are expressions of a people's love and gratitude, and the emphasis upon 'love' is throughout characteristic. But Yahweh's love is disciplinary. The teaching is simple, opposed to luxury, superstition and magical practices. There is a striking humanity towards the Hebrew widow and orphan, the poor and the unlucky, the Hebrew slave, and the defenceless sojourner within the group. Do not muzzle the ox (xxv, 4), spare the mother bird (xxii, 6 *sq.*), let everyone rest on the Sabbath day, for you know what hard toil is like[2]. Be generous to the landless and do not glean the field bare (xxiv, 19 *sqq.*), do not be hard on the unfortunate debtor. Money is not to be lent on usury to a fellow-Israelite (xxiii, 19); and—more Utopian—debts are to be cancelled every seven years (xv, 1 *sq.*). Efforts are made to diminish the destructiveness of war, and there are interesting war-exemptions which, though hardly practicable in strenuous times, represent the spirit of the story of the weeding out of Gideon's army (Judg. vii, 2–4). The monarchy, if there is one, is to be of the simplest (xvii, 14–20); the topic is evidently approached in the light of past experience (similarly 1 Sam. viii), even as an earlier acquaintance with autocracy explains the inculcation of the strictest obedience to Yahweh[3].

The reiterated appeal to a people's kindness and benevolence suggests that there existed a strict code like that of Hammurabi with all its rigorous enactments and stipulations, such as appear later, for example, in the business documents of the Jewish

[1] G. F. Moore, art. Deuteronomy, *Ency. Bib.* col. 1093.

[2] Deut. v, 14 *sq.*, contrast this with the 'theological' reason in Ex. xx, 10 *sq.*

[3] The fact that there is no suggestion of a Davidic dynasty may be (as Kennett points out) an indication of the Samarian origin of the book.

colony at Elephantine. The legal machinery is slight, hence the appeals to humanity and to religion, and the reliance upon curses and blessings where legal protection was difficult or inadequate (xxvii). Yahweh hears the blessing of the grateful and the cry of the oppressed (cf. Ex. xxii, 22 *sqq.*). Yahweh graciously chose Israel, the least of all peoples (vii, 7; ix, 4). Israel is a holy people (vii, 6, etc.), hence punishment for sin is the more inevitable; but Israel is also a patrician people, blessed by Yahweh, prosperous and lending to others (xv, 6)—and Yahweh's instrument for the destruction of the heathen. A public opinion is in course of being formed. There are measures to build up family life, and the emphasis in all the codes upon the duty of children to their parents suggests that family ties had become loose. There is a synthesis of individualism and collectivism: as in the history of the beginnings of Israel so in the Deuteronomic law, every worshipper is an organic part of the body of Israel. Religion is not esoteric: Yahweh's word is very nigh, in men's mouths, in their hearts[1]. There is a collective interest in exterminating evil and in purifying the land, and in some cases the community itself is expected to execute judgement. The case of the individual is also considered (*e.g.* in marriage, warfare); there is individual responsibility (xxiv, 16), and the familiar idea of Yahweh's vengeance upon the third and fourth generation (v, 9) is noticeably qualified when the sinner suffers in his own person (vii, 10).

The people are united both by their common recognition of Yahweh, who is one and not many, and by a single, central altar (xii, 1–7). There are indications of a compromise when the local altar is allowed, but it is forbidden to erect a sacred tree-trunk (*ăshērah*) beside it (xvi, 21). The single sanctuary at Jerusalem subsequently becomes the great criterion of orthodoxy in the judgement passed upon the kings from the schism to the days of Josiah (see p. 415 n.), but it is not unlikely that the idea of centralization first arose in the north, perhaps at Shechem, the place where 'all Israel' met for a law-giving and a covenant (Josh. xxiv), and, once, to crown Rehoboam (1 Kings xii, 1).

The essence of the prophetic reforming movement had lain in the advance of conceptions of Yahweh's character. In Deuteronomy we have the next necessary stage, the adjustment of the character of the people to Yahweh's demands. The book, which is of composite origin, is not strictly Jeremian but later; it sets forth how alone Yahweh's help and blessing might be ensured. The step is being taken towards institutionalism. Religion and its

[1] Deut. xxx, 14; cf. Jeremiah's New Covenant (p. 468), and Jer. xxiii, 23.

reward are organized; it is the beginning of the religion of a book, and of the Jews as the 'people of the book.' It is the beginning of Legalism, for though the composite work grew up out of Love it ends with Law. Ultimately it comes between the implicit teaching of the old narrative (JE), which gave men a living history of their past, and the more formal Priestly narrative (P), with its stereotyping of life. Nevertheless, Law helped men to know where they stood, and the step which was a descent from the heights of the spiritualism of the individualistic prophets was due to the practical task of raising the spiritual level of a whole community. So, the free religious spontaneity of the prophets is gradually left behind, the *naïveté* of popular religion is checked: thou shalt not tempt (or put to the test) Yahweh, thy God (Deut. vi, 16)—as, for example, did a Gideon (Judg. vi, 36–40). The intimacy, so characteristic of personal piety and popular religion, and so apt to become antinomian, could not be tolerated by the systematizers; and instead of Jeremiah's sublime New Covenant, the religion of the individual, we have a noble effort to form a New Society. It is a step towards the reconstruction which we find later; but it is difficult to recover from our composite sources every stage as we pass from a wide comprehensive Israelite outlook to one that is more narrowly Judaean, and the Deuteronomic philosophy of history—sin and disaster, piety and success—at length ends in perhaps the most remarkable of all ancient histories, the jejune and mechanical theories of the Chronicler[1].

From the prophets' teaching of the 'holiness' of Yahweh we pass to the 'holiness' of Israel. Israel must be holy, and the Deuteronomic idea of a 'holy' people is not that of the priestly ritualist. In the so-called 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xix–xxvi), which deals with both social life and ritual, the ceremonial and moral aspects are combined; ritual is moralized and the ethical element is prominent. Society is regulated from a priestly point of view. An interesting feature of this collection is the evident novelty of the land-laws (xxv, 10): the land is Yahweh's, the people are mere sojourners (*v.* 23), and hold the land in fee from him; Israel has no natural rights, her welfare depends upon her relations with Yahweh. Provision is made for the redemption of land so that property is, within certain limits, inalienable; the

[1] It may be mentioned, though discussion is impossible here, that the strongest arguments advanced against the monarchical and for the *pre*-monarchical date of Deuteronomy confirm the view that it is *post*-monarchical, and that Deuteronomy, as a whole, cannot be severed from the 'Deuteronomic' treatment of history which is certainly exilic and post-exilic.

regulation reads, not like the adjustment of old laws, but as a new beginning, a new institution; and some of the details are more ideal than practicable, in this respect recalling the ideals of Deuteronomy and of Ezekiel (xl–xlviii).

The book of Ezekiel, too, seems to reflect a stage where conditions favoured the possibility of a new start; as a whole it represents a typical priestly view of what is meant by a holy people. Instead of a king there is a chief (*nāsī'*). He may neither alienate any of his estate nor turn people out of their possessions (xlvi, 16–18), nor may the land of the priests and Levites be sold (xlviii, 14). Shorn of the old royal privileges, he still provides the public sacrifices (xlv, 17); but his importance is considerably diminished. It is hardly a separation of Church and State, but a subordination of State to Church. The Temple becomes independent and is definitely cut off from the palace buildings. Jerusalem is to be called 'Yahweh is there' (xlviii, 35). A new and pure priesthood —the Zadokites of Jerusalem—is elevated over the iniquitous Levite priests, and will teach the people the difference between the 'holy' and the 'profane' (xliv, 19, 23), and so preserve the people from the dangers of the 'holy' (p. 436). The very holiness of these priests is contagious, and therefore they must not approach too near the people (cf. xlvi, 20). This gulf between the priesthood and the laity finds a counterpart in that between Yahweh and Israel, a gulf which is bridged, not by Yahweh's response to man's humility (Is. lvii, 15), but by the priest as an intermediary, taking the place once held by the king, the god's vice-gerent (cf. p. 454). Yahweh is not so much the loving deity of a Hosea, a Jeremiah, or of the teaching of Deuteronomy, he is rather a sublime and majestic being, jealous for his name's sake, acting not for Israel, but for himself. In appropriate contrast to Yahweh's sovereignty is the favourite term 'son of man' applied to the priestly intercessor Ezekiel. Yet Yahweh's very grandeur makes his people proud of their possession, and his very sovereignty comes to imply the exaltation of his own people, whether as a natural result of the relationship between them—what other people had such a god (Deut. iv, 33 *sqq.*)?—or, as the more ethically-minded would say, conditionally, on his people's righteousness.

Moral and ritual ideas are interwoven in such a way that, although there are advanced ethical conceptions (*e.g.* Ez. xviii, xxxiii), the ritual tends to gain the upper hand, and becomes the dominant feature of the post-exilic period. Ezekiel's interest in ritual presupposes the existence of old and familiar practices; and, in fact, the relation between the post-exilic Jewish and the

late Phoenician systems, not to mention other evidence, points, despite certain differences of terminology, to (*a*) the prevalence of similar fundamental religious ideas, and (*b*) the antiquity of analogous usages, which were certainly not shared by Israel and the Phoenicians alone. It is now commonly agreed that the Tabernacle-ritual of the middle books of the Pentateuch dates from post-exilic days, although it is recognized that, by the side of much that is exclusively of exilic or post-exilic date, there is much that is pre-exilic. Yet, so profound were the changes in the course of the history of Israel that the traditional view of the Mosaic or even the pre-Davidic origin of the Pentateuch stultifies the work of the prophets, and would make its *re*-introduction as the charter of post-exilic Judaism an unintelligible phenomenon.

Jeremiah's teaching, that through the new relationship between Yahweh and the individual the Law would be written on men's hearts and intuitively known, comes logically between earlier collections of laws which, if anywhere, must be embedded in the 'Mosaic' legislation, and that great composite production itself. Gradually the prophetic teaching was organized in the law, the ritual and the canonical history. Not to anticipate what belongs to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra it must suffice to remark that we have to recognize a reaction, due to the difference between the ideals of men of conspicuous individuality, and the social and religious needs of the community as a whole. The cruder and less spiritual aspects (*e.g.* in the priestly tabus) represent the more popular types of thought. Post-exilic Judaism, accordingly, reflects the compromise, or the counter-reformation, as we may call it. There is an intelligible transition from the earlier 'monarchical' religion to a 'priestly,' comparable in certain respects to the interesting vicissitudes in Egypt during the thirteenth–eleventh centuries B.C. There is a growth in ideas of individual worth, which we may attribute to the prophets' doctrine of individual responsibility, and to the rise of a new social order upon a wider basis. It is very noteworthy how the canonical religion, law and history appeal to a larger social circle, and the didactic writings are devoted to explaining and enhancing the relations between the people of Israel, individual Israelites, and their god Yahweh. There is also an extension of privileges—and of responsibilities—from the few special individuals to the many; and the 'moralizing' and 'democratizing' of an old and thoroughly Oriental religion is the pre-eminent historical fact which the modern critical study of the O.T. and its environment has brought to light.

Thus, we come back to the fundamental question whether the biblical narratives would have had any living interest for the people were it not that a new national consciousness had slowly been formed, in which case they hardly ante-date but are contemporary with the new conditions of the middle centuries of the first millennium B.C. Moreover, whatever attitude be taken to the problems of the O.T., it is still doubtful whether all the factors in the later reconstruction of Israel have been determined. Rightly, the work of Jeremiah and Ezekiel must always be regarded as constituting a great landmark in the internal development of the people, but in the Deutero-Isaiah (Is. xl *sqq.*) we have another, if not a greater landmark, and it remains to consider this independently from the historical point of view.

V. THE CLIMAX

Although Ezekiel's programme of a new theocratic state was in some important respects never carried out, it illustrates, not only certain tendencies which were of more importance later, but also a fervency towards Israel and Jerusalem quite in accord with that ecstatic patriotism and religious idealism already referred to (p. 430). But there were other types of idealism besides that of Ezekiel, and, consequently, it is easy to understand how, in the person of a scion of David, like Zerubbabel, the most ambitious hopes might be entertained of what was virtually a new monarchy, and how the jealousy and rivalry of neighbouring peoples, together with the all too common internal intrigues, would militate against their success (see p. 412 *sq.*). The later situation about 450 B.C. (Ezr. vii–Neh. xiii), after a dark period of nearly sixty years, shows clearly that tremendous events had indeed intervened. The monarchical régime—or compromise (cf. above)—has disappeared, a hierarchy is on the horizon; but it is hardly possible to trace the steps in the political and religious changes. The Second or Deutero-Isaiah (xl–lxvi) is, however, our most valuable source. As we scan its pages we find ourselves passing from the exilic age to the age of Cyrus and a Return, and thence to conditions which seem to belong to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra. We pass through chapters of encouragement, promise and hope, where O.T. religion reaches its highest point, and we seem to end in disillusionment: the expected miliennium has failed. We leave behind us the grandest utterances for the future, and, instead, we seem to have a reaction, a stage where, in place of the finest universalism, thought is ceremonial, religion is legalist and narrowly national or particularist (cf. p. 470). These changing

situations carry us ultimately beyond the period now under discussion, but only the actual sequel enables us to discover the most significant facts and to realize in what directions active minds were tending.

The age of the exile and the reconstruction of Israel was one of unrest; there was a widespread religious awakening. To China with Lao-tse and Confucius, to India with the Buddha, Gautama, and with Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, to Persia with Zoroaster (probably), and to the Greek world with its mystic cults, we must add the movement lying behind Isaiah xl–lv. These chapters admittedly comprise the profoundest part of the O.T., and by common consent the climax is reached in the conception of the 'Servant,' whose unmerited sufferings have a vicarious effect, whose persecution and death redeemed Israel (Is. liii). The influence of these chapters—the 'evangelist of the O.T.' the Deutero-Isaiah has been styled—upon New Testament writings and early Christianity is familiar; and the Christian Church has always regarded the Servant as the most remarkable anticipation of Jesus of Nazareth. Indeed, it has invariably seemed so natural for Christian thought to pass from the Servant to the next step, the Founder of Christianity, that it must be recognized that the chapters inevitably reflect internal developments of extreme value for purely historical as well as for religious reasons. It is no exaggeration to say that their place in the development of the religion of Israel and their after-effects make whatever history lies behind them the most impressive in the whole O.T., and a brief discussion of them is necessary in order to complete this chapter.

In Is. xl–lxvi Israelite ideas of monotheism, world-unity and universalism reach their highest point. The old idea of group-unity (above, p. 438) becomes that of a universal solidarity. Yahweh is represented as the sole creator, the only and eternal God. The so-called gods of other nations are ridiculous, they are helpless: a polemic against Babylonia may be suspected. Yahweh is omniscient, incomparable, and all powerful over nature and man. He is absolutely holy and righteous. His relations with Israel have changed: he is no longer an avenging Yahweh, nor have we so much an Israel penitent for its errors as an Israel in despair, without a champion, and Yahweh, near at hand, is ready to forgive. He is her 'vindicator' (*gō'ēl*, p. 440)—a favourite expression. He has need of Israel in order to achieve his purpose. Israel is his 'servant,' and a new prospect is opened up of Israel's destiny. Ultimately Israel is to become the world's priesthood

(Is. lxi, 6): we have a priestly rather than a regal conception of supremacy, and the absolute sovereignty of Yahweh implicitly carries with it that of his own people. The relevant passages are, however, not *uno tenore*, the ideas did not shape themselves at a stroke; but we begin with tidings of comfort and of a glorious future, and the conception of the 'servant' and his mission holds the central place.

'Servant' (*'ébed*) was the official title for a highly-placed and trusted emissary or representative. The seal of 'Shema, the servant of Jeroboam,' found at Megiddo, is one of the finest of Palestinian seals, a fact which illustrates the honourable position of the owner. The 'servants' of Yahweh comprise Israel itself, the prophets, and outstanding figures like Moses, or Zerubbabel (Yahweh's signet-ring, Hag. ii, 23), and also Mohammed in his day. Yahweh had used Nebuchadrezzar to discipline Israel (Jer. xxv, 9), it is now his shepherd Cyrus who is pre-ordained and anointed to be his servant for the restoration of Israel (Is. xliv, 24–xlv, 25). Israel is to be freed from exile, Yahweh will head a new exodus to Jerusalem and the temple will be rebuilt. The victories of his 'servant' Cyrus will convince the world that Yahweh is sole god and that his deeds are for Israel's sake. Israel's day has dawned. So the unknown evangelist encourages his people. But, whatever hopes were aroused by the Persians, with whose ethical religion Israelites might well have had some sympathy, Cyrus did not fulfil all the expectations. He was not a strict monotheist—for political purposes he acknowledged the Babylonian gods—and it does not appear that conditions in Israel were sensibly improved. Cyrus passed away, and there is no hint in these chapters that other Persian kings might intervene, although both Cambyses and Darius were very conciliatory. Even the Davidic Zerubbabel is ignored—this in itself is very noteworthy—and it is Yahweh alone who speaks of himself as the 'redeemer' of Israel.

This is not the place to go into details regarding the references to the 'Servant.' The main feature is that although Israel is sometimes spoken of as the 'Servant,' the Servant is, also, clearly distinguished from the people, who are blind and deaf (Is. xlii, 19 *sq.*), by the fact that he is obedient to Yahweh. He is the stay of a weak Israel, and, submissively patient before his persecutors, looks forwards to ultimate justification. He is called by Yahweh 'to bring Jacob back unto him, and Israel shall be gathered to him'; and not only that, he is to be a light to the nations and the token of Yahweh's salvation to the ends of the earth. His mission

becomes a universal one, his sufferings are for a task beyond the limits of Israel; but his merits will at length be recognized. This and his stupendous destiny overshadow all feeling of humiliation and defeat (xlix, 6 *sqq.*; l, 4 *sqq.*). Finally, in the most dramatic of all O.T. passages, the Servant, persecuted, condemned, and reviled (he was perhaps stricken with leprosy) suffers martyrdom; there comes a revulsion of feeling, his innocent death makes atonement for the sins of the people, and his resurrection and glorification are confidently expected (lii, 13–liii, 12). In this instance the reference might seem most clearly to be to an individual, whereas elsewhere the Servant would seem to be a nucleus or a section of the people; but, throughout, the precise application is often uncertain on textual or exegetical grounds. And this is the fundamental problem: 'of whom speaketh the prophet?'

(*a*) First, as regards the general ideas, the naturalness with which the suffering Servant, particularly in Is. liii, has been connected with Jesus of Nazareth, and the admittedly close relation between them, suffice to prove the uniqueness of the conception as regards the O.T. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that there should be ideas which stand out isolated, or were not developed in post-exilic Judaism. Thus, the resurrection of the *individual* (if Is. liii refers to one) is not explicitly accepted until we reach the book of Daniel (in its present form, *c.* 165 B.C.); yet the discussion in Job of the problem of unmerited suffering foreshadows, though it does not admit, a belief in a future life, and the idea of a continuity of existence certainly paved the way for it (above, p. 446). Moreover, Israelite thought, like Semitic thought in general, is characteristically 'this-worldly' (cf. vol. I, p. 202). The recompense is expected in this life, and the happy ending must be visible, like the rehabilitation of Job in the Epilogue (cf. p. 469 n. 1). On the other hand, Is. liii depicts a tragedy, a divinely-inflicted punishment, overwhelming if there were no future recompense; and it is noteworthy that in another passage, which also stands by itself (Ps. xxii), the persecuted sufferer (? king, church or people) is triumphantly reinstated in the world's eyes. But Is. liii was too tragical to be taken up forthwith and developed as a practical doctrine.

Again, there is a late and obscure reference to a people's penitence for the martyrdom of one 'whom they had pierced,' whose death led to the purgation and deliverance of Jerusalem (Zech. xii). The idea of vicarious atonement, however, was not explicitly accepted, although it was latent in the ideas of group-solidarity. A meritorious figure—prophet or priest—might inter-

cede for the community (cf. p. 439); but the Servant was a repulsive creature, despised, his death a tainted sacrifice. This was the stumbling-block. Yet, if Israel had received double for her sins (Is. xl, 2), might not the surplus have a saving efficacy for others? If the Servant was afflicted beyond all due, might not his extreme sufferings have a wider atoning value? Indeed, the Deutero-Isaiah is characterized by the teaching of a world-unity and a One-God; and it can fairly be urged that the idea of atonement for the group is only being extended to the utmost limits. Accordingly, it may be said that the fundamental ideas of resurrection and atonement are not without some sort of parallel, but they are here developed uniquely. Again, since these supreme passages admittedly form the climax of the development of Israelite prophetism, the mere fact that they have been preserved from the first proves that there were men who recognized their value, and this is quite as significant for us as the further fact that they *seem* to have been without any obvious influence upon early orthodox Judaism.

Next (*b*), as regards the identity of the Servant. It is quite in accordance with usage that an actual people or even a portion of it should be spoken of as a Servant whose life and destiny would be indicative or symbolical of those of the people. We may compare, for example, the treatment of Jacob and Esau as rival brothers, or that of the people of Judah as a wounded man (Is. i, 5 *sq.*). But it is generally agreed that no ordinary Israel or nucleus of Israel is meant. It has therefore been held that there has been some idealization, perhaps a fusion of types, or the personification of a conception: ideals have been welded together, they have been incarnated in a personality; the Servant is an abstract conception, a permanent type, an ideal to be realized—like the relatively modern conception of 'humanity.' At all events, it soon becomes obvious that a purely literal exegesis would be quite out of place. All this, it will be observed, seems to cut the knots, and to remove the problem of the Servant's identity from the sphere of strictly historical enquiry. Thus, the language, as it stands, will not be wholly applicable to individuals or groups, it will be a very early and supremely interesting example of the idealization of the real, and the problem must be approached by other avenues.

Now, even if the Servant is properly a collective term for a body or group of people, the ideas incorporated in it have made a unique appeal to individuals: the individual application is indubitable in the genesis of Christianity itself (*e.g.* Paul and Barnabas in Acts xiii, 47). If it was a collective conception, it

was, at least, to be realized in every individual who felt its inspiration. But apart from this, an individual or a specific group may be regarded as the true embodiment or representative of the many, so that not only can singulars and plurals interchange, according as one thinks of the unity or the multiplicity of a group (cf. Num. xx, 17–20), but Hebrew thought refers with equal facility to a representative individual or to the group he represents[1]. 'I am living Judaism' says the New Jew drawn by Nahum Sokolow, and Calderon's Philota is said to be sometimes the idea of the Church, and sometimes a single soul. Dante was both the banished Florentine and the representative of humanity; and the 'I' of the Psalms can be variously Israel, the Church or nucleus Church, or the individual identifying himself with or speaking for the whole[2]. The Maccabees no doubt thought that they incarnated the true Israel; and at other times there would be others who thought similarly. Hence it is reasonable to regard the conception of the Servant as, on the whole, a fluid one; it is neither necessarily limited in its application, nor confined in its reference solely to past events or to ideals for the future.

But (*c*) it is generally agreed that actual individuals were in the minds of the writers and helped to form the conception. Many suggestions have been made, and Jeremiah, above all, has very strong *a priori* claims. He left a deep impression upon tradition as the devoted intercessor for Jerusalem (2 Macc. xv, 14). The very preservation of his intimate 'Confessions' both shows how he was venerated, and also suggests how profoundly men may have been influenced by his personality. Not unnaturally has he, more than any other figure of Israelite history, been compared with the Founder of Christianity (cf. also Matt. xvi, 14), and of him it has been said that 'it was in Christianity that his conception of religion first received its due place' (Peake). His teaching was that 'the true life of God would not descend from the general to the individual, but manifest itself first in the individual, and through the energy of the individual spread like leaven through the whole lump' (Davidson). Of the moral personality which he wished Israel to be he may have been the creator. Indeed, since the idea of the vivifying and regenerating 'remnant' (p. 446) could at the outset be realized only in indi-

[1] 'What aileth thee that thou art gathered together?' say the Danites to Micah as the head of his band (Judg. xviii, 23, R.V. mg.); cf. the king or priest as representative of the group.

[2] See especially Lam. iii (where the writer seems to speak in the person of Jeremiah).

viduals, rather than in social or collective activity, Jeremiah may actually have felt himself to be the representative of the spiritual kernel of Israel, the seed or soul of the new community. But Jeremiah did not suffer martyrdom—although there may have been martyrs of his stamp; and the Servant is certainly not Jeremiah himself, but 'Jeremian.' Indeed, the book that goes by Jeremiah's name points to some pregnant ideas of righteous, persecuted but highly efficacious servants of Yahweh; and some relationship between the Jeremian writings and the Suffering Servant has frequently been recognized. Hence it would seem that the conception of the Suffering Servant really comes between (1) the Jeremiah of history and the Jeremian school, and (2) the much later post-exilic ideas, associated with Is. liii, and referred to above. Moreover, the central note of Jeremiah's life—the price of mission: suffering and purgation as a preparation for loftier mission (Jer. xv, 19)—is further developed in the conception of the Suffering Servant and its application to the Mission of Israel. The prophets were sometimes 'men of omen' (Zech. iii, 8), and the history of Jeremiah shows clearly how an individual could gather together in himself all that went before and give new direction to the movement of thought, for that is what the 'Servant of Yahweh' succeeded in doing.

Jeremiah and his teaching mark an age of disintegration, whereas in the Deutero-Isaiah, and after, we pass on to a new integration. But the Servant is neither Jeremiah, nor a contemporary; he is a greater than Jeremiah, and we are moving amid later historical circumstances. It is difficult to grasp Is. xl–lxvi as a whole unless we recognize in chap. liii a turning-point in the history of Israel. Centuries earlier, Amos had proclaimed that the eagerly awaited Day of Yahweh would not correspond to popular expectation (Am. v, 18 *sqq.*). Now the awaited Servant had appeared and gone, despised at the time, but subsequently recognized as a saviour. 'By his stripes (or rather "scars") we are healed': men feel that a new stage has supervened through his atoning death. His identity remains unknown. A kingly figure has been suggested: the unhappy Josiah, the ill-fated and popular Jehoiachin, or preferably Zerubbabel. All suffering could be regarded as a divine visitation, and the story of Uzziah's leprosy for infringing upon priestly rights (2 Chron. xxvi, 16–18) enables us to imagine the fate of Zerubbabel had that Messianic figure become a leper; in each case the hostility of the priesthood can be imagined (p. 412). The Servant himself is, however, not a Messianic figure, whether conquering (Jer. xxii, 4), or

conspicuous by his humility (Zech. ix, 9). Indeed, he is more than that; he is at once prophet and priest, missionary and intercessor; and his attributes make him almost more than human. He is mysterious; 'spectral,' he has been called. It has been suggested that we have behind Isaiah liii some cult-hero, or some myth of the piacular death of the gods. Such views at least testify to the profound impression which the chapters leave, and, in common with the age-long Messianic interpretation of the Servant, indicate that there is much more than ordinary idealization. He is a semi-divine being.

Finally, as regards (*d*) the divine or semi-divine character of the Servant, the language used of him is so impressive as to force some scholars to deny that a historical individual can be intended. But Oriental history throughout shows how easily the gulf between the human and the divine disappears, and outstanding men are thought of as being at least semi-divine. Tremendous claims could be made by the prophets (cf. Is. viii, 18), and their peculiarly close relationship to Yahweh, whose mouthpiece they were, was also shared by the divine or semi-divine and priestly kings of old. The idea of man being in the 'image of God' has a long ancestry. The strange mythico-religious ideas associated with a king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii), the story of Nebuchadrezzar's spiritual pride and fall (Dan. iv, cf. Judith iii, 8, vi, 3), and the denunciation of a Babylonian king who would set himself upon an equality with God (Is. xiv) are all of the utmost significance[1]. They conclusively attest the persistence or at least the recrudescence of conceptions of divine kingship which are, it is true, more familiar at an earlier date and outside Palestine, but have left their traces in the O.T. (p. 455, cf. vol. II, p. 394). This was an exceptional age, and at an age of widespread religious activity and of religious 'supermen,' the figure of this unique 'Servant' has a natural place. Moreover, while the 'missionary' spirit of the old kings, eager to spread the cult of their god, would serve to develop the conception of the mission of the Servant and of Israel, there is at this age—on religious and possibly on social grounds—a certain hostility to the kingship, and to the exaltation of men, possible rivals to Yahweh. The Servant may not have been a king, but we can see what was in the air at the

[1] Nebuchadrezzar's piety is vouched for by his own inscription (see p. 216 *sq.*). It should be added that stories are also told of some mysterious illness of Ashurbanipal (p. 127) and Cambyses (p. 312), and that the so-called 'Babylonian Job' is the account of an exalted person suffering in spite of his innocence (p. 235).

time, and can recognize conditions which illumine the conception of this almost transcendent Servant with a Mission.

Further, it is necessary, next, to observe that Yahweh is a 'jealous' god, his holiness must not be besmirched; there is a reiterated emphasis upon the penalty for failing to respect his uniqueness. Indeed, it is a very striking fact that this penalty actually falls even upon the two majestic figures who stand at the head of the religious history of Israel, who headed the 'Exodus' out of Egypt, and all but reached the Promised Land. What is said of some obscure offence of Moses and Aaron is found in passages the oldest of which are late in their present setting, and are more or less of the exilic age. Moses and Aaron, we read, did not 'sanctify' Yahweh, they 'spoke rashly' (Num. xx, 12; Ps. cvi, 33); they suffered for their rashness, and the writers thereby show how Yahweh's supremacy is maintained against his most favoured servants. It is exceedingly significant, therefore, that the mysterious figure of the suffering and persecuted Servant should belong to an age, partly that of semi-divine kings and of other conspicuous figures who, according to tradition, had in some way failed to recognize the holiness of Yahweh, and partly that of a transition towards a religion of a more ceremonial and ritualistic kind wherein the holiness of Yahweh was safeguarded by the post-exilic priesthood (p. 486 *sq.*). It was an age of another Exodus—one from Exile, but the traditions of the far-off Exodus from Egypt were still in a fluid form. Moses, the great intercessor of old, had promised to send 'prophets' like himself (Deut. xviii, 15). Was one awaited? Did one present himself? Whatever the result, there are strange gaps; something has been deliberately passed over, hushed up, and allowed to fall into oblivion[1].

It seems impossible to explain the course of the history and the transition to a new chapter of events without the help of Is. xl–lxvi—in particular, Is. liii. Whatever view the reader prefers,

[1] Suggestive as the story of Moses is (and it is used by Sellin in his theory of the Servant), no less noteworthy is the figure of the semi-Edomite Caleb, also a 'Servant' of Yahweh, and one who must have played a far greater part in the narratives (*e.g.* Num. xiv, 24; Josh. xiv, 6 *sqq.*). But his traditions are now mutilated and subordinated, and other traditions belonging to the same *corpus* (viz. of Abiathar the priest) are subordinated to the interests of the priestly Zadokites of Jerusalem (see vol. II, p. 395). The prominence of a semi-Edomite strain in this age is arguable on independent grounds, and the intentionally rigorous treatment of a 'southern' body of tradition points to some internal revolutionary vicissitudes which can hardly be conjectured (cf. above, p. 478 *sq.*).

deep problems of the psychology of religion are involved. The idea of the efficacy of sacrifice—here of one that is physically tainted, but ethically supreme—is elevated from the animal into the human plane, though in a sense it is a reversion from the animal to the human victim; and, just as a holy place was 'sanctified' by a sacrifice (and perhaps even a human sacrifice, cf. p. 452), so it may be said that this sacrifice 'sanctified' and gave new life to Israel. The uniqueness of the ideas corresponds to that of those who depicted the figure, or of the figure himself, or, rather, of both. The expected Servant had passed away, rejected, almost a failure, and unrecognized save by the few—and of these the writer of Is. liii was one. The ideas reached out further than men could follow; they were greater than the man himself in whom they were incarnated. The exegesis of twenty-four centuries proves that the writers of Is. xl *sqq.* had an insight into spiritual truths which remained unsurpassed in Israel. The height once reached was never regained in Judaism; the history of interpretation moved westwards—but the Suffering Servant, like the prophets before him, fertilized the soil, enhancing ideas of Israel's worth and mission. New ideas of the relation between God and a people's representative issued in grandiose conceptions of Israel's greatness and priestly sovereignty, and also in convictions of the worth and mission of the unrecognized and rejected sons of men, humble worshippers of their God.

In an age of 'supermen,' men who suffered or were condemned for extreme, or even abnormal, spiritual claims, a man stricken, persecuted and martyred, played a part which has been carefully concealed by the later writers, and has entirely dropped out of history—only the after-effects remain. It will be disputed whether this conjectured historic figure should be placed before, during, or after the Zerubbabel period; but all analogy suggests that he is not to be sought at any later age when the leading ideas are in full flower. The problem rests largely upon our views of the development of thought, and precise criteria are difficult to find. We may think of him as a pioneer, one who gave new life and form to ideas of Yahweh's 'servants' and Israel's destiny. In any event, there is a new stage in the history of Israel; the conviction that he had borne a people's sins blots out the past, and heralds the dawn. The later chapters of Isaiah show that the dawn had broken, some new age had come; but it had not answered expectations. And this disillusionment is not without analogy in the history of other social and religious developments. None the less, a new era was inaugurated.

We have come full-circle, the last of the great prophets—at least of the pre-Christian period—has passed away, and the conditions against which they had contended, and contended successfully, have given birth to a new régime, the account of which belongs to the history of a later period.

The most essential ideas were too great to be taken up and developed forthwith, else Christianity would never have spanned the centuries and connected the Suffering Servant with the figure of its own Founder. Modern research, to be sure, does not regard the Servant as the prophetic portrayal of Jesus, but in view of the persistent Messianic interpretation in the past any other must at least make the old one explicable. Our interpretation must base itself upon the relationship between the two figures, which is one so impressive that we must see in the Servant a remarkable personality, to say the least, and must be prepared to appreciate the part such a one could have played in taking up and remoulding the best that had gone before. The Servant was rejected in his life-time, but all the hints suggest that his influence upon subsequent Judaism was simply vital. He left no clear trace in literature, one looks in vain for references to him or to a sect or other body; and this is very noteworthy whatever view one adopts. He was allowed to disappear from history and be forgotten, but the religion of Israel, through him, passed into a new stage[1].

Accordingly, the Unknown One of Israel falls into line with the great religious figures who range from China to Greece during the middle centuries of the first millennium B.C. Like them he ushers in a new stage in the religious development of his land and people; and what he meant for O.T. religion, for Christianity, and for the Western World, makes him a figure of supreme interest—even on historical grounds alone—and the difficult and often highly technical problems which converge upon him, his followers, and his age, the most important and, indeed, the most absorbing of all in the O.T.

We have seen how, after the Amarna period (fourteenth century), the gradual decline of the Egyptian and the Hittite Empires (twelfth century) afforded the opportunity for increased activity both to the peoples of the coastland (the Philistines, etc.) and to the Amorite and neo-Hittite states. The traditions of David and Solomon, in common with the later important confederations extending from Israel to the border of Asia Minor, introduce

[1] The idea of Israel as Jahweh's servants and witnesses (cf. Is. liv, 17), powerfully influenced as it was by the 'Servant,' does not concern us here.

us to powerful kingdoms and political constellations. But of all this history much has been lost. Some sweeping movement must be postulated to explain the introduction of Yahwism (vol. II, p. 404); great events lay beneath the rise of the Hebrew monarchies. But the stages in the developments can hardly be gleaned from the O.T., which, after all, is not a 'Hebrew' but an 'Israelite' work, and that, too, on the whole, of very narrowly restricted (Judaean) horizon. As a matter of fact, it is easier to grasp the development *after* the age of the Assyrian supremacy and of the prophets—and the two are naturally associated—and *after* the disintegrating centuries in the middle of the first millennium B.C., than during that almost 'Dark Age' which separates these from the Amarna period.

It is necessary to emphasize that a new Israel was growing up in the seventh and following centuries B.C. Amid the serious internal changes, due, not least of all, to the settlement of tribes from without, there were conditions and vicissitudes similar in many respects to those which we commonly connect with the entry of the tribes of Israel under Joshua. Moreover, the 'southern movement' itself (pp. 478 *sqq.*) is of the greatest importance, if, as seems highly probable, we should date it about this age; since, whereas the passage of simple tribes from the desert into a land of ancient culture usually led to moral deterioration, now, for once, all the conditions were favourable for their preservation and growth. In a word, the downfall of the old culture and the infusion of fresh blood gave the land a new lease of life, and the sixth century (roughly) is the pivot upon which all the great problems of the O.T. ultimately turn[1].

This is the age, approximately, of Jeremiah and of the unknown Evangelist (Deutero-Isaiah): it marks the culmination of the prophetic teaching. An age of far-reaching religious reforming activity over the whole of the ancient world, it finds many extremely significant and suggestive parallels in that of the rise of Christianity. Now, with this volume the really creative part of Israel's history begins and ends. Something will have to be said in due course of the reconstruction of Judaism in the fifth century and of the subsequent fight of the Maccabees to preserve it (second century B.C.); Palestine will have a stormy history and there will be various important developments in thought. Yet, it remains true that there is an inner connection by virtue of which we pass as naturally from the sixth–fifth centuries B.C. to the first century A.D.,

[1] On some of these problems, see p. 415 n. For the usual deterioration after immigration see vol. I, p. 223 *sq.*

as *e.g.* we do in Egypt from the XIIth Dynasty to the XVIIIth. But, whereas Israel underwent reconstruction at the earlier date, a few centuries later further advance seemed impossible and the Jewish state collapsed. Consequently, not only can we recognize three great landmarks—the (pre-Israelite) Amarna age (see vol. II, pp. 398 *sqq.*), the reconstruction of Israel, and the failure to develop further—but we must regard the second, the age of the sixth–fifth centuries B.C., as in no whit less vital than the third for the unfolding of the world's drama[1].

The work of criticism is both destructive and constructive; and although—at least in the present writer's judgement—much of the transmitted historical detail is doubtful, some fundamental facts stand out clearly, and the gains balance the losses. In the nature of the case, a certain element of theory enters into what has been said in these pages—though it is the theory that seems best to account for the facts. But it must be pointed out that all ordinary views of the O.T. are based upon what prove to be the 'theories' of the ancient historians themselves, and their interpretation of their data. The student of to-day can recover something of their motives, their theories and even their prejudices. Moreover, he has at his command facts of which they were ignorant, or which they intentionally ignored; in any case, it was impossible for them to stand outside the history as he can (vol. I, p. 222). And while a period of disintegration and reconstruction long ago gave birth to the rewriting or reinterpretation of the old history, as it lies before us in the O.T.—and it is this very process which has given it its permanent value—it is another process of disintegration, due partly to the work of criticism and partly to the decay of old ideas and the growth of new ones, which is bringing about a reinterpretation and rewriting of the past, and is leading to better conceptions of ancient history, in which the history of Israel gains profoundly in truth and value.

[1] It is interesting to compare and contrast the ideas of right and order that we find in and about the Amarna age with those that distinguish the great prophets of Israel (cf. vol. II, p. 401). The development, it will be noticed, is *Palestinian*, and not merely due to the influence of Israelite (and other) tribes from the desert, of incalculable value though that influence was. A still further development of the same ideas, along lines that remind us of Taoism and Confucianism, will come up for notice at a later period. (For mystical and for rationalistic tendencies in the sixth-century Greek world, see vol. IV, chap. XV; and for the Persian religion, see *ib.* pp. 205 *sqq.*)

CHAPTER XXI

LYDIA AND IONIA

I. THE CENTRAL ANATOLIAN POWERS: PHRYGIA AND SARDES

THE Greek settlements in west Asia Minor, as has been shown in an earlier chapter (vol. II, ch. XX), were favoured, throughout the early stages of their growth, by immunity from molestation at the hands of any really formidable inland power. This happy state of things, however, barely survived the eighth century B.C. Some process of social and political development, the result alone of which is known to us, had brought a compact kingdom into being in the middle valley of the Hermus. After about 685 B.C. (this date is a compromise obtained conjecturally by reckoning backwards from a later moment fixed with fair certainty by Assyrian chronology), that kingdom was directed and developed into an aggressive state by the Mermnad Lydian, Gugu, whom Greeks called Gyges.

Some twenty years earlier another kingdom—Phrygia—the strongest of its day in Asia Minor, had suffered a disaster, which left it as impotent to dominate its neighbours, as a similar disaster, five centuries before, had left the Hattic Kingdom in Cappadocia (see vol. II, p. 268). The capital of the last had lain some four hundred miles behind the Ionian coast; that of the Phrygian Kingdom, some two hundred and fifty. Now the political centre of gravity in the interior shifted westward once more, and, with the rise of Gyges, stayed in a city which lay at no greater distance from the easternmost Ionian community than might be ridden post in a single summer day. Both those earlier kingdoms, it seems, had exercised in their respective days some political influence all over Anatolia down even to its western littoral—an influence varying in inverse ratio to the eastward distance of their respective centres.

Our sole, but sufficient, warrant for an extension of Cappadocian influence into what would later be Ionia is furnished by the 'Hittite' rock-sculptures of the Sipylene district; for such inference as may be drawn from the Amazonian traditions of Ionian cities are not of much avail in our present uncertainty about the race or civilization to which the Amazons belonged. But, as was

hinted in an earlier chapter, those sculptures do not suffice to argue more than the existence of a state attached culturally, but not necessarily politically, to the Cappadocian Hatti (vol. II, p. 548). Their isolation, west of a broad belt entirely devoid, so far as we know at present, of 'Hittite' monuments, forbids belief in such a Hattic occupation of western Asia Minor as would justify its districts ever being called provinces of a Cappadocian empire. Of the three Sipylene monuments in question only one flanks a road from the interior. The other two stand by a coastal track leading from Ephesus across the neck of the Smyrna peninsula by the pass of Nymphi. One must not, therefore, speak of 'Hittite satraps' in Lydia or Sipylus. If, in the thirteenth century B.C. a kingdom of Hattic derivation, or at least, Hattic culture, existed on the Ionian coast, it seems, so far as our evidence avails, detached from the main Cappadocian kingdom. The Lydian country behind it shows virtually no trace of Hattic civilization, and the Phrygian, behind this again, though touched by Cappadocian influence, had a fundamentally distinct culture.

Very little is known from Greek literary tradition about the Phrygian kingdom which is presumed to have risen upon the ruin of the Hattic; but something can be guessed from the comparative abundance of its extant monuments. Both Herodotus and Strabo (who used the Lydian history of Xanthus) were persuaded by their authorities that the Phrygian people was of Thracian origin; and while the former believed that it was related to the Armenian race, some later writers asserted that it succeeded to a prior Armenian population which had settled awhile in central Asia Minor before migrating eastwards. Strabo dated this immigration from Thrace after the Trojan War. What is known of the later Phrygian language vouches for the Indo-European character of the race, or part of it, and, therefore, supports the Greek tradition of a European immigration. So also does what can be conjectured, on other grounds, about the source and direction of the popular movements which seem to have disturbed Asia Minor in the twelfth century B.C. If there was an independent state in Phrygia at a date still earlier, we can claim knowledge of it only by treating the Homeric references to its princes as historical records of the twelfth century. In the *Iliad*, Phrygians appear as dwellers under princes in fenced cities, and as wielders of a power at least equal to that of Priam who marries a princess of theirs. The only Greek tradition which has reached us about the founding of their monarchy places its earliest centre far up the Sangarius river at Gordium, and implies that its

institution ended a period of anarchy. If stress be laid on the reference in the *Iliad* to a Phrygian war with 'Amazons,' falling early in Priam's reign, we may suppose this anarchy to have followed an emancipation from Cappadocian domination which was achieved by the force of immigrants from across the Bosphorus. These would have ascended the natural highway up the Sangarius valley and concentrated at Gordium, as others following that road (*e.g.* European reinforcements for Alexander the Great) did in ages to come.

This foundation-tradition, transmitted to us by more than one Greek, hesitates between the names of Gordius and Midas for the first Phrygian king; but another tradition, preserved only in an excerpt, makes a Midas lead the Thracian immigrants. Both these names persisted in use to much later times, and it is possible that they were, originally, designations rather of royalty than of personality. Midas seems to be the same as Mita, the name given by Assyrian scribes to at least two kings, who were ruling in south-eastern Asia Minor in the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C. (cf. p. 145); and perhaps it is to be detected even earlier in the name of the people, Mitanni, = 'Mita's men.' Since Herodotus attests its use also in Macedonia, we must credit (as evidently he did) the Mitanni and the Mushki, as well as the maker of the historic monarchy in Phrygia, with belonging to an immigrant element from Europe, and include them among the invaders who came from the same Balkanic region at different epochs.

If the original seat of Phrygian monarchy had been at Gordium, the presence of royal tombs in the district of later Nacoleia, and the splendour of the other remains there, argue that subsequently its centre shifted about a hundred miles south-west, almost on to the divide between the Sangarius and the Hermus. The date to be assigned to this change must depend partly—the duration to be assigned to Phrygian monarchical power depends almost entirely—upon the view which may be taken of the chronological evidence offered by the rock-monuments of the Nacoleian district. These fall into three groups, of which the earliest, composed of certain tombs whose façades show 'heraldic' sculptures, has commonly been ascribed to the ninth century B.C.; while the latest group—the tombs with architectural façades of Doric type—is dated usually to the Mermnad time, after the downfall of Phrygian primacy. It is to be observed, however, that the principal argument of those who begin the series so late as the ninth century rests upon a view about the date of the Lion Gate at Mycenae which is not now held by the best authorities. If the

analogy between this Gate and the Lion Tomb at Ayaz In is considered close enough to approximate the two monuments chronologically (it has been thought so close as to argue that the Mycenae Gate was itself Phrygian work), the beginning of the Phrygian rock monuments must be pushed back at least as far as the eleventh century. Nor can it be said any longer that either those stylistic analogies with Assyrian art which have been remarked in the oldest Phrygian sculptures, or the appearance of inscriptions in Asianic characters upon monuments of a later (the second) group preclude so early a date. We know from the excavations at Ashur that Assyrian art had a very ancient history; and probably no one nowadays would venture to dogmatize about the source from which the Phrygian alphabet was derived, the moment at which it was first adopted, or the length of the period during which it remained in use.

To whatever epochs the divers groups of Phrygian monuments respectively belong, it is hardly reasonable to refuse to regard some of them as memorials of the monarchy connected by tradition with the Trojan (Priam's queen was a princess of Phrygia), which bulked so largely in the imagination of the early poets of the Aeolic Epos. Nor—unless a great period of Phrygian power, in which its political, or at least cultural, influence dominated all western Anatolia even to the Aegean, be allowed to be pre-Ionian—is the impression made by things Phrygian on early Greek cult and myth, which puzzled Grote, readily to be accounted for. We have to explain why the Sipylene Mother was regarded as the eldest of cult-figures, and how a cycle of myth concerning Tantalus and Pelops came to be common to the Peloponnesus and to Phrygia. There are also traditions of a Phrygian thalassocracy in the Aegean, prior to the Carian, and of early Greek borrowings from Phrygia (*e.g.* in music) which affect the question. As has been well known for the last half-century, certain remarkable remains of forts, towns and tombs exist on the flanks of Sipylus. They are certainly pre-Greek, but whether of the same period as the 'Hittite' monuments already mentioned is uncertain. Since they have no distinctively Cappadocian features and do not conform to Hattic architectural styles, it is preferable to regard them as memorials of a later period, that is of a later Sipylene state after Hattic times. The existence of a tomb of distinctly Phrygian type near the Niobe supports the theory that the 'Tantalid' remains represent a coastal community dependent culturally, if not politically, on the Phrygian monarchy. If so, the inner country to the east and north up to Mount Ida

and the Troad may be regarded as having been also in the Phrygian sphere. Thus the Homeric tradition will be explained. Such a development of Phrygian power on the Aegean littoral may be presumed to have been subsequent to the transference of its centre westward from the Sangarius; but it is probable that the same immigrants who first established it had been seen in the western districts also before the change. More than one ancient historian of repute knew a tradition that Lydia had been invaded by a northern horde, to which the general name, Cimmerian, was attached, long before the historic sack of Sardes, in 652 B.C. Eusebius, indeed, pushes the invasion back into the twelfth century.

As for the condition of Lydia during the period of general Phrygian dominance, we may assume that its chiefs owed some sort of allegiance to that power. Moreover, if Strabo is right in his assertion that Sardes (Lydian, Sfart) came into existence comparatively late—after the Trojan War—we shall ascribe its foundation to this Phrygian period and perhaps to princes of the same racial family as the Phrygians. Possibly it marked the beginning of some social unification of a country previously divided among tribes, and of their reduction to the rule of cities. Hyde, the only settlement in the country to which the *Iliad* alludes, seems to have preceded Sardes on a neighbouring, or even the same, site. Its name was given, in later times, to the citadel of Sardes; and one of its cults seems to have survived, if we may judge by a Lydian inscription found at Sardes, which cites, among other gods, Tavsas Hudans, Zeus of Hyde.

The first princes, who ruled in Sardes, make the Second or 'Heraclid' Lydian Dynasty of Herodotus, to which he ascribes a duration of five hundred and five years. Little as his early chronology is respected by modern commentators, it must be allowed that those figures, reckoned backwards from the accession of his Third, or Mermnad, Dynasty in or about 685 B.C., indicate a very likely epoch at which a Dynasty, of more or less Indo-European blood, may have been instituted, namely the first decade of the twelfth century. Hardly anything that is other than pure myth is recorded about these Heraclidae, except the Graecized forms of half a dozen royal names. The only story of their time worthy of serious attention is that told by Herodotus of a migration of part of the Lydian population to the land of the Umbrians. It appears to echo a real event which occurred before Greeks settled on the bay of Smyrna, but after Lydia had begun to use her historical script-characters. Many hold the Heraclidae to have been the first Lydians so-called—a race which had subdued and penned into

the upper valley the Maeonians whom alone the *Iliad* places in Lydia (vol. II, p. 10 *sq.*). Pliny states that Maeonians were prior to Lydians; but Strabo admits a dispute in his day, whether they were two peoples, or two names for a single people. We are not in a better position to decide than he; but we may note that no Greek ever includes the Lydian name among those ethnical elements said to have come out of Thrace.

Archaeology hardly helps. Virtually nothing that can be certified to be Heraclid has come to light, except a little stratified pottery at Sardes. These sherds make too small a body of evidence to suggest more than a hypothesis—that the earliest Lydian culture was of the coastal 'Cycladic' type, described in vol. II, chap XVIII, and that this was succeeded by one near akin to that illustrated by scanty ceramic evidence obtained among the Phrygian monuments. But a retrospective inference from other abundant Lydian products of the early Mermnad age found in Sardian tombs may, perhaps, legitimately be drawn. These represent a civilization of very considerable artistic capacity, beginning to be influenced by Ionian culture, but fundamentally native. Later remains of the sixth and fifth centuries show the native element still in vigorous dominance (for example, the Lydian script defied the Ionian till well into the fourth century). It would be a miracle if the pitch of artistic achievement attained by the middle of the seventh century had sprung from barbaric beginnings lying no further back than the accession of the Mermnadae; and it is more reasonable to credit generations before that date with a not inconsiderable Lydian civilization, and to infer that the later Heraclidae and their subjects had gone some way towards emancipation from Phrygian dependence before the Cimmerian invasion of 705 B.C. brought the Midas monarchy to ruin. Of any relations, however, between Heraclid Lydia and the Greek cities we have no notice, beyond what may be implied by a statement that the Mermnad kings had old scores to settle with Ephesus whose colonists long before had pushed Lydians out of their lands; or by that intercourse between Agamemnon, king of Aeolic Cyme, and the last Midas, which led to Damodice, the daughter of the Greek, entering the Phrygian's harem. At any rate, their mutual communications and also the girl must have traversed the Hermus valley.

II. GYGES AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF LYDIA

History finds firmer ground in the seventh century. The last of the Heraclidae, whom Herodotus calls Candaules, a name interpreted by Suidas as a divine epithet meaning the Strangler

of the Dog or Wolf, was known to the Greeks as Myrsilus. Since this was also the name of the mythical charioteer of Phrygian Pelops, and of a Lesbian (of a rather later time), its resemblance to the Hattic name Murshil may be only accidental (vol. II, p. 264.) Among this king's bodyguards, who probably were drawn from a territorial nobility, was one Gyges, a Mermnad (this may signify a member of a people, or clan, or house), son of Dascylus, a name which appears in Phrygia and in the appellation of an important town in Mysia of Phrygo-Lydian origin. He had an intrigue with the queen, killed the king, and ascended his throne, in or about 685 B.C. This event and its circumstance, garnished with fantastic and conflicting stories, have provoked much modern guessing; but whether Gyges was of royal Heraclid blood, or a chief of an oppressed tribe or house, or a representative of an earlier native dynasty, or a Maeonian opposed to Phrygian foreigners, or the first true Lydian to gain power (so some interpret an Assyrian scribe's statement that his master, Ashurbanipal, had never heard previously of Luddi), or a client-prince of Tyra in the Cayster valley—whether he was any or none of these things, we simply do not know. At all events, his accession seems to have been opposed. We hear of a popular movement against him, to suppress which he had to call a Carian ally to his aid.

However the reign began, epigraphic evidence from contemporary Assyria attests and dates certain events in its course so well that they are based as soundly as any in Ancient History. Gyges found himself menaced after a few years by a northern horde of 'Gimirrai' or Cimmerians, drawn either from the same source as that whence the invaders of Phrygia and of Cappadocia a generation earlier (cf. pp. 188 *sq.*, 510 *sq.*) had come, or freshly from beyond the Euxine. Gimirrai, under a king, Teushpa, who were raiding Armenia, and fighting with troops of Esarhaddon of Assyria in 679 B.C., had perhaps been headed westwards. Gyges applied for help to Esarhaddon's successor, Ashurbanipal (p. 116), and after 663 obtained sufficient material assistance to defeat the northerners and send two of their chiefs in chains to Nineveh. A little later, in 660, we find him and his people definitely enrolled among the feudatories of Ashurbanipal; but very soon after, the Lydian king joined in the movement which Psammetichus I of Egypt excited against Assyria (p. 287). His suzerain's chronicles record with satisfaction that, as a result of this defection, 'Gugu' was attacked by the Gimirrai, defeated and killed. This happened, according to the received Assyrian canon, in 652 B.C. Herodotus

tells us that the enemy followed up the broken army into Sardes itself, but could not take its citadel. Since he puts this disaster in the reign of Ardys, we must assume that Gyges had been killed in the first shock.

Thus we have some leading events of the reign well authenticated, and a date for its close. Nor is there less reasonable certainty about another important fact, added by Herodotus, that Gyges inaugurated an aggressive policy against his Greek neighbours on the west. Mimnermus, writing a generation or two later, confirms. We hear that the Lydian attacked, at one time or another, Miletus, Colophon, Magnesia ad Sipylum, and perhaps also Smyrna. There was a series of raids. Nicolaus of Damascus says of Gyges' warfare against Magnesia, that he made several incursions into its territory. He seems not to have captured the citadels of any of those cities, and such positions as he did take (for example, the lower town of Colophon) he did not occupy permanently. Evidently he failed to enter any part of the city of Miletus, and after raiding its fields, came to terms with it. If this exceptional act of his policy be rightly connected with another recorded act—his permission to the Milesians to colonize, and assume control of, Abydos on the Hellespont—and if the two acts are rightly to be accounted for by fear (ultimately justified) of fresh Thracian danger, then his Milesian raids may be conjectured to have ended about the same time (663) as that at which we find him applying to Assyria for help. The rich offerings which were shown to Herodotus at Delphi as gifts of Gyges may, like the throne dedicated there by Midas, have been also fruits of the constraint, under which Anatolian princes were placed by the constant 'Cimmerian' menace, to conciliate the mother cities of Greek outposts on the Hellespont and Euxine.

Some modern commentators have seen in Gyges' initiation of war between Lydia and Ionia the reasoned aggression of a national king determined to secure ports for his people. The same reason might also be pleaded for his extension of Lydian dominion northwards to Adramyttium and the Troad, which, as Strabo states (no doubt, following Xanthus), became wholly his. But his failure to occupy Ionian territory, and his abstention from attacking Cyme and Ephesus, the most convenient of the port towns, do not support that view. On the whole, his proceedings in regard to Ionia, like those of all his successors before Croesus, look like annual *razzias* of the Assyrian sort, each raid being but a swoop for plunder, as Herodotus says of Cimmerian attacks; and the latter's well-known assertion that, not until the reign of Croesus

were Greek cities enslaved, *i.e.* brought under permanent overlordship, is probably to be understood to imply that none of the earlier kings did more than devastate and depart.

Mermnad rule must have rested on a much better organized society than Heraclid if Gyges, within a few years of his accession, could risk aggressive action of this recurrent sort against the western cities, which had so long been left alone. Lydia had evidently taken a long stride forward in civilization since her society passed from tribal to civic life. The wealth ascribed by Greeks to her first Mermnad king, as well as the hint of luxury conveyed in the story of his paederastic relations with a Smyrniote bard, indicate that she had succeeded to that hegemony of Anatolia which had been Phrygian. Control of not only the natural riches of the home valley, but also those of the western lands of the Phrygians, famous for fruits and flocks, lay behind such swift political growth. But whether it owed anything to a new administrative system, or a new national spirit engendered by the accession of an indigenous dynasty, we do not know.

The condition of the Greek cities, when this inland menace first declared itself, is hardly less obscure than that of their enemy, and in dealing with them at this moment one must use generalities for the most part. All the Ionian cities seem already to have abandoned constitutional monarchy for the rule of noble clans. The executive was usually in the hands of a president or Prytanis elected by the ruling clique and constitutionally responsible to his electors, but not to the population as a whole. Outside Ionia, it is uncertain whether kingship had yet disappeared. Cyme in Aeolis retained a king till at least the closing years of the eighth century. About political conditions in the Doric Hexapolis at this time we have no information.

The Ionian cities, with two exceptions, Ephesus and Colophon, had met since an early date, certainly prior to the accession of Gyges, for common religious celebrations at the Panionium on Mt Mycale; but they obeyed no single political leader among them or any national obligation to assist another in defence or offence, unless the other were a political dependency, as Priene seems to have been of Miletus, or there were an agreement *ad hoc*, such as appears to have existed between Miletus and Chios a little later than this moment. On the contrary, there were chronic enmities, as, for example, between Miletus and Samos, and attacks on one city by another were common.

To these causes of general military weakness must undoubtedly be added the effect of colonial expansion during the ninth and

eighth centuries, as described in vol. II, chapter XX. Drained of their fighting men, the cities gained only commercial advantages by becoming 'mothers.' No colony seems to have come to the aid of its metropolis during the Lydian wars. Meanwhile the Ionian cities, and in chief, Miletus, already showed symptoms of wealth and luxury. As *entrepôts* for the raw materials of the richest part of Anatolia (notably for wool), and exporters of its and their own manufactures in textiles, metal-work, dyes, and fine articles of household use, they had begun to breed merchant-princes able to lend money to inland kings, and, though the full bloom of their culture was not quite yet, men free to devote their time to the practice of philosophy, literature and the fine arts. Citizens took mercenary service abroad, but their cities do not seem to have hired soldiers. The nobles and their squires had long sufficed them.

There was now, however, to be a new need; for, as we have seen, a 'Cimmerian' inroad followed on the attacks of the Mermnad. The slayers of Gyges came on westward down the valleys of the Hermus and the Cayster, and by the latter route fell on Magnesia ad Maeandrum and Ephesus, burning the former, but at the latter proving unable to capture more than the Artemisium outside the walls. Whether they extended their depredations to other Ionian cities—their array certainly suggested a theme to Clazomenian painters—or how long they stayed in Ionian territories, we do not know. The Ephesians, at any rate, seem to have been able to occupy and restore Magnesia, and we know that by 650 B.C. the leader of the horde, Tugdamme, as Assyrians called him, or Lygdamis, as the Greeks record his name, was gone to eastern Asia Minor to meet his death in Cilicia (or, perhaps, rather Cappadocia). His name, if really Lygdamis, would belong to the Aegean world; but more probably it was Dygdamis. One authority (quoted by Strabo) said that Lycians took part with the Cimmerians. (Cf. p. 117.)

What was this people, or peoples, whose raids with their consequences make so large a proportion of our meagre knowledge of Asia Minor in the seventh and eighth centuries and perhaps earlier still? Assyrian scribes, contemporary with events in the first half of the seventh century, speak only of Gimirrai (Hebrew, *Gōmer*), when recording both the campaigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, and also the fortunes of Gyges, against northern hordes. Herodotus, also, in relating both the Lydian and the Greek history of Asia Minor, speaks only of Cimmerians. But Strabo distinguishes the sackers of Magnesia as Treres, a

race which we know subsequently in Bulgaria during the fifth century B.C. At the same time he calls these, in one passage, a Cimmerian people, and in another, Cimmerians passing under another name. Treres, if from Bulgaria, must have come by way of the Hellespont; and whatever may have been the route taken by the first northern horde which broke into Asia Minor in the eighth century B.C. (Herodotus brings it round the east of the Euxine), there can be no doubt that it was from the Balkans that other northern elements entered subsequently. Hence the Hellespontine policy of Gyges and the long tenure of Antandrus by Cimmerians.

We know, in fact, too little about these northern hordes in Asia Minor to restrict their incursions to two appearances or to any definite number; or to regard them as derived from only one ethnic stock or locality; or, indeed, to be sure that all who appeared in the west were composed wholly of newcomers. It is quite possible, for example, that the horde which attacked Gyges had started no farther afield than Sinope, where we know that a 'Cimmerian' settlement had been formed towards the end of the previous century. As for the common name Cimmerian, Herodotus certainly makes it cover more than one people; and apparently with both Assyrians and Greeks it stood for any non-Scythian horde, which invaded from the north (cf. p. 505). In any case, fresh reinforcements from the Balkans or the Euxine ceased to accrue within the seventh century. One account says that Ardys expelled the last 'Cimmerians' from Asia Minor (some think it was he who fought with and slew 'Lygdamis' in Cappadocia) after Scythians had broken up their settlement at Sinope, and opened a way for Milesian colonists to reoccupy that place; and that the last 'Cimmerian' chief was killed before 630 by the Scythian Madyes, in the Mysian country. Strabo's authority made this chief a Trerian. The other account, that of Herodotus, postpones the catastrophe of the 'Cimmerians' to the reign of Alyattes. See also pp. 116 *sqq.*, 188 *sq.*, 194 *sq.*

III. LYDIAN AGGRESSION

Except for that disputed success against the slayers of his predecessor, Ardys is little more than a name, though Herodotus assigns to him a long spell of rule. No doubt it was under the Assyrian aegis that he was able to restore peace to Lydia (he seems to have repaired his predecessor's breach with Ashurbanipal), and it must have been when all danger from Thracians and other northerners was at an end, that he resumed, as Herodotus

relates, Gyges' practice of raiding west, but without respect for Gyges' Milesian policy. For not only did Ardys attack Miletus, but he captured her dependency, Priene. If the motive assigned above for Gyges' complacency towards the Milesians be correct, it is intelligible that his successor, who had not to fear the same danger, should have disregarded the obligation of that policy. He did not succeed, however, in taking Miletus, nor did his two successors, who are said to have conducted, one after the other, not less than twelve raiding campaigns into its territories. Alyattes, says Herodotus, made a point of devastating the Milesian fields year by year, but of sparing the farm-steads. Thus he hoped to preserve to the farmers some inducement to return and to plough for the coming spring. This is the policy of a looting raider, not of a national statesman desirous of securing the port of Miletus. There is no reason to suppose that any Lydian ever assaulted the city itself. In the end, Alyattes, during his sixth raid, resumed the policy of Gyges and came to terms with the great Ionian community which had sustained successfully not only his shock but also a Samian attack (perhaps concerted with him) on Priene.

Alyattes, like his predecessor, found himself either involved, or likely to be involved, in an inland war. This time it was with the Medes, who came down into Cappadocia about 590 B.C. to avenge, says Herodotus, a refusal by Alyattes to hand over certain Scythians; but more probably to make good the inheritance of Asia Minor which went with their succession to the Assyrian rights, but was menaced by the Lydian extension over Phrygia to the Halys. Some five years of warfare, which, on the whole, must have been favourable to the Lydian, led to the greater king agreeing that Alyattes' farthest limit, the Halys river, should be his formal boundary; and the pact was clinched by a marriage between the royal houses, Astyages, son of Cyaxares the Mede, taking to wife Aryenis of Lydia. This event is fixed with fair certainty to 585 B.C. by the mention of an eclipse which interrupted the last battle before the agreement. In that year, though no line of totality struck the Halys, astronomical authorities are agreed that an eclipse of magnitude sufficient to have constituted the portent implied in Herodotus' story did occur in Asia Minor. Most remarkable is a statement by the latter that two kings, one of Cilicia, the other of Babylon, mediated between the Mede and the Lydian. If this were indeed so, then each mediator must be presumed a friend of one or the other principal party; but of which, respectively, we cannot say for certain. Since there had been a Lydian understanding with Babylon at the time of Gyges'

defection from Assyria, and this understanding was still potent in Croesus' day, and since Cilicia is mentioned by Herodotus as a part of Asia Minor 'within the Halys' which Croesus did not hold, it is more probable that it was the Babylonian than the Cilician who acted for Alyattes (see p. 214 *sq.*).

Herodotus, however, ascribing Alyattes' pact with Miletus to none of these things, tells how the king, after his fifth raid, sent to Delphi, asking why he had been stricken with illness. The Pythia bade him make atonement for sacrilege committed upon a shrine of Athena at Assessus near Miletus. Of this reply Periander, tyrant of Corinth, was able to inform Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, before a herald appeared from Sardes with Alyattes' offer of no better than truce for such time as might be necessary for the rebuilding of the temple; and Thrasybulus threw dust in the envoy's eyes by the time-worn expedient of collecting all the city's resources into his view and convincing him that there was abundance in reserve. On receipt of his report at Sardes, Alyattes amended his offer to one of peace and alliance. Better ground for the king's change of purpose than the effect of a stale trick may be demanded without rejection of the rest of the tale; but, at the same time, one may suspect that, if Alyattes consulted Delphi in the midst of war with the richest of Greek cities, he was seeking a plausible pretext for coming to terms with it. It was a war by which, in any event, neither Miletus nor the Pythian foundation stood to gain.

Alyattes attacked other Ionian cities or their lands, and these operations also should be placed before the Median war. His horsemen pushed farther into Ionia than those of his predecessors. They reached the walls of Clazomenae, after taking the city of Smyrna and devastating it so drastically that the surviving population did not refortify the place or repair their civic organization, but remained living in open villages. But the attack on Clazomenae was not successful, and probably such raiding was not repeated after 590. Both tradition and archaeology indicate a period of peace between Lydia and the Greeks, which covered all the latter half of Alyattes' reign. Intercourse between the two evidently developed apace, and resort to Sardes became common with Greeks. Even under the previous reign, if Pausanias' story about the intention of the exiled Aristomenes be well founded, a distinguished Peloponnesian could regard the court of Sardes as a safe refuge. As for Alyattes, records multiply of relations between him and his house of the one part, and Greeks of Ephesus, Mitylene, and even Corinth and Athens of the other. If Solon

really visited Sardes, it must have been in this reign, not in that of Croesus, whom, however, he may have seen as a child at his father's court. Periander catered for Alyattes' pleasures with three hundred Corcyrean youths, and the ruling house of Pythagoras at Ephesus formed a tie of intermarriage with the Lydian royal family, which saved the city's lands from the fate constantly befalling those of Colophon on the one hand and Miletus on the other. Colophon, owing perhaps to its inland position near the road from Sardes to Ephesus, seems to have been permeated sooner and more completely than any other Ionian city by Lydian influence. Its Asian luxury became notorious, and in Roman times we find a priestly family of the place still boasting descent from Ardys the Lydian. A late story represents Colophonian horsemen, invited treacherously to Sardes by Alyattes, accepting his overture without surprise.

Archaeological evidence supplied by the American excavations at Sardes shows a steady increase of Greek influence in Lydia from the period of Gyges to that of Alyattes. Under Croesus, and the early Persian hegemony, we see a still more rapid growth. The earliest wheel-made slipped and painted ware, which overlies a stratum containing sherds with incised and occasionally painted decoration of the class that precedes the 'sub-Mycenaean' ware of Ionia, is of a 'geometric' kind more akin to the Early Iron Age pottery of Cyprus and of Phrygian sites than to any other wares. Belonging to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., it shows no demonstrably Western influence. But superimposed on it are sherds of the same kind of vessels as were found in the earliest tombs of the necropolis on the west of the Pactolus; and these are clearly of the first part of the seventh century. Throughout the series which follows, representing the rest of that century and all the sixth, not only do imitations of Greek forms and decoration become continuously more frequent, but so do also actual objects of Greek manufacture, including some from overseas.

IV. LYDIA AND THE TYRANNIS

With Lydia rests partial responsibility for a change in the spirit and the action of Ionian cities, which becomes evident early in the sixth century B.C. Though little is known of them at this epoch, beyond the tradition and the fragmentary remains of their intellectual productivity, two facts are certain—first that they passed, one after another, from oligarchical rule and the Prytanis to the control of Tyrants; second that their efforts in

foreign colonization practically ceased. The last fact was in some measure an effect of the first; for, as has been already shown (vol. ii, p. 561), Greek colonial expansion everywhere had been to a great extent an expression of democratic, or at least, anti-oligarchic feeling, although encouraged by the oligarchs themselves as a salutary vent. The Tyrants were the creation of that same feeling; but anti-oligarchs as they were by birth, raised to power by those who were subjects or unprivileged, their interest lay in closing a vent by which periodically the plebeian manhood of the community was depleted, and new oligarchies were instituted elsewhere. Lydia played into their hands by exposing the incapacity of the oligarchs to defend the city's lands against a foreign foe—such an exposure as often befell the landed chivalry of European countries in after ages; and also played into the hands of the Tyrants by creating an atmosphere of apprehensive militarism, favourable to the concentration of executive power in single hands. That the sixth-century Tyrants, except in rare instances (as at Mitylene), worked, as soon as might be, to consolidate their personal power at the expense of the democracy does not alter the fact that the Tyrannis in Ionia was a stage—probably a necessary stage—in the evolution of democracy. It was not destined however to bear its natural fruit there nearly as quickly and fully as in western Greece or even the isles; for its development was arrested by the same cause which had helped to initiate it—the pressure of an external power. As is well known, Persia, so soon as she assumed the Ionian heritage of Lydia, insisted everywhere on the indefinite continuance of the Tyrannis in the interest of the security and facility of her own domination. We are not told what action Lydia may have taken to control the politics of the cities during the short space of time in which she was suffered to hold Ionia in a subjection which seems to have been somewhat less complete; but such stories as have come down to us about friendly relations between Alyattes or Croesus and Greek cities almost all refer to intercourse with tyrants or with members of tyrannical houses. It appears, therefore, likely that Lydia, for the same reasons as Persia, anticipated the latter's policy in respect of the Tyrannis.

The only accounts of consecutive events in Greek societies of Asia that we possess, even in outline, for the period under review —the latter part of the reign of Alyattes—concern Mitylene and Samos. Unfortunately their conditions differed from those of the Ionian mainland in one most important regard. Though Mitylene, for example, was threatened by the Lydian occupation of Adra-

myttium, and had certain interests on the mainland, particularly at the mouth of the Hellespont, where her commercial aims were even now clashing with the nascent ambitions of Athens, she could not feel anything like the same apprehension as weighed on, say, Ephesus or Miletus. Her history, therefore, cannot be taken as typical of civic development in mainland Ionia. Moreover, the process of her political evolution came to be distinguished from that of almost any other city, of which we know anything at all at this time, by the leadership of an honest democrat, who worked out the salvation of the unprivileged class, not as a tyrant (if we are to believe later authorities and not the hints of his local enemy, Alcaeus), but as an *aesymnētes* or dictator, elected for a definite term.

The decennial régime of Pittacus (*c.* 585–575), which fell in the middle years of Alyattes' reign, was, however, in effect, a Tyranny which was preceded by stages typical of the process by which the democratic process developed contemporaneously in most cities of Greece, and therefore, in all likelihood, in Ionia. We hear at first of a dominant close oligarchy exercised by a clan descended from the house of Penthilus, formerly royal. Its increasingly licentious oppression brings on a rising, led by nobles of other clans, among whom we are told the name of the Cleanactidae. The net result of a popular success is the establishment of a wider oligarchy but an oligarchy still. This quickly develops an oppressive attitude under leaders, of whom the names Myrsilus and Megalopyrus have come down, as well as those of the famous lyrist, Alcaeus, and his brother, Antimenidas. A foreign danger had already created, on a small scale, something of the atmosphere of apprehensive militarism prevalent on the mainland. The Athenians had sailed to wrest from the Mityleneans the key of the Hellespont, which the latter thought to have secured by occupying Sigeum, in despite of a prior Athenian claim. The Lesbian levy fought these claimants; one at least of the oligarchs, Alcaeus, disgraced himself by flight and was so little ashamed to own it, that evidently his failure in a patriotic affair was not much accounted by his friends in comparison of his fidelity to their own political aim. A long war was not successful and in the end the Lesbians had to submit before 590 B.C. to the friendly arbitration of Periander of Corinth who gave the enemy his desired footing on the Hellespont while he relegated the Lesbians to the less eligible Achilleum site near by. Exasperated and apprehensive, the nobles of the opposition excited the lower classes which, doubtless, had been given arms and training for the Sigean War. They were successful; but since

oligarchy had become impossible, the administration was confided to the single hands of a popular hero, Pittacus, who was connected by marriage with the old royalty. He thus became an 'elective tyrant,' as Aristotle calls the Prytaneis elsewhere, laid hands on ex-oligarchs, including Alcaeus and his brother (he is said soon to have released them on condition that they exiled themselves), and governed Mitylene for an agreed term of ten years.

The most important Ionian tyrant of this epoch, Thrasybulus of Miletus, is a shadowy figure, about which much modern conjecture has been hazarded. In fact, we know next to nothing about him—neither when he gained power nor whether he was prior to Thoas or Damasenor, whose names have been handed down as those of Milesian tyrants in early days; nor again, how long he retained his power. It is probable that he was raised to his seat in the course of the Eleven Years' War with Lydia, and certain that he maintained relations with the powerful Periander of Corinth (see p. 553). It has been proposed to transfer to his credit the eighteen years of Milesian thalassocracy, which Eusebius dates half-a-century earlier; but the latter's dating synchronizes well with the highest activity of Milesian colonizing effort, which had slackened almost to nothing by the close of the seventh century.

We do know, however, that his reign was followed, either immediately or after a very short interval, by a long period of intestine strife. Herodotus, who records that this period preceded the great prosperity of Miletus in the years before the Ionian Revolt, says its duration was for two generations of men. It must, therefore, have begun well before the middle of the seventh century and have covered the whole reign of Croesus, if not some part also of that of Alyattes. It looks as if the Tyrannis had excited in Miletus just such a phase of democratic ebullition as is heard of at about the same time in Samos, Mitylene and elsewhere; but this did not end, as in some other communities, with the establishment of democratic government. On Miletus, as elsewhere in Ionia, we know that the action of Persia imposed the Tyrannis afresh, if, indeed, its tenure had ever been interrupted.

V. LYDIAN CONQUEST OF IONIA

Internal strife and external pressure in one and the same age are grave disadvantages; but, to judge by the brilliant succession of Ionian names of the seventh century which were held in honour by Greek tradition, and also by the remains of the Ionian art of the period—for example those found in the lowest stratum of the

Ephesian Artemisium—the removal of the oligarchies, by allowing racial genius to express itself widely and fully, more than counteracted the evil conditions.

Alyattes died after a long reign, and his son Croesus ascended his throne at the age of thirty-five. The precise year of his accession is doubtful, depending, as it does, on back reckoning from a disputed date for his fall; but it was certainly not before 560, and probably not after 557. His mother was Carian; and, owing to another marriage of his father to an Ionian woman, and to the marriage of his sister with Melas of Ephesus, more of the spirit of the West breathed upon his early years than upon those of any previous heir of Lydia. Nicolaus of Damascus records that his father sent him to govern Adramyttium and the plain of Thebe. If he really saw and spoke with Pittacus of Mitylene, who was dead by 570, it was probably during his sojourn on that neighbouring coast, and he must have been commissioned to the province as little more than a boy, as is not at all unlikely. We are told further that in his governorate the young prince showed an unbridled temper which posterity contrasted with the balanced piety of his mature years. Other early relations of his with Greeks were remembered by tradition—for example, with the Ephesians Pindarus, his sister's son, and the banker, Pamphaēs. The usual kind of harem intrigue seems to have been set on foot by the Ionian queen to forestall her lord's nominee; and an attempt to poison Croesus is alluded to by Plutarch. How much violence had to be used to secure his succession we do not know; but certainly he put an end to his would-be rival.

He succeeded to a wide 'empire' of the Oriental kind, acquired mainly by his father. His sphere of exclusive influence embraced, says Herodotus, all the peoples of Asia Minor 'within the Halys,' except the Lycians and the Cilicians (*i.e.* probably southern Cappadocians as well as Cilicians south of the Taurus). The inland peoples, doubtless, had been reduced already to the second stage of ancient Oriental subjection—liability to ordinary and regular tribute; but the Ionian Greeks and probably also the Dorian and most of the Aeolic, were in the first stage—liability to extraordinary occasional levies. Very few except residents in some Lydian colony, like Adramyttium, had passed into the third stage—subjection to territorial sovereignty. The lord of the interior now proposed to force all the coastal societies into the second stage. He opened operations, says Herodotus, with the Ephesians, possibly out of particular hostility to his nephew, Pindarus, the local ruler. The city saved itself from sack by the famous device

of linking its walls by a rope to the precinct of Artemis, but Pindarus, says a late authority, had to fly. The inhabitants, we are told, were forced to dismantle their hill forts and take up residence in the indefensible plain; and, content with this precaution, the Lydian, minded to conciliate their goddess, gave substantial aid to the restoration of her temple which had been in progress since the 'Cimmerian' sack about a century before.

The other Ionian cities, and also the Aeolic, were all, as we are told without details, approached, one after another and, upon various pretexts, summoned to admit the Lydian arms. They had long been at peace with Lydia, and Herodotus says that the new king's griefs against them were often very small matters. Once they had submitted, Herodotus implies that there was little if any subsequent recalcitrance. They were sworn to render annual tribute and contingents of troops on occasion; but it does not appear that they were garrisoned, or indeed, subjected to alien governors. One city, Miletus, succeeded in obtaining specially favourable terms, as is known from their endorsement by Cyrus; but wherein exactly its exceptional advantage consisted, we are not informed. It looks as if, at any rate, this one city was not entered like the rest; but we have no warrant for supposing that it was excused tribute. Herodotus records no exception to the general subjection of the Ionian cities to levies of money and men.

In the sequel little sign was to appear that this action of Croesus in Ionia left a bitter memory among Greeks. Their later tradition about him personally is singularly favourable, and it must be remembered that within half a generation of their subjection, great cities refused to aid his enemy. Any patriotic intransigeance, that might have developed in them, was, no doubt, counteracted powerfully by the commercial spirit of the communities in general, and many particular individuals. Ionian trade with the interior had been developing rapidly throughout the latter part of Alyattes' reign, as has already been implied in our consideration of the evidence obtained from Sardian tombs (p. 514). This was the age in which the Lydian invention of coined money spread not only to Ionia but into the Aegean, Samos adopting it as early as did Miletus. Even if the most primitive electrum pieces, which usually are dated well before Alyattes' time, have rightly been explained as private tokens rather than royal coinage, Alyattes himself seems certainly to have had his mint; and about the moneys struck by Croesus there is no doubt at all. It was probably in Alyattes' time also that Greeks learned from the Lydians, as Herodotus asserts, to be *kapēloi*. This word should

imply some calling more novel than that simply of a retailer, which, already, for centuries must have been practised in Ionian commerce. A special use of the word in Greek of the next century signifies inn-keeper. Herodotus therefore may have meant that the Lydians were the first to establish *khans* along trade-routes. The uses of these for buying and selling are well known still to all travellers in the Near East; and without them caravan trade would be a small matter. Or equally well, he may have meant caravanners themselves—itinerant merchants who, unbinding their wares at every stage of a journey between distant points, are the chief agents of retail trade in Eastern lands. Until a Greek had begun to push his own wares in inland countries, neither of these callings would naturally have been his. They do not belong to coastwise trade, which seems to have been the chief commercial activity of Greeks before their peace with Alyattes.

Whether Croesus did much, or indeed anything, to organize his inland sphere of empire is as uncertain as what Alyattes may have done there before him. But, at any rate, at some time, his forces were acting in the north-west against the Bithynian community of Prusa. The Greeks knew him evidently as a king who sat in his capital, receiving all and sundry amid the greatest wealth and luxury known in their world. Not yet thoroughly schooled to set a gulf between themselves and 'barbarians,' they seem to have regarded him almost as one of themselves; and it was the most natural thing in the world for Ephesians to accept his help in their restoration of the Artemisium, or for Spartans to take his gold, or for Delphi to be enriched with his dedications to Apollo. Seen as he was by his visitors leading a life hardly distinguished from the Ionian except by its greater splendour, the friendship which he showed to the Greek city-states was accepted in the spirit in which it was tendered. Herodotus implies, in the digression on Peisistratus which he intercalates into his narrative of the reign of Croesus, that the latter made it his business to be informed about western Greeks. He devoted most attention to the Spartans, but did not neglect Athens, one of whose nobles, Alcmaeon, volunteered to be his ally and agent in transactions with Delphi, and was rewarded so lavishly that he made the political fortunes of his house.

VI. CROESUS AND THE EAST

From some years of peace, two of which (says Herodotus) were spent in mourning the untimely death of a favourite son, Atys, accidentally killed while hunting boar on the Mysian Olympus,

Croesus was roused by a menace in the East. The Median power which had been connected, since 585, by alliance and marriage with his dynasty, was subverted, before 550, by Cyrus, king of Anshan; and the frontier of the Lydian empire on the Halys, assured during the past thirty years by treaty with the coterminous power, lay once more open. The interests of Croesus, his family sentiment, and, probably, obligations under his father's treaty, combined to stir him to action on behalf of the dispossessed king Astyages, his own brother-in-law. Herodotus says that the Lydian believed the power of Cyrus to be still so small that prompt action might restore the Median position. Croesus' long preparation, the repeated missions sent to consult distant oracles, and the tone of both his questions to these and their replies, argue that his original purpose was as far-reaching as Herodotus implies. But it is quite possible that, when nearly, if not quite, two years later, he actually set forth eastwards from Sardes, he had realized better the Persian position, or was aware that his own delays had betrayed his first hope. If so, another statement of Herodotus in a later passage, that his determining motive was to add Cappadocia to his own empire, may be a correct account of his second thoughts.

A phrase used by Herodotus perhaps implies that the first step taken by Croesus was to summon Cyrus to release the captive Median king, and that only on its failure did he dispatch his first missions to the chief oracles of Greece and Libya. That first step may have been taken as early as 548. The further steps in the leisurely process of making up his mind to war occupied a period of unknown length, which, however, at the shortest, cannot have been completed much under two years, and may have needed more. Whereas Delphi and the Boeotian shrines at Abae and Lebadea could be reached in a few days, Dodona in little more, and Branchidae in less, a visit to the Ammonium, at modern Siwa, entailed a journey of months. A hundred days, says Herodotus, were allowed by Croesus for all his envoys to reach their respective destinations; until that interval should have elapsed none was to present himself before any oracle, near or far. The king's object evidently was to preclude any one oracle from framing a response on the report of any other previously approached. If, further, the historian is to be believed that no reply was unsealed at Sardes till all the replies had come to hand, some seven to eight months at least must be allowed for the completion of the function of the first missions. Croesus then proposed to consult Delphi a second time and had offerings prepared for his commissioners to convey

thither and to Lebadea—elaborate works in precious metals, which a century later Herodotus saw at the Pythian shrine and at Thebes. The time necessary for their preparation, then for the second mission to go and return, then for a third mission to perform its office, finally for embassies to reach Sparta and Egypt, prefer their requests for active assistance, and come back to Sardes—all these delays must have consumed at least as much time as was occupied by the first missions.

By the time the king's mind was made up, and his mercenary levies were ready to march eastward from Sardes, Cyrus had had full time not only to consolidate his position, but also to obtain as ample information about his enemy's plans as that enemy may have acquired about the real power of the Persian. The statement of Herodotus, therefore, that, before ever Cyrus set out from Ecbatana to march towards the Halys, he dispatched heralds to the Ionian cities to persuade them to rise in the rear of Croesus, is easily credible. We are informed of the result—that the cities refused the overture; but not of their reasons. Doubtless they knew little of the Persian strength but much of the Lydian; doubtless their commercial interests seemed to them involved in the maintenance of the kingdom of Croesus; perhaps the latter had had the foresight to take hostages of Ionia: Thales of Miletus, for example, is said to have been in his camp on the Halys. The mercenaries, of whom the Lydian expeditionary force was largely composed, must, in any case, have been in some proportion Greek; but we have no warrant for saying that contingents were actually sent to Croesus from Ionian cities. The severity with which Cyrus would receive their envoys after the latter's defeat, as well as the exceptional favour shown by him to Miletus, are both readily accounted for without either the last city having withheld official help from the Lydian, or the other cities having accorded it.

Croesus reached the Halys, and crossed the recognized frontier of his empire by some method of which Herodotus had no certain knowledge. He believed it was by nothing more unusual than boat-bridges. Later Greeks credited a tradition that Thales, the Wonder-worker of popular story, divided the stream. If there is anything in this story, the place of crossing is more likely to have been on the lower waters in the Bafra plain than in the gorges of the river's middle course. A northern point for Croesus' irruption into Cappadocia perhaps is indicated also by Herodotus' localization of the Pterian district, which the Lydians entered first, as 'somewhere over against Sinope.' If, on the one hand, the geographical knowledge of the 'waist' of Asia Minor shown by

Herodotus is too vague to justify much reliance on this indication, on the other, the modern identification of the chief stronghold of the district, which Croesus captured, with the Hattic city at Boghaz Keui, rests on no sound basis. So far as we know, this city had been in ruins and probably deserted for some centuries before the sixth B.C.

Wherever the Pterian district may have been, somewhere within its limits the progress of the Lydians, after some considerable time spent in raids, was arrested by the arrival of Cyrus with an army evidently more numerous. The battle which ensued upon the Lydian king's refusal of homage, even if it did not result in a definite Lydian defeat (as authorities later than Herodotus believed), indisposed Croesus towards further operations with his existing forces. To the surprise, therefore, of the enemy (so Herodotus) he broke camp, recrossed his frontier and marched his army back to Sardes. The mercenary levies were paid off at once, as winter was approaching; messengers were dispatched to all who were under treaty with Lydia, for example to the Spartans, to Amasis of Egypt, and to Nabonidus, destined to be last native king of Babylon; and these allies were requested to prepare contingents against the spring and send them to take the field in the fifth month. Fresh mercenary levies were to be raised, and a Greek, Eurybates, was commissioned to enlist men in western Greece.

Half the winter, however, had not elapsed before such help had become vain. Cyrus, whose army was composed largely of tribesmen of the Armenian uplands, levied on his march from Ecbatana, was not deterred by the season; and so soon as he was assured of the retreat of his enemy, he followed up so quickly that Croesus is said to have been unaware of the pursuit until the Persian was within striking distance of Sardes itself. The mercenaries had gone and the allies were still unready. Only levies of the Lydians themselves could be collected and thrown across the Persian's path. The wide vale of the middle Hermus favoured the famous mounted spearmen of Lydia, but their advantage was lost when their horses refused to face a screen of baggage-camels thrown forward on the advice (says Herodotus) of Harpagus the Mede. The dismounted riders and the footmen sustained the battle awhile, but broke before the end of the day. Cyrus followed the rout to Sardes and Croesus shut himself into the citadel. He had sent urgent summons to his allies, and we hear that, on receipt of the news of his defeat, the Spartans, though embarrassed by an Argive war, put in hand the preparation of a fleet.

Eurybates, on the other hand, is said to have transferred without more ado his fealty and that of his levies to Cyrus. Time, however, was not granted to either faithful or faithless to avail in the matter, before further news arrived of the fall of the fortress and the capture of its king, after a siege which had lasted but two weeks. Differing stories have come down to us concerning the manner of the catastrophe. That told by Herodotus of an escalade by a neglected path is recommended by the historical fact that its feasibility was demonstrated subsequently in a historical surprise of the same fortress.

According to Herodotus and Ctesias, who derived information from independent sources, the life of Croesus was spared[1]. That the fallen king had more than one narrow escape before the second thoughts of his conqueror guaranteed his safety is likely enough; and the miraculous garniture of the tradition may be taken as a natural growth on a fact of 'providential' escape. If he was ever on the pyre, as Greek literary and artistic tradition believed, it may remain an open question whether Cyrus condemned him to execution, or rescued him from self-immolation —from such a pageant of suicide as despair has often driven proud defenders to contrive. The date of this catastrophe is fixed usually to the year 547 or 546. (Cf. pp. 222 *sq.*, 305.)

VII. THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

Cyrus must have stayed in Sardes a considerable time; for we hear that, after he had dismissed the envoys who had been commissioned in nervous haste by the Greek cities of Aeolic and Ionian Asia, he was still accessible when these had had opportunity to apply to Sparta and she to send a ship and a herald back to the Ionian coast. He had promised peace to none but the Milesians; the rest he dismissed with a bitter jest as eastern potentates ever love to dismiss those they despise. The Dorian cities of the south held aloof behind the fancied security of their Carian and Lycian backgrounds.

On the return of the Ionian envoys, the prospect was seen to be grave, and all the cities, except Miletus, agreed by their delegates at the Panionium to apply for the help of Sparta. Pytharmus of Phocaea, the spokesman of their embassy, did not prevail in the Lacedaemonian Assembly; but a single scouting-ship of Sparta was sent across to Phocaea, and one, Lacrines, landed and went up as a herald to Sardes, where, if Herodotus is

[1] The 'Nabonidus Chronicle' states that Cyrus killed the king of *Lu*... (Lydia?); cf. vol. IV, p. 9, and above, p. 223.

to be believed, Cyrus still tarrying heard with amusement and scorn how a tiny state beyond his ken would not tolerate Persian rule over any Greek city. (See p. 569.)

Not to this *brutum fulmen*, but to Cyrus' departure for Inner Asia and events which followed in Lydia, did the Greeks owe a brief respite. The employment of a native, Pactyas, to help the new satrap, Tabalos, to collect and pack the treasures of Croesus ended in the Lydian absconding to the sea-coast, hiring troops with the money he had carried off, and returning to raise his countrymen and beleaguer Sardes. The citadel held out long enough for Cyrus to hear and to send back a force under Mazares, a Mede, on whose approach Pactyas threw up the game and fled to Cyme. Demanded thence by the Mede, he was passed on to Mitylene, and farther, to Chios, before he was dragged from an altar of Athena and surrendered for dispatch to Cyrus. Then the Lydians were disarmed, and from this moment Greek tradition dated rapid decline of their virility.

With the failure of Pactyas vanished the last chance of the Greek cities to be delivered from vengeance to come. Mazares crossed to the Cayster, seized and desolated Colophon and Priene, and pillaged all the middle plain of the Maeander. The rest of Ionia waited a few months longer in fear and trembling, the agony being protracted by the sudden death of the enemy's general. So critical did the case of the cities appear, we are told, to Thales the Milesian that he propounded to them (but whether before or after the ratification of his own city's agreement with Cyrus is not said) a project for the political unification of Ionia with Teos as its centre. The jealous cities, however, elected to fight, each for herself; and fight they did. Harpagus, who had succeeded Mazares, came down the Hermus valley to Phocaea. This city, which, like the rest, had dismantled its walls a dozen years before at the bidding of Croesus, had been newly refortified at the cost of a foreign friend, the king of Tartessus. But neither were the Phocaeans eager to defend their wall (probably because they were conscious, that, if this attack failed, others would be made continually by the masters of the Hermus), nor was Harpagus eager to storm it, and devastate a convenient port. He made a golden bridge, granting respite from assault, with full knowledge that the citizens would use it to launch their galleys and fly. The refugees applied first to the Chians for license to occupy a little archipelago, which lies off the homes of both; but the islanders, who stood well with the Persian for having delivered up Pactyas, and well also with Miletus, refused to be

compromised or to foster a possible rival in their own waters. Thereupon the exiles turned their prows homeward for a last vengeance, and fell on the garrison which Harpagus had installed; but when they would push off again, it was found that half their number preferred servitude to a second flight. The rest sailed for the western seas where they had long had colonists and friends; but after five years in Corsica they were forced out again by a combination of Carthaginians and Etruscans, and at the last settled down in the toe of Italy at Velia.

One other Ionian city, Teos, followed their example (says Herodotus), but after stouter resistance. Harpagus had to prosecute a siege in form, and raise a mound, after the Mesopotamian fashion of warfare, to the height of the wall before a part of the defenders took to the water and sailed north to recolonize Abdera. Bias of Priene is said to have urged a like course on the Panionian delegates. Better, he said, the cities should empty themselves, than await Harpagus; by a mass migration they might wrest Sardinia from Carthage and rule the western seas. Whether this counsel suggested to the Phocaeans and Teians their action, or was itself suggested by their example, we do not hear. In any case, it was offered in vain. The other Ionians stayed to defend and lose their fields. None of the cities, it seems, had to pay the terrible penalty of enslavement in which recent support of Pactyas had involved Priene; but all were compelled to accept not only tributary status and obligation of military service, but also tyrants of Persian choice. The insular societies are said by Herodotus to have submitted like those of the mainland. Certainly, the Chians and the Lesbians, who had mainland possessions, complied with the Persian summons; but about the rest one is less sure. In any case, no real Persian control can have been established; for a very few years later, Polycrates, unhampered by the lords of the mainland, was ruling not Samos only, but other Aegean isles.

As for the Dorian cities of the south, we hear only that Cnidus, after putting a bold face on the matter, repented and admitted Harpagus. The Carians of the interior had made little show, or reality, of resistance; the Caunians and the Lycians fought in vain. The Aeolic cities and the Ionian colonies of the north were subjugated, but whether bloodlessly or not we remain uninformed. They were placed under a satrap in Dascylium, even as their southern fellows had been placed under one in Sardes; and we may take it that, by 540 B.C., all Anatolia, Greek and native, obeyed the writ and paid the dues of Cyrus the Persian. Cf. vol. IV, pp. 7 *sqq.*

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CHAPTER XXII

THE GROWTH OF THE DORIAN STATES

THE Dorian Conquest ended the wasteful splendour of the Heroic Age, and began that Dark Age which came like a winter on the mainland of Greece. Dark and unproductive as winter, it was full of germination, and in due time there followed the spring and the summer, the Hellenic Renaissance and the Hellenic Prime. In Peloponnese, the winter belongs to Argos, the spring to Corinth, the summer to Sparta.

All these were cities of the Dorians, who had conquered for themselves the east and the south of Peloponnese. In the north-west corner, their fellow-conquerers, the Eleans, had acquired the Peneus valley and were slowly expanding to east and south. Between lay the pre-Dorians, still unconquered in Arcadia, Triphylia and Messenia. To the north, beyond the Arcadian mountains, the little towns of Achaea were scattered along the Corinthian Gulf. Chance had preserved for them this name of 'Achaeans,' which tradition gave to the pre-Dorians: judged by their dialect, they were a quasi-Dorian people akin to the Eleans and the nations across the Gulf (see above, vol. II, p. 535). A remote and backward people, their part in history (except for their share in the colonization of the west) is reserved for the third century B.C.

I. ARGOS IN THE DARK AGE

Argos was the Dorian substitute for Mycenae, as mistress of the Inachus valley and of an empire beyond. Her empire could not compare with Mycenae's for size or splendour. Though she was reputed the mother of cities as distant as the islands of Crete and Rhodes, in the long lull which followed the Conquest she kept little touch with these, and the 'Heritage of Temenus' (as her dominion was called, after the founder of her dynasty) covered only east Peloponnese and the adjacent islands (vol. II, p. 533 *sq.*). There is little doubt that Dorian Sparta is younger than Dorian Argos, and that the founders of Sparta came from Argolis, but these pioneers in Laconia seem never to have allowed any Argive suzerainty, and the Temenid dominion stopped at the mountain barrier, Parthenius-Parnon.

Some scholars[1] have claimed for Argos far more than this, and have not hesitated to speak of an Argive empire stretching to Crete and the Euxine, Epirus and Thrace. This theory is based partly on the geographical distribution of myths, an exceedingly insecure foundation, but also on the very wide horizon implied in certain Argive cults and especially the names of the Argive *phratries*. This empire has been credited partly to king Pheidon, the outstanding figure of early Argive history, and partly to the Dark Age before him. The masterful and picturesque personality of King Pheidon is like champagne to the unaccustomed head of the historian of the Greek twilight: a sober judgment will remember how much more it costs to construct empires out of flesh and blood, than on paper. To Pheidon we must come back in due course; meanwhile we may perhaps draw, from this alleged wide horizon of early Argos, conclusions more consonant with explicit Greek tradition, about a city who did not lack her *sacri vates*.

The conclusions cannot be secure, because the evidence is extremely casual: it is especially hard to *date* with any certainty such things as the growth of legends, the introduction of cults, the naming of *phratries*. However, the prominence of Argive heroes among the Argonauts, and the evident fact that Argos is the geographical centre from which the Twelve Labours of Heracles radiate, make it likely that Argos exercised an influence, fairly early, in the development of these legends. In these legends Heracles passes through Arcadia to Erymanthus and beyond, and the Argonauts penetrate the Euxine and the Adriatic; but that does not mean that the armies and viceroys of Argos followed. Trade may go ahead of the flag, and a poet's fancy assuredly may. And if Argos adopted cults and fancy-names for her *phratries* from beyond her political frontier, nothing is proved except that the Argive imagination was stirred by the opening up of new horizons. But since the Argive poets could win acceptance for the tales they told, Argos appears to have had a dominance in culture, as she had in religion, over the great cities around her. She never permanently lost this dominance.

Two of the great colonizing cities, Megara, who was opening the Euxine, and Corinth, who was opening the Adriatic and the West, lay immediately in the sphere of Argive culture. We have

[1] O. Gruppe (in *Griechische Mythologie*, see Index *s.v.* Pheidon, and more notably the Dutch director of the recent excavations at Argos, W. Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* xxxiii, 1909, pp. 189 *sqq.*; *N.Jahrb.* xxv, 1910, pp. 305 *sqq.*). Gruppe's method is well criticized by Bayet (*Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1920, pp. 68–77).

very early evidence for this. During the Dark Age, the alphabet spread over the Greek world, and just as the main currents of the Migrations are discernible in the distribution of dialects, so are those of the Dark Age in the distribution of the various forms of the alphabet. The Dark Age ends with the beginning of colonization, and by then the local alphabets are fixed, the colonies in each case use the alphabet of the mother-city. Most of the various Greek (and Italian) alphabets can be classed into two large groups, an Eastern group and a Western group (see below, vol. IV, ch. XIV). The cities of the Isthmus, Sicyon, Megara and Corinth, agree with Argos in using the Eastern alphabet: the rest of Peloponnese (including the cities of the Argolic Akte—Epidaurus, Troezen and Hermione) use the Western. Thus there was an early community of culture between Argos and the Isthmus, and probably a common horizon, which the sailors of Corinth and Megara widened, and the poets of Argos enriched. This division of labour was of course not absolute. Corinth had her poets, and Argos may have had her sailors: there is some evidence that Argos shared with Megara in the founding of Byzantium (p. 541), and a more doubtful tradition speaks of an early Argive king of Syracuse (Aristotle, frag. 585).

But by the middle of the eighth century, when this era of colonization began, the Heritage of Temenus was crumbling to pieces. Nature forbade the permanent union of this domain. Argos was separated from all her federate cities by the mountain ranges, which divide eastern Peloponnese into a number of plains, each turning its back upon the others. In her long struggle with Sparta, Argos was foredoomed to failure by the hardness of combining even her immediate neighbours effectively. The first half-century of colonization saw the disruption of her domain, and then arose King Pheidon. Under him, Argos makes her last serious bid for the control of Peloponnese.

II. ARCADIA

Arcadia is the mountainous centre of Peloponnese, which the Dorians and their fellow-invaders never conquered. Already in the *Catalogue of Ships* Homer calls Arcadia an inland country, her men know nothing of the sea. But before or during the Migrations, men of Arcadian speech reached Cyprus, and there are signs enough that Arcadia[1] once had a wider extension and

[1] *I.e.* the area of 'Arcadian'-speaking peoples, not necessarily called Arcadia or forming one political unit.

indeed a sea-coast. The Arcadians themselves laid claim to Pellene in the north and Triphylia in the west, and south-eastwards the Cynurians were a pre-Dorian people with namesakes in historical Arcadia. It is, however, in the south-west, where the invading streams from Elis and Argolis penetrated last of all, that Arcadia probably longest maintained her ancient extension: in Messenia, where the native dynasty in Stenyclarus (though the Heraclid legend rather clumsily sewed it on to Cresphontes, the brother of Temenus) is Arcadian in origin and named after the Arcadian hero Aepytus; and probably in Triphylia.

In this south-west of Peloponnese lay Nestor's kingdom of Pylos, the last stronghold (except Arcadia itself) of the pre-Dorian order. This coastal empire included probably a great mixture of population on an Arcadian substratum: for example the Minyans of Triphylia, whom a very artificial tale of Herodotus (iv, 145–149) makes quite recent immigrants, are far older and already known in Homer. Under the pressure of the oncoming invaders, the kingdom of Pylos totally disappears. Sparta took the greater portion and called it Messenia: her settlement of the Messenian Gulf with Perioecic towns has been already recorded (vol. II, p. 540), the conquest of Stenyclarus must be recorded shortly. Triphylia fell to Elis, we cannot say at what date: a conquest or reconquest took place in the lifetime of Herodotus. Elis and Sparta thus join hands at last, and Arcadia is completely surrounded.

The central mass of Arcadia, though never conquered, has its edges worried by the same two peoples. The Eleans, working up from the Peneus valley, conquer Acroreia (the Elean 'Highlands') and Lasion: finally they conclude a hundred years' treaty with Heraea[1], which is henceforward Arcadia's north-west frontier state. The south-east frontier state, which bears the brunt of the long struggle against Sparta, is Tegea. There are traditions of very early wars between Tegea and the Lacedaemonians in the reign of the Spartan king Charillus (*c.* 800 B.C.).

One would not expect the two states to come in contact until Sparta had penetrated some of the hilly country which lay between her and Tegea. Aegytis, a bare land around the upper waters of the Eurotas, lay on her natural line of expansion, and the Spartan

[1] *Inschriften von Olympia*, 9. This treaty, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the eastward expansion of Elis, has never been satisfactorily dated: it may belong to the sixth century B.C. The Eleans claimed to have completed these conquests not long after 776 B.C.: Coroebus, the winner in the First Olympiad, was buried on the frontier.

tradition ascribes its conquest, reasonably enough, to their king Charillus. After this, the Spartan territory almost marched with the Tegean, and the district of Sciritis which lay along their frontier very probably belonged to Tegea. So it is not impossible that Spartan and Tegean arms met in the reign of Charillus: the Tegean legend, which seems largely based on a light-hearted reminiscence of Herodotus[1], says with disaster to Sparta. Sciritis was probably not definitely acquired by Sparta until about 600 B.C., but early in the seventh century a Spartan army marches through Tegeatis—to meet annihilation at Argive hands. This battle, dated traditionally to 669 B.C., was at Hysiae, and the Spartan army could be coming from nowhere except Tegeatis. It is possible Tegea and Sparta were allied against Argos, as later Argos and Tegea against Sparta: a question of balance of power. The issue was finally fought out in the sixth century.

The stress of their position imposed upon these two frontier communities, Heraea and Tegea, an earlier maturity than we find in most of Arcadia. The earliest Arcadian coinage is the very fine silver money issued at Heraea between *c.* 550 and 500. Tegea had both a severer struggle and a more favourable position, and in the Spartan wars of the sixth century it is her lead which the rest of Arcadia follows. The great sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, which, as excavation shows, dates back into the Dark Age, was venerated in all Peloponnese.

There were at first kings in Arcadia. The best-attested of them ruled about the end of the seventh century, King Aristocrates of Orchomenus, who was allied by marriage with the tyrant of Epidaurus, and later with Periander himself. His grave was shown at Orchomenus: he is said to have come to a bad end after violating a priestess of Artemis, and there seem to have been no more kings in Arcadia after him[2]. Though he belonged to the age of the Tyrants, King Aristocrates is not one of them. Arcadia doubtless gave countenance to the rise of Tyranny in the Dorian states, but herself she had neither the racial nor the social cleavage necessary to provoke this violent remedy. The historian Theopompus has left us (from a much later date, it is true) a picture of

[1] The oracle, Pausan. III, 7, 3, is certainly taken from Herodotus' story of sixth century wars: the story also explains a Tegean cult and gratifies Tegean pride.

[2] Pausan. VIII, 5, 13, *aliter* Diog. Laert. I, 94. Aristocrates was required to do duty in the romances of Aristomenes and the Messenian Wars of Liberation. This led to his being split in two—in that same list of Arcadian kings which makes two men of Phigalus and Phialus. Pausan. VIII, 5.

the Arcadian yeomen at dinner with their labourers, all eating the same pork and drinking the same wine, a sharp contrast to the serf-owning nobility of the Dorian lands. And when Cyrene, about the middle of the sixth century, wished to make her monarchy constitutional, the Delphic oracle told her to ask for a lawgiver from the Mantineans, an Arcadian people. Demonax, whom the Mantineans sent, became famous for his moderation and fairness, but the kings of Cyrene soon found his settlement more liberal than they liked.

In later days, Mantinea and Tegea became rivals and their border feuds were chronic. But Mantinea's importance, built on the decay of Orchomenus, seems to date from the early fifth century: in the days of Demonax, she was as yet no rival to Tegea, and Delphi chose her rather for her political innocence. Nevertheless, through the jealousy or at least the independence of her small communities, Arcadia never took the position that the numbers and toughness of her men might have given her. In the Renaissance which succeeded the Dark Age in Greece, Arcadia and especially its north-west parts lay out of the main current of progress, and looked to the past. They were the oldest race in Greece, older than the moon, there was the first man born: but to the Aeolic poet Alcaeus they are a byword for primitive savagery.

Religion in north and west Arcadia was far more primitive than in the city states of Greece. Of the mountain sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, the religious centre of Arcadia, Plato tells a dark tale of were-wolves and human sacrifice; of their many beast-shaped deities perhaps the most notable is the Goat God Pan, who after the Persian Wars became famous throughout Greece. 'Pan, Ruler of Arcadia,' sings Pindar, 'Guardian of the holy shrines, Companion of the Great Mother, Darling of the Graces.' In the last phrase, we might suspect Pindar of giving a Hellenic brightness to the Arcadian Goat: but we should do wrong to conceive too darkly of this people. Like the Spartans, they rejoiced in music and dancing, and if they had no poets, they were early famous for their musical victories at Delphi. They had too the Greek delight in games, and were great boxers and wrestlers both at their local meetings and at Olympia.

There are of course no Arcadian colonies, but individual Arcadians early found their way abroad. The Iamids, an ancient family from Stymphalus, had connections with the west (Pindar calls one of them co-founder of Syracuse), and it is not uncommon to find men holding a double citizenship, of an Arcadian and a

western city. This favoured the growth of strange legends, and none stranger than that which ascribed to Arcadians the first founding of Rome.

III. THE END OF THE DARK AGE

After the violence of the Migrations, in the quiet generations which follow, a new civilization is born, and it comes to flower in the eighth century. In almost every valley of Greece, the hereditary nobles, grouped sometimes round a 'heroic' king, were gradually evolving the elements of the Greek city—the worship of common gods at visible altars, the acceptance of a common Law, administered at a fixed place, and, above all, the common facing of danger for the city's defence, in that new instrument of war, the Greek Hoplite Phalanx. It was by only a few that the gods could be served, the laws known, or the city defended: the members of this aristocracy, the *Aristoi*, were the indispensable leaders, *l'état c'était eux*. The rest of the people, the *Laos*, heard and obeyed; their masters ensured to them no little prosperity, and the people multiplied (see below, p. 699).

It was probably about the middle of the eighth century that the men of Chalcis and Eretria, 'the spear-famed lords of Euboea' (Archilochus, frag. 3), developed the tactics which for some centuries were to command the civilized world—the ranging of heavy-armed men in close order behind a wall of shields. And, about the same time, the growing populations of Greece were passing the point at which the land could comfortably support them. The need and the means matched, and the Greek expansion over the coasts of the Mediterranean began. The Euboeans led the way.

It was unmistakably the dawn. Not only was the western horizon receding, and hope and adventure stirring in men's minds, but a new intellectual and artistic life was coming from the east: it was the Greek Renaissance. There had doubtless been preparations for the dawn; adventurers—call them buccaneers or merchants—had been exploring the western seas[1], and the contact with Ionia can never have been quite utterly broken. By 700 B.C. free contact, from Asia Minor to Sicily, is established.

In these circumstances the cities round the Corinthian Isthmus which look both to the east and the west assume a new importance: it is probably now that the centre of gravity inside the Heritage

[1] Cf. the 'lacuna' in Sicilian coast sites, Orsi, *Bull. Paletn. Ital.* 1903, p. 141—abandoned because of buccaneers? *Id. N.S.A.* 1889, p. 35. See also below, p. 670.

of Temenus first shifts northwards, to Corinth instead of Argos. The aristocracy which ruled at Corinth, the Bacchiads, has won its way into the region of romance, and we have an abundant, if uncertain, tradition. The names of the early kings of Corinth, from Aletes the founder, have been preserved by the ancient chronographers to whom they gave a framework of chronology down to the First Olympiad. The names are of no value; but we need not doubt there were kings in Corinth as elsewhere, and that in the eighth century they gave way before the aristocracy. This aristocracy was composed of a number of families who all claimed descent from Bacchis, the fifth king; a singularly exclusive and inbred aristocracy, whose strict intermarriage within the clan was perhaps due to their dislike that an heiress's portion should pass outside.

Among the famous Bacchiads is Eumelus the poet. He is dated to the middle of the eighth century, and if this date is accepted his fragments are a remarkable indication of the influx of Ionian culture, not only because they follow the method and form of the Ionian Epic, but by the interest they show in the Milesian discovery of the Euxine[1]. He handled the myth of the Argonauts, and placed Medea's home in Phasis, the 'world's end' of the early sailors in that sea: he also mentions Sinope. These references confirm our traditions that the Milesians had already entered the Euxine and settled at Sinope in the first half of the eighth century, before the Cimmerians came; though after the passing of that scourge the work needed to be done again. More remarkable perhaps is the north-Euxine name Borysthenis, which Eumelus gives to one of his three Muses. A second Muse, from nearer home, is Achelois, which shows Corinth already conscious of the western mouth of her Gulf: and we see also signs of the rising fame of Delphi.

Slightly later are the two great Bacchiad colonizers, Archias the founder of Syracuse, and Chersicrates the founder of Dorian Corcyra. 734 B.C. is the date ascribed to the foundation of Syracuse, and Corcyra also (see pp. 651, 672)—Archias and Chersicrates are said to have set sail together. The exact synchronism may be questioned, but the dates are certainly right within a few years. Plutarch in his *Tales of Love* tells us how

[1] The traditional date is quite consistent with the tradition of the pre-Cimmerian colonization of the Black Sea; it also coincides with the great days of the Bacchiads; and his 'Processional Song' for the Messenians (the two beautiful lines which survive give us little idea of this poem) cannot well be later than King Theopompus' conquest of Messenia.

Archias and his companions tore to pieces the youthful Actaeon, and in consequence fled the country and went to Syracuse: elsewhere, the tale is more suitably located on Mount Cithaeron, with mad dogs in place of the drunken Bacchiads. The efficient cause of the founding of Syracuse was the desire for more land: the leading colonists were *Gamoroi*, landowners: one light-hearted emigrant, named in Archilochus (frag. 145 B), gambled his estate away on the voyage, before they reached their new home. Corcyra was to provide, besides more land for the landless, a port of call on the voyage west. The undutiful colony did not always fulfil this programme.

At Corcyra Corinth found the Eretrians in possession: and we must wonder what were the relations between Corinth and her Euboean forerunners in the west. Towards the end of the century, Chalcis and Eretria, who shared the colonization of Cumae, *c.* 750 B.C., are at grips in their secular struggle for the Lelantine Plain (see however p. 622). We have good evidence that many Greek cities took sides in this feud, that among others Samos gave help to Chalcis, and that about 704 B.C. the Corinthians lent to the Samians their shipbuilder Ameinocles, to construct for them warships of the most modern type: it is a fair inference that Corinth's interest is for the moment with Chalcis and against Eretria. But by now both Eretria and Chalcis have done with western ambitions, and this grouping cannot safely be maintained for the generations before, when Euboeans and Corinthians were emulously discovering the New World. Whether this emulation was bitter at first or not, it was soon clear that a splendid prize was at stake. Corinth was far the better base for western voyages, and she gradually displaced her rivals, supplanting both Eretrians in Corcyra and Chalcidians in Aetolian Chalcis.

The skill and knowledge with which Corinth chose the sites of her early colonies is evident in the later greatness of both Corcyra and Syracuse. These two foundations, and Ameinocles' advance in naval construction, are the really momentous achievements of the Bacchiad régime in Corinth.

Megara, who shared the Isthmus with Corinth, never came near attaining either power or fame like those of her southern neighbour. It is said that the Bacchiads of Corinth annexed her land, and imposed on her people burdens analogous to those laid by Sparta on the Messenians[1]. Her brief prime begins after

[1] Viz. compulsory mourning (Schol. *ad* Pind. *Nem.* VII, 155). These 'Megarian Tears' were perhaps shed—if shed at all—for Bacchiad *kings*

750 B.C. and ends before 600. Some time in the eighth century she asserted herself against Corinthian encroachment, and the hero of these Wars of Liberation was Orrippus, the Olympian victor of 720 B.C. His victories in battle, which are presumably later than his victory at Olympia, rectified the frontier and assured for Megara about a century of prosperity. But even before Orrippus, Megara had not been wholly crushed by Corinth. About 730 she just finds room, between Chalcis and Corinth, for one Sicilian colony, called after herself Megara Hyblaea, which in turn founds a hundred years later a daughter city, Selinus: this is the sum of her westward expansion. A richer, or less crowded, field awaited her in the north-east, where, after the Cimmerians had vanished, she shared with Miletus the re-opening of the Euxine. Megara's great activity in this region is confined to one generation in the early seventh century, beginning with the founding of Chalcedon, *c.* 680, and ending with Byzantium, *c.* 660 (see pp. 658 *sqq.*)[1]. It is approximately the generation of King Pheidon: how the blossoming of Megara suited with his general foreign policy, we shall see later.

Westward of Corinth, and in a far more fertile plain, lay Sicyon, also a Dorian city, and once part of the Heritage of Temenus. Perhaps because her own land sufficed for her citizens, we hear of no Sicyonian colonies. The beautiful and delicate ware, called the 'Proto-Corinthian' pottery, seems to have been made, largely if not exclusively, at Sicyon. It is the first of the mainland potteries to escape from the rigidity of Geometric Art: in delicacy of observation, and in simplicity, it is perhaps more pleasing than the more strongly orientalized wares which followed it. About 730 B.C. it begins to dominate the western market.

Westward of Sicyon again, and as far as the borders of Elis, stretched the long line of little Achaean cities, who occupied most of the south shore of the Corinthian Gulf. In the late eighth century, Achaea shared with her neighbours across the Gulf, Crisa and Locris, the colonization of south Italy. Their colonies were called 'Great Hellas,' and the two Achaean foundations of Croton and Sybaris were perhaps the most prosperous, and their sites the most skilfully chosen, of all. Like Corinth at Corcyra (and possibly the Megarians in Cephallenia), the Achaeans made for themselves an advanced base at Zacynthus.

only: the tradition is very poor, cf. Zenob. 5, 8; Diogenian. 6, 34; Hesych. and Suid. *s.v.* Μεγαρέων δάκρυα.

[1] The exact dates, and also the interval, are variously given, see Merle, *Byzantion und Kalchedon*, pp. 5 *sqq.*

There were two famous cities in south Italy which were not founded from the Gulf of Corinth, namely Rhegium (p. 679) and Tarentum (Taras, see pp. 674 *sqq.*). The founding of both was described by the fifth century Syracusan historian, Antiochus, and in both cases connected with the Spartan War of Conquest in Messenia[1]. Rhegium is connected with the beginning of the war. The Chalcidians on their way to Rhegium (*c.* 730 B.C.) took with them certain Messenians, who had been disgraced by their countrymen, their offence being that, when sacrilege had been committed at a festival of Artemis just across the Spartan frontier, they were in favour of giving satisfaction: the temper of the Messenians in general was for defying Sparta, and the War of Conquest was the consequence. The disgraced minority found safety and honour at Rhegium; *sic hos servavit Apollo*. Tarentum is connected with the close of the war. It was founded (*c.* 705) by the young Spartans who had been born and had grown up during the war. All true Spartans, it was said, had been away in Messenia all those twenty years, and any children born meanwhile were base-born, and should never be citizens. The young men, called Partheniae or 'Bastards', attempted revolution, and failing, were sent away to Tarentum.

These two tales—whose details are unimportant enough—date the conquest of Messenia to the latter part of the eighth century, and make it exactly contemporary with the colonizing of the west. The list of Olympic victors (see p. 762 *sq.*) confirms this date. Down to 736 B.C. the victors are from west Peloponnese in general, and chiefly from Messenia: after that date no Messenian victor occurs at all, and in 716 is the first of many Spartan victors.

The Spartan poet Tyrtaeus, writing some two generations later, has left us the only good account of this war. The conqueror of Messenia was King Theopompus[2], it was a tough fight and lasted for twenty years, the centre of resistance was Mount

[1] The story of the Messenians who went to Rhegium, though sandwiched by Strabo between two named citations from Antiochus, is not expressly cited as from him, and not given in Müller's *F.H.G.* But the tale is told in full by Aristotle (frag. 611, § 55), and implied in Thucydides (VI, 4, 6, cf. 79, 2): it is obviously pre-Leuctra, and, it can hardly be doubted, as old as Antiochus.

[2] This clinches the date, in view of the pedigree in Herodotus VIII, 131, 2. Theopompus is eight generations before Leotychidas, who fights at Mycale, 479 B.C. Thirty years to each generation (see Solon, frag. 27 B, for the normal age of marriage, and consequent length of generation) take us back to 720 B.C.

Ithome. The Messenian Gulf was already planted with the cities of the Spartan *Perioikoi* (see above, vol. II, p. 540), and Theopompus now turns to conquer the rich inland plain of Stenyclarus, of which Mount Ithome is the key. Tyrtaeus does not disguise the motive, it was the acres of arable, orchard and vineyard, that Sparta desired: the Messenians fought desperately, for defeat meant slavery indeed. This too Tyrtaeus has described, saying how the Messenian landowners became 'like asses bent beneath great burdens,' paying to their masters one-half of the whole produce of the land, and suffering indignities besides. Thus did Messenia become a Dorian land.

The conquest of Messenia is not only contemporary with the colonization of the west, it is the Spartan counterpart of that movement. It solved the problem of growing population and land-hunger, and just as the Syracusan Gamoroi made serfs of the inhabitants of the land, so Sparta did in Messenia. But Sparta was the only Greek state who thus conquered and permanently enslaved another Greek state next door to her: the effect on Sparta was profound. Like most Dorian states, she had her serfs already, the famous Helots; but their number is now more than doubled (Thuc. I, 101, 2) and henceforward every Spartan citizen is a large landowner and large serfowner. Further, in the rest of Greece, the overseas colonization had a certain psychological effect on the mother-cities. The opening of the horizon bred a taste for adventure, and a readiness to accept new values: more tangibly, it suggested the possibilities of overseas commerce, and prepared the way for the introduction of coinage, and that substitution of Trade for Land as the main basis of wealth which followed in the seventh century. The conservative spirit was dying, a liberal spirit was being born.

By all this Sparta is completely untouched. Here the old conservative, aristocratic, land-owning régime is strengthened, precisely at the moment when, in the rest of Greece, it is beginning to break up.

Perhaps the most palpable evidence of this dawn of the Greek Renaissance is to be found in the pottery. From about 1000 B.C., while Greece lay fallow after the tremendous disturbances of the Heroic Age and the Migrations, the Geometric style, in its numberless local varieties, dominated the mainland. By 700 B.C. it has almost completely disappeared. In the second half of the eighth century, the so-called Proto-Corinthian or Sicyonian ware appears in the earliest cemeteries of the western colonies; from

about 700 the Corinthian begins to flood the market. In the new styles the Oriental influence is growing. Out of the East the facile and observant naturalism of Mediterranean art is flowing back upon those abstract and ideal forms in which the northern invaders had found expression: Hellenic art was born of this union.

There is another, perhaps even more significant, difference. The geometric styles were local, different in almost every valley of Greece: the new styles cover the fast expanding civilized world. In the Dark Age men stayed at home; with the dawn of the Renaissance men and things began to travel, from Ionia, past Peloponnese, into the west.

IV. KING PHEIDON[1]

It was not possible that Argos should see without concern the growing strength and ambition of Corinth and Sparta. Argos had not resigned her prescriptive right to rule the Dorians; she had a great tradition, brave soldiers and in due course a ruler of the force and intelligence to assert her claims—namely King Pheidon. He was hereditary king of Argos, for Argos, like Sparta, had retained the legitimate monarchy: and to the strength which at that time a single capable ruler could secure for a city, some of his astonishing successes are doubtless due. At the time of his accession we are told that the Heritage of Temenus had fallen to pieces, the Dorian cities of eastern Peloponnese no longer allowed the suzerainty of Argos. In the south, Sparta, independent from the first, had grown to be aggressive—had conquered the long strip, once Argive, running down to Cythera, and had invaded the very plain of Argos. But the kings before him had not been altogether idle. Three or four generations back, the Spartan Nicander, father of Theopompus, is said to have invited the city of Asine, south-east of Argos, to join in an attack on her mistress. When the Spartans had gone home, the Argives captured and destroyed the offending city: and at some date unknown (the reign of Damocratidas, Pausan. IV, 35, 2), the same fate for the same offence befell the neighbouring city of Nauplia. Argos was beginning to be mistress in her own house. It was thus a struggling and straitened Argos to whose throne Pheidon came. We cannot trace the stages by which, in the words of Ephorus, 'he re-assembled the Heritage of Temenus,' and made Argos the first power in Peloponnese. But by gathering the notices of victories

[1] See the chronological note, p. 761 *sq.*

and other achievements ascribed to him, or to Argos during these years, we can gauge the man's activities. It is probably in this reign that the Argive soldiers win their great name: an oracle, which should be referred to the seventh century, speaks of 'the linen-corsleted Argives, the goads of war' as the finest soldiers in the world—finer than the soldiers of Chalcis.

The most dangerous rivals of Argos were Sparta, Athens and Corinth. To the two first the resurgent Argives gave such severe blows as kept them for a few generations out of the rank of first-class powers. The Spartans, intent on securing their hold on the Plain of Thyrea, were caught in the Pass between this and the Plain of Tegea, in the mountain valley of Hysiae, and were thoroughly defeated. For the time, Spartan ambition seemed checked. She relapses into that period of peace and good living whose enchanting picture we have in the lyrical fragments of Alcman, and the oracle which celebrates the Argive warriors, gives equal praise to the ladies of Sparta. Some years later she is wakened from this rich and pleasant life, by the revolt of those serfs whose land and whose labour provided the material for all the gaiety and song: and then the Spartan lords kept the tradition of all the world's great aristocracies:

Una est nobilitas argumentumque coloris
Ingenui, timidas non habuisse manus.

With Athens Argos collided because of Aegina. The 'beginning of enmity' between Athens and Aegina, which Herodotus loosely places in the far past, can be fixed by several considerations to the early seventh century[1]. In revolt from Epidaurus, and threatened with an invasion from Athens, the Aeginetans appealed to Argos: the Argives responded, and together they practically annihilated the Athenian invaders. The victory gave Argos control of both Epidaurus and Aegina, and was an important stage in Pheidon's regathering of his heritage. It broke such sea-power as Athens then had. Most important of all, it turned Pheidon's eyes to the sea: to the wealth of commerce, and the silver mines of the Aegean. It was in Aegina that Pheidon established his mint.

Corinth received no such smashing blow as Athens and Sparta had. It is indeed likely that Corinth, where Pheidon is alleged to have met his death—the city with whom the immediate future lay—foiled at last the Argive's brilliant reaction. There is no lack

[1] Ure, *Origin of Tyranny*, App. B, C, D. But some scholars regard the whole story (or part of it) as an aetiological myth.

of stories of Pheidon's interferences at Corinth, but their dates are confused past remedy, and there seems to be no hope of winnowing out what may be true in them. But—as he had played Aegina against Epidaurus—we can probably see him playing Megara against Corinth. From the founding of Chalcedon (*c.* 680), to that of Byzantium (*c.* 660), Megara has a period of expansion in which she does not (as in Sicily) take the leavings of greater cities, but occupies the very finest sites of all. This colonization of the north-east is later by about two generations than that of the west, and of a different kind. The western colonists had sought land, but found besides, in sea-borne commerce with the world outside Greece, a new source of wealth. The colonists of the Euxine sought commerce first, fleeces and grain and much else; it is as points on a trade-route—the gates of the north-east—that Chalcedon and Byzantium have so magnificent a position. The hand of Pheidon, raising up Megara to overshadow Corinth, is to be guessed in this brief activity; and in fact, in the founding of Byzantium at least we have good evidence of Argive co-operation[1].

The oracle already quoted as praising Spartan ladies and Argive warriors goes on to say 'But you, men of Megara[2], are neither third nor fourth, nor twelfth, nor in count or number at all.' The taunt has point, if men thought that Megara's transient greatness was not her own, but the work of the linen-corsleted Argives. Towards the close of the century, Megara built a Treasury at Olympia: Pausanias saw there an inscription which said it was built with spoils taken from the Corinthians; and he adds that the Argives had helped Megara in this battle, and that it took place some years before the Treasury was built[3].

The Megarian men of straw contract their ambitions when Pheidon falls. Byzantium was, for some generations, the last Megarian colony, and Miletus occupied the Euxine coasts without competition. But Megara did not resign her interests in that region. She long continued to divide with Miletus the woollen trade of the Greek world; towards the end of the century, she disputed with Samos the right to colonize the northern Propontis; and in the sixth century, the days of her decline, she starts colonizing once more. Heraclea Pontica, on the south coast of the

[1] See Merle, *Byzantion und Kalchedon*, p. 7.

[2] Some versions Aegium; there is no certainty which stood in the original.

[3] Pausan. VI, 19, 14, ἔτεσιν MSS.; Clavier suggests ἔτεσι ν', which, if the Treasury dates from Theagenes, takes us exactly back to Pheidon. But Pausanias is not to be emended into exact history.

Euxine, and mother of cities on the north and west coasts, was founded *c.* 560 B.C. (p. 659 *sq.*).

For Pheidon, then, the function of Megara was to check, by a balance of power, the dangerous growth of Corinth, who, by whatever means, must be kept weak and loyal. He was kicking against the pricks, for the destiny of Corinth was greater than he could control.

In both Aegina and Megara, Pheidon came in contact with Aegean commerce and the cities of Asia Minor. In Asia Minor the dynasty of the Mermnad kings of Lydia was arising, and it was probably the first of these, his contemporary Gyges (*c.* 685–650), who introduced to the Greeks the use of coin (see vol. IV, p. 126). Pheidon introduced this into his own dominions, and, establishing his mint at Aegina, issued coins on that Aeginetan standard which appears to be his creation. How momentous was the invention of coinage for Greek economic and social life will become clear later (p. 549). It changed the nature of wealth, which, more clearly separable now from divine right, was to be as powerful as ever. More than any one thing, coinage destroyed the old aristocracies. The brilliant Argive, attempting to leash these new forces to the service of the old hereditary order, failed. The Spartans were less opportunist; secure in their immense landed wealth, they kept themselves untouched by commerce, and denied the new coinage any entrance to their state.

At the zenith of his power, when Argos must have been the most powerful city in Greece, Pheidon went to Olympia. 'The most unrighteous of all Greeks,' says Herodotus, 'he usurped by force from Elis the presidency of the Festival.' The rancour of the Eleans has done Pheidon's name some little harm; but their festival probably owed to him much of its splendour. It had already grown out of its early simplicity; and, besides the original footrace, there was boxing and wrestling and the Pentathlum, and a chariot race. Here, then, in the far corner of Peloponnese, Pheidon displayed his power. In Argolis itself, the temple of Hera, which lay between Mycenae and Tiryns, appears to date from his reign and to have preserved the tradition of his deeds. Here he dedicated some bundles of iron spits, when he replaced this rude currency by his minted silver; and one of these bundles is now in the Museum at Athens.

Of Pheidon's end we know nothing. His son, Lacedes, was known as a weak creature, and it is plain that with Pheidon's death the splendour of Argos decays. There follow immediately

the great Tyrants of the Isthmian cities, and the Heritage of Temenus is once more, and for ever, torn to pieces. Aristotle says Pheidon began as a hereditary king and ended as one of the Tyrants[1]. This is a difficult saying: he indeed tried to secure in advance for Argos and the old order the greatness which belonged to the Tyrants; but every man in Peloponnese must have known that Pheidon the Temenid stood for the claim of the Dorian rulers to control the future as they had controlled the past. On his death the Tyrants rose up to resist that claim.

V. ELIS AND OLYMPIA

The Eleans, invaders from Aetolia, first took possession of the great plain west of Mount Erymanthus, around the lower waters of the Peneus, perhaps the finest plain in Greece south of Thessaly. In this plain, called subsequently Hollow Elis, they made their homes, and it became their patrimony; and when later they expanded by further conquest, Hollow Elis remained the nucleus of the land and the seat of the ruling race. Many centuries later Polybius gives us a picture of this green and pleasant land, full of villages and country shrines, from which the new city of Elis, founded after the Persian War, could not tempt away the old Elean families. Many Eleans were exceedingly wealthy, the inherited riches of such a man as Xenias in 400 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell*, III, 2, 27) reminds us of the great nobles of Thessaly and Etruria. Elis may indeed in many ways be compared with these spectators of the Greek civilization. It is true of Elis, what Pindar said of Thessaly, that Fortune gave her no small portion of the delights of Hellas, and we might add that, like these remote and wealthy peoples, she enjoyed these delights rather than created them, were it not for the one thing which made Elis unique among the states of Greece: the sanctuary of Olympia.

It was natural that so large a unit as these Eleans should extend their power beyond their own borders. They expanded eastwards into Arcadia, and southwards into the Alpheus valley (where lay Olympia), and farther south still, into Triphylia. These lands formed a *Perioikis*, a fringe of subject peoples, and their acquisition continued down into the fifth century: with them, Elis formed in the Peloponnesian League far the largest single state outside Laconia. But of these wars of expansion, until the fifth century, we have no real knowledge: they are enveloped in that general obscurity which conceals the whole early history of Elis. We

[1] In Herodotus VI, 127, 3, τύραννος has no technical sense.

know nothing of how the fusion of races took place in the Peneus valley: of the two traditions, one, that the invaders expelled the former owners, the other, that invaders and invaded claimed kinship and settled down together, neither has any claim on our belief, but both show that the fusion was complete. We hear nothing of any serfdom, nor of any early constitutional struggles: we do not know if there was ever a tyranny in Elis. Of law-giving, probably early in the sixth century, we have some traces; a famous inscription from Olympia puts certain restrictions on the family vendetta[1], and Aristotle reports a law ascribed to Oxylus, which forbade the mortgaging of land for debt. So in Elis as elsewhere the oppressed demanded and obtained protection in law, but we hear nothing of how this came about. It seems likely the Eleans were not a keenly political people, and most of them were content to enjoy the fatness of their land in peace. Aristotle says that a Council of ninety members, holding office for life, succeeded in getting all political power into their hands, and formed what he calls an oligarchy inside an oligarchy. He is describing the situation which preceded the democracy (*c.* 470 B.C.): we cannot apply his description to any period earlier than the sixth century.

In the ancient writers (unhappily none is earlier than the fourth century B.C., and most of them are of the Roman period) the whole early history of Elis is made up of the struggles of Elis and Pisa for the sanctuary of Olympia and the presidency of the Games which were held at that sanctuary. The narratives quite shamelessly contradict each other, and an almost infinite variety of interpretations has been put on them by modern scholars.

The word 'Pisa' appears to denote the holy site of Olympia and its immediate surroundings. Pindar gives the name *Pisatans* to the mythical King Oenomaus and his daughter Hippodameia: but he never mentions any modern Pisatans, he speaks of Pisa as the Eleans' own land[2], and he nowhere betrays the least consciousness that Pisa and Elis were ancient rivals and enemies. In 399 B.C. the Spartans desired to humiliate Elis: and Xenophon says they were aware of the existence of an older claim than hers to the Sanctuary, but forbore to recognize it, since the claimants were country folk and not equal to the duties of the festival. In 365 B.C. the Arcadians captured Olympia and, needing someone

[1] *Inschr. v. Olymp.* 2. See Glotz, *La Solidarité de la Famille*, etc., pp. 248 *sqq.*

[2] *Isthm.* II, 27, where he is speaking of his own day: in *Olymp.* IX, 7, of the days of Pelops.

with an ancient claim to conduct the Games, created an independent state of Pisatis. We now hear for the first time by name of the post-mythical Pisatans, in Xenophon's narrative of the events and in a contemporary inscription at Olympia.

The stories of a Pisatan interlude in the presidency, subsequent to the first Olympiad, first appear unmistakably in writers such as Strabo, Pausanias, and Eusebius, who have the labours of the scholars of Alexandria behind them. The stories do not tally. Strabo gives the simplest version: after the 26th Olympiad (676–673) the Pisatans regained their independence from Elis, and presided until 'some time later.' Eusebius is more precise: the Pisatans first preside at the 28th Olympiad (668) because the Eleans are detained elsewhere, then, at the 30th (660) they revolt from Elis and preside continuously for twenty-two celebrations, *i.e.* till 576, the 51st Olympiad. The divergence here is perhaps not grave, but Pausanias' account, taken apparently from the Elean records, is harder to reconcile. He admits no continuous Pisatan presidency, but says that the presidency was twice violently usurped, at the 28th Olympiad (see p. 761) by Pheidon of Argos in conjunction with the Pisatans, and at the 34th by the Pisatan tyrant Pantaleon. These two festivals, and the similar case in 364, were no true Olympiads, and were called the three 'Anolympiads.'

It has been urged that the three accounts, however widely they disagree, all suggest the existence of a Pisatan interlude, which began about the 28th Olympiad (668 B.C.), possibly under Pheidon's auspices, and ended about the 50th (580). Signs of this may be found even in Pausanias' narrative: he mentions a Pisatan dynasty at this time (Pantaleon in 664, Damophon in 588, and after him his brother Pyrrhus), whose existence seems to imply the separation of Olympia from Elis: under the last, Pisa is destroyed by the Eleans: and in 580 the Eleans re-organize the festival, appointing two stewards instead of one.

It is one theme, with free variations. There were changes in the management of the Games, and the tradition has been embroidered in different interests. The last important change may be reasonably fixed to the 50th Olympiad, or thereabouts. The appointment of the second steward, which Pausanias ascribes to that date, has already the respectable authority of Aristotle: the earliest foundations of the Council House at Olympia are also dated to about this time: the traces of Elean law-giving, probably early sixth century, have been already noted. All this suggests a constitutional change, and may well be connected with the fall of the dynasty of Pantaleon. What was this dynasty?

It fell about 580 B.C., and began, probably, about 670 or 660. It saw a period of great brilliance at Olympia. The festival was becoming more and more Panhellenic: the sanctuary was receiving the rich offerings of the tyrants Myron of Sicyon and the Cypselids of Corinth. It was during this period that distant cities began to make a home for themselves at the holy site by the erection of 'treasuries.' Megara, probably in the person of her tyrant Theagenes, built one of these, also Gela and Metapontum, representing those western cities whose devotion was to make Olympia one of the chief centres of the Greek world. Most important of all was the great temple of Hera, erected in the latter half of the seventh century[1], which even after the building of Zeus' temple in the fifth century remained the second glory of Olympia. Thus the rule of Pantaleon and his sons at Olympia coincides almost precisely with the rule of the Cypselids in Corinth; it had the munificent support of these Cypselids, and is stamped with the same external brilliance. Here then, it seems, we have another of those tyrannies which clustered round the great Corinthians. A tyranny implies a city, and their city clearly lay close to Olympia and the River Alpheus. They were called Pisatans, but it is extremely doubtful if there was ever a city called Pisa[2]: there are, however, two cities which, so it seems, gave trouble to the Eleans at this time, and were involved in the fall of Pantaleon's house—Dyspontium and Scillus. Dyspontium was destroyed, and her people fled north to Apollonia and Epidamnus: Scillus, nearest to Olympia of all, was reduced, and an inscription preserved at Olympia defines her new status. We may compare how Argos gradually reduced the towns which lay around the Argive Heraeum.

Thus the house of Pantaleon championed the town civilizations of the Alpheus valley against the landowners of the Peneus valley, the older population against the later invaders. The sanctuary of Olympia is not indeed older than the Migrations, yet there is good reason for thinking it was a sanctuary before the Eleans penetrated south from Hollow Elis. At Pisa two athletic festivals were held: the Olympia, in honour of Zeus Olympios, for men; and the Heraea, for girls. The length of the stadium

[1] Furtwaengler, *Bay. S. B.*, 1906, pp. 467 *sqq.*; Wolters, *Berliner Philolog. Woch.* 1920, pp. 334–6.

[2] See Strabo's comment on Stesichorus frag. 90. Herodotus II, 7, and Pindar, *Olympians passim*, narrowly locate Pisa by the actual altar of Zeus in the Altis, and excavation reveals no trace of a city there. *I.v.O.* 11 implies that Pisa is a district.

differed for the two festivals, and the girls' stadium was equal to one side of the sacred enclosure, the *Altis*. The men's stadium was longer by one-fifth, and this lengthened stadium encroached on the precinct of Demeter Chamyna, whose priestess (in consequence of this encroachment) had the privilege of being a spectator at the Olympia, when all other women were excluded. The clear inference that the masculine element, from Zeus downwards, was a later intruder on the girls' festival of Hera, is confirmed in many ways, and we may perhaps regard the Olympia as belonging to the Elean conquerors, and the Heraea as older than their conquest of this valley.

So we may disengage the following outlines of the history of Olympia. Soon after the Migrations, the people of the Alpheus valley made a sanctuary there to Hera. In 776 B.C., the Eleans from the Peneus valley established the worship of Zeus, and the Olympian Games. About 660, Pantaleon used the confusion caused by Pheidon's visit to make the Alpheus valley the political centre: about 580, the Eleans of the Peneus valley reassert their supremacy.—The story was often retold in the light of later political theories, and the two valleys, under the names Elis and Pisa, appear as two nations struggling for the sanctuary. We should be cautious of this reconstruction, which seems unknown to Herodotus and Pindar. Herodotus indeed places in the period of Pantaleon's dynasty an Elean embassy to Egypt, in which the envoys boast of the admirable fairness of the Elean presidents. This evidence should not be pressed too far: yet it suggests that the changes of management were not the result of a struggle between two states; rather within the one state of Elis, comprising both valleys, power shifted as elsewhere from aristocrats to tyrants, and then to oligarchs, and last to democrats.

The Eleans came south from Hollow Elis into the Alpheus valley and for their own good reasons founded the four-yearly festival of Zeus in 776 B.C., and gave scope to one of the most natural delights of man. It was at first a small local festival, but its fame grew steadily: after fifty years it drew competitors from all Peloponnese, after a hundred years, from all Greece. A list of the victors in the *Stadium* or foot-race was kept: it was edited in the fifth century B.C. by the Elean scholar Hippias, and has been preserved for us by Africanus. (See below, chronological note, p. 762.) This is most fortunate, for it is of far more interest who won the race than who presided. As the festival grew more popular, the programme was enlarged from the simple foot-race which was at first the only event, and included wrestling and

boxing, chariot races and horse races, and boys' events. The games grew at last so important that a Hellenic truce was arranged during the celebration. It is not easy to fix the date for this: Aristotle saw an engraved disc at Olympia, which he believed to be archaic, stating that the sacred truce was guaranteed by Iphitus and Lycurgus. If this inscription was a genuine contemporary document, it is hardly likely that the truce was consecrated before 700 B.C., and indeed before that date the Games were hardly of sufficient importance to require it. It is most improbable that 'Lycurgus' has anything to do with any Spartan: both names, Iphitus and Lycurgus, are heroic names which occur in Homer, and Lycurgus as a hero is not confined to Sparta. But the idea caught the fancy of ancient scholars, and Ephorus gives us the fantastic story of how the whole of Elis was made by Sparta into a Holy Land without war for ever. The whole of Elean history contradicts this improbable fiction.

It is quite uncertain when Elis entered the Spartan alliance. Later writers say a good deal of the part Elis and Pisa played in the Messenian Wars, and how Sparta helped the Eleans against Pheidon of Argos and later against the Pisatan kings; but some of these stories are clearly untrue, and they are all artificially constructed. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the seventh century the Spartans are very remarkably prominent among the Olympic victors: the first victor in a new event is frequently a Spartan, which suggests that their advice had weight in the arrangement of the programme. It is likely then that Elis was the first of Sparta's allies. They both had in Arcadia an alien hinterland, and the pre-Dorians of south-west Peloponnese, Triphylians and Messenians, were their common prey. An early alliance explains how Elis was able to enter the Peloponnesian League with so large and compact a territory, an anomaly which Sparta only righted at the end of the fifth century. We may guess (it is only a guess) that Sparta helped Elis to overthrow her tyrants, *c.* 580 B.C. (see p. 547), and the alliance was then concluded.

VI. THE TYRANTS[1]

Soon after 660 B.C. the great Tyrant dynasties were established in Corinth and Sicyon. The Tyrants were the most powerful men in Greece of their day, and their courts were centres of a brilliant culture. Their reigns are cardinal in the development of Greece,

[1] See the chronological note, p. 764.

leading up to the emergence of the *Demos*, and forming an interregnum between the mediaeval aristocracies and the classical democracies and oligarchies.

Tyrannos is probably a Lydian word; and Gyges was the great Tyrannos, the pattern of the Greek Tyrants. From Gyges, the name passed to the new-made princes of Ionia, such as Melas of Ephesus, his son-in-law, and later the great Thrasybulus of Miletus (p. 517). Thence it spread to the cities of the Isthmus, and thence again to the west. The movement was a product of unrest: these cities which lay along the great trade-route from Asia to Italy were the most affected by the ferment of new hopes and new values, with which the lifting of the horizons filled men's minds. In Corinth and the neighbouring cities, the mass of the people which, in fact or in feeling, was largely pre-Dorian, wondered if life did not hold something better than generations of submission to the Dorian nobles. For generations past these lords had been indispensable, none but they knew the Laws or could approach the gods, not many beside them could even fight. The doubts, whether this must be so for ever, found encouragement in certain of the non-Dorians among the wealthy, who, in most of these cities, were grouped apart from the Dorians, in a fourth tribe of their own.

From among these leaders rose the Tyrants. Their title, Tyrannos, was new and foreign. It certainly conveyed no sort of stigma, it is given to the gods (Zeus Tyrannos, like Iuppiter Maximus), and in the Ionic of Herodotus[1] it seems to be an exact synonym of *Basileus*. But the word *Basileus* gathered its connotations of awe during the Heroic Age. *Tyrannos* acquired its colour during the Greek Renaissance, a critical irreverent generation. The Tyrant rested on the will of the immature Demos, not on Established Law. His power derived from circumstance, not from Zeus. When circumstance, or the will, changed, his commission was ended, and he never had the bedrock of a loyal nobility, nor the social and religious sanction which that can give. (See also, vol. II, p. 641 *sq.*)

The founder of Tyranny at Sicyon was Orthagoras. Tradition calls him son of a cook, or butcher; his family belonged to the non-Dorian tribe. A table of his house is appended to this chapter (p. 570). For the dates, Myron I, who was the second tyrant,

[1] And in the Ionicized speech of Attic Tragedy, *e.g.* Aesch. *Choeph.* 479, Soph. *Ajax* 749; though the tragedians often allow themselves a *double entendre* with the old Ionic and new Attic meanings, *e.g.* Aesch. *Prom.* 762. Cf. Eur. *Supp.* 429 *sqq.*—glibly topical.

won a chariot race at Olympia in 648 B.C. The dynasty lasted about a hundred years: it ended therefore before 548, possibly in 556 (see p. 568), and thus began about 656.

The great days of Sicyon came with the reign of Cleisthenes, between 600 and 560 B.C. The earlier tyrants, it is probable, did not attain his power and magnificence. Myron I, indeed, besides his victory at Olympia, dedicated there a large bronze *thalamos*, or 'chamber' (perhaps a model of some building), of nearly twenty tons weight: the bronze was said to be from Tartessus. So Myron perhaps knew the western markets, and he had bronze-workers who were forerunners of the great Sicyonian artists. But Sicyon has not yet much weight among her neighbours. We hear that Orthagoras waged a defensive war against Pellene, on the west; and at Phlius in the south, when a certain Hippasus attempted to bring the city into line with Sicyon by raising the non-Dorian element, he found the Dorian (that is, the Argive) influence still too strong, and had to take refuge abroad[1]. To the east, lay Corinth.

The Tyranny in Corinth begins about the same time as in Sicyon, and is another and more serious symptom of the crumbling of Argive power. We can recover the dates commonly accepted in antiquity: Cypselus became tyrant *c.* 655, his son Periander succeeded him *c.* 625, the tyranny lasted just over seventy years. On his mother's side, Cypselus belonged to the Dorian aristocracy, but his father was a non-Dorian, and the hostility which Cypselus displayed towards the Dorian nobles was most likely inherited. An attempt (too much depending on indifferent sources) to show the family relations of Cypselus and his descendants is made at the end of this chapter (p. 570).

Cypselus founded his throne on the overthrow of the Dorian nobility. These nobles, the Bacchiads, had planted the great colonies of Syracuse and Corcyra, and by the end of the eighth century Corinth was the first sea-power in Greece. But in the early seventh century, the rise of the Argive Pheidon had fostered her internal discords, and externally, in addition to the attacks from Megara, she was losing the control of her colonies: in 664 B.C. or thereabouts was the first sea-battle between Corinth and Corcyra. Thus the prestige of the ruling Bacchiads was probably waning, but it is a question upon whose shoulders Cypselus rose to destroy them. The later Greek writers called

[1] In Samos, where he became great-grandfather of Pythagoras. This fact enables us to date Hippasus to the mid seventh century. Pausan. II, 13, 2; Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier*, p. 231.

him a demagogue, who used his position of polemarch to win the support of the needy classes. The civil functions here assigned to the polemarch make the picture improbable: at that time, the supporters of a popular polemarch were not the destitute, but men of the hoplite class. It was this class to whom the exclusiveness, and latterly perhaps the incompetence, of the Bacchiad rule seemed most intolerable, and they were probably the backbone of Cypselus' following: with their support he was able to dispense with the usual Tyrant's bodyguard. Thus, because the ruling aristocracy had been exceptionally narrow, Cypselus could put his revolution on an exceptionally wide basis: in an oracle quoted by Herodotus, he even has the constitutional title *Basileus*. But it was none the less a revolution against the Dorian nobles, and like himself many of his supporters were non-Dorian—whether in fact or, what is the more important historical factor, in feeling. The new government purged Corinth of the Bacchiad families, partly, it may be, by bloodshed, but mainly by banishment. The few who remained acquiesced in the new régime.

The exiles turned, many of them, to Corcyra—the island with whom they had been at war some ten years back, when they were still rulers of Corinth. Corcyra now gave them welcome, and flourished under their influence: throughout Cypselus' reign she maintained her independence, and was mistress of the neighbouring seas (Appian *Bell. Civ.* II, 39). It is hard to determine her relations with Corinth. There was certainly no truceless war, for Cypselus was known as a man of peace, nor can any intermission be detected in the export of Corinthian wares to the west. But the two powers had probably slight collisions round the Ambracian Gulf, whither Cypselus sent three of his sons (p. 570) to settle in Ambracia, Anactorium and Leucas, and to secure the region for Corinth. One such collision may be that battle near Ambracia, on the banks of the river Aratthus, where Arniadas of Corcyra died (*I.G.* IX, ²1, 868): another, the victory which the sons of Cypselus won over Heraclea and commemorated by a golden bowl in Olympia[1].

[1] *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, vol. XX, No. 122, p. 65, Boston, Dec. 1922; *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* I, 94. This sensational acquisition of the Boston Museum has of course aroused scepticism. But if a forgery, it is most masterly, and its genuineness is here accepted. Heraclea is probably No. 21 in Steph. Byz. Ἀκαρνανίας πόλις, cf. Pliny. *N.H.* 4, 5; *i.e.* on the south of the Ambracian Gulf: the Illyrian Heraclea (Scylax 22, cf. Head, *H.N.*² 317) is less likely. Both of these (and perhaps Heraclea Lyncestis, Polyb. XXXIV, 12, 7) sound like foundations of the 'Heraclid' Bacchiads of Corcyra.

Cypselus however was a patron of peace: and a few such incidents, even if they could be more certainly fixed to his reign, would not conflict with this tradition. He nursed the commerce of Corinth, and to him we must almost certainly ascribe her earliest coinage[1], issued on the so-called 'Euboic' standard. Recent metrologists find the basis of this standard in the *mina* of 425 grammes then current in Lydia and Miletus and perhaps Naucratis. The Corinthian stater (fifty to one such mina) gave Corinth a place in that profitable world. It is the first known silver in Europe of the 'Euboic' standard: it was soon followed by the coins of Cyrene and the Hellenic west, and, at Solon's advice, by the reformed Athenian currency (vol. IV, p. 39).

Cypselus died a rich and powerful monarch, *c.* 625 B.C., and Periander his son succeeded. In his reign of forty years, Periander raised himself and Corinth to far greater power and magnificence than Greece had known since before the Dark Age; and in an age of acutely conflicting interests, he acquired the strong man's share of enemies. But in the early years of his reign, he was still *le bien-aimé* (Herodotus, v, 92, ζ), the air was full of conciliation. We hear of one typical instance: at the outset of his reign, Corcyra, who, as we saw, had welcomed the refugees and grown to be an independent power, founded the port of Epidamnus on the Illyrian coast. The site was of value, whether for Corcyra or Corinth. It secured access to the silver mines of Damastium, and was also the head of an important trade route which ran inland, through Lyncestis (whose princes claimed descent from the Bacchiads), to Macedonia and the Aegean. With perfect correctness, the Corcyreans asked the Corinthian government to furnish a leader for the colony, and Periander sent out Phalius, one of the nobles who had remained in Corinth. This was excellent manners all round; but Periander, once secure on his throne, had no further use for compromise. He struck hard, where Cypselus had dealt as gently as might be. He eradicated the remains of the nobility from Corinth, and proceeded to conquer and annex Corcyra, which he made into a viceroyalty for the Heir Apparent: his son Lycophron ruled it first, and then his nephew Psammetichus. As for the continental route through Lyncestis, he secured

[1] So the English numismatists, Head and Gardner. For confirmation of the latter's general scheme (*Hist. Anc. Coin.* p. 136) see Babelon, *Rev. Num.* 1912, p. 22 (Taranto find). The Boston bowl, mentioned above, weighs approximately 100 Corinthian staters. If Cypselus got his silver from Damastium he must have had some *modus vivendi* with Corcyra (see Seltman, *Athens*, p. 128 *sq.*).

both ends of it for Corinth by his twin foundations of Apollonia and Potidaea[1].

The man whose counsels are said to have thus hardened the tyrant's heart was Thrasybulus the Tyrant of Miletus: Periander kept touch with the east as well as the west. He was a friend of the kings of Egypt and of Lydia, and was chosen arbitrator by Athens and Mitylene in that war for Sigeum in which the poet Alcaeus fought. Far the most notable of the Greek Tyrants of the Renaissance, he is for better or worse the type of them—ruthless to the old aristocracy, his enemies, but powerful and fortunate, and momentous for the civilization of Greece. He was counted by many among the Seven Sages, and his court was a rendezvous for foreign poets, where Chersias of Orchomenus flourished, and Arion of Lesbos first gave literary form and definite plots to that Bacchic mumming which was the origin of Greek drama: later, at the rival court of Sicyon, Epigenes first looked for plots outside the Bacchic cycle (Zenob. v, 40). It is Arion whom Pindar has chiefly in mind when he praises the 'ancient inventions' of Corinth in poetry.

With poetry Pindar couples architecture, an art which hardly existed in post-Mycenean Greece until the Tyrants disposed of labour and wealth enough to build strongly and beautifully, whether temples like that of Apollo at Corinth, or works of utility like the fountains with which the Tyrants freshened the Greek summer in their cities. The fifth century pamphleteer, whose *Constitution of Athens* has survived among the works of Xenophon, describes those public amenities of a Greek city which had distributed a civilized culture so widely that the Demos had come to think itself as good as the nobles. These were, briefly, public festivals, public baths, and 'a great and beautiful city to live in'; and these, which took from the nobles their monopoly of culture, all had their first beginning under the Tyrants. By such processes the noble monopolies, of wealth, of law, of culture, of religion, of arms, were all one by one broken: and the paternal

[1] Later the *Via Egnatia*: of which Epidamnus and Apollonia were the two western starting points, Strab. VII, 7, 8. For the early use of this route see Strab. *ibid.* (the Bacchiads in Lyncestis); Diod. XI, 56, 3 (cf. Thuc. I, 137, 1). Thucydides calls Apollonia, unlike Epidamnus, a *Corinthian* colony, I, 26, 2, cf. I, 24, 2; and his evidence must override that of later writers. Plut. *Ser. Num. Vind.* 7, names Periander as founder, but the context is inaccurate. Excavation takes the foundation back to the time of the Tyrants (*Jahreshefte*, XXI–XXII, I [1922] *Beiblatt*, p. 37). The conventional date, 588 B.C., is merely a guess of Raoul-Rochette, though repeated ever since.

Aristoi, the indispensable Shepherds of the People, became the jealous *Oligoi*, vowed to remain if not Fit, at any rate Few.

Periander was the centre of a group of Tyrants who ruled in the cities immediately neighbouring on Corinth. In Epidaurus, reigned his father-in-law and contemporary Procles, until Periander at the very end of his reign incorporated the city in his own dominions. The decline of Epidaurus begins with the independence of Aegina: when Procles tore his portion out of Pheidon's kingdom he may well have included Aegina, but with the fall of Procles the island enters on her own destiny. She rises rapidly and becomes a rival to Corinth and a menace to her eastern connections. The Megarian Tyrant, Theagenes, is an earlier contemporary of Periander: he is dated by the help he gave to Cylon, his son-in-law, the would-be Tyrant of Athens (probably 632 B.C.). Theagenes illustrates the essential characteristics of the Isthmian Tyrant, in his hostility to the great landowners, whose livestock he slaughtered, and in his care for the public amenities of his city, for whose water supply he undertook elaborate constructions. In Epidaurus, Megara, and Sicyon, we hear of a class of serfs, known variously as *Dustyfoots*, *Sheepskins*, *Club-bearers*, etc.: ancient writers compared them to the Spartan Helots, and they appear to have been liberated by the Tyrants[1]. Theognis, writing when a violent democracy had succeeded the tyranny in Megara, says 'Our city is still a city, but the people are changed; folk who of old knew nothing of right or law, but wrapt their ribs in goatskins and dwelt like deer outside the city. They're now the nobles, the old nobles are now the rascals.' The liberation of serfs was as essential a plank in the Tyrants' platform as the breaking of the landlords or the adornment of the city. But the Tyrants probably took steps to prevent the new amenities of the city attracting too many of these newly freed serfs and so depopulating the land; if we believe Theognis, the succeeding democracy was less careful.

Periander outlasted the tyranny in Epidaurus and Megara, but in Sicyon it outlasted him. Towards the end of his long life (he reigned for forty, and lived for eighty, years) his essentially personal power began to crack: Herodotus says he thought of abdication. While his sun was sinking, that of the Tyrant of Sicyon was rising. No date can be fixed for the accession of Cleisthenes, the great Sicyonian, but as early as the Sacred War his navy appears to be the most important in the Corinthian Gulf.

[1] The passages are assembled by Ruhnken, *Timaei Lexicon Platonicum*, *s.v.* πενεστικόν. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* κορυνηφόροι.

The Sacred War ended with the destruction of 'holy Crisa,' the rich port of Delphi, about 590 B.C. (see p. 604). Five years later Periander died, within less than ten years the Cypselid dynasty was overthrown: Cleisthenes caught their falling mantle. There are signs that Periander had feared the growing Sicyonian power, and tried to check it. It is recorded that his friend, the Milesian Thrasybulus, at one time captured the harbour of Sicyon (Frontinus, III, 9, 7), and that Cleisthenes usurped the throne of his brother Isodemus by accusing the latter of conspiring with the Cypselids. With the fall of the Cypselids, the power of Corinth rapidly declines. In the east, the dangerous rivalry of Aegina begins, and in the west, Corcyra breaks off, and though Corinthian influence persisted around the Ambracian Gulf, where the Cypselids apparently maintained themselves rather longer than in Corinth, yet her connections were largely picked up by Sicyon. We can best gauge the influence of Sicyon from the account of the wooing of Cleisthenes' daughter and heiress, Agariste, *c.* 570 B.C. Suitors came from all the old Corinthian north-west, from Italy, Epidamnus, Epirus, and Aetolia: and the suitor most favoured at first was Hippocleides of Athens, whose grandfather, so it seems, had been a successful suitor for the daughter of Cypselus (see p. 570, nos. 18 and 21). But Cleisthenes passed over this hare-brained youth in favour of another Athenian, the Alcmeonid Megacles, a member of the most politically-gifted house in Greece. His son was Cleisthenes the Lawgiver, and among his descendants were Pericles and Alcibiades.

It fell to Cleisthenes, as the last of the great Isthmian Tyrants, to maintain the cause of the non-Dorians against the Dorians, and he discharged this duty with vigour. It was the old fight against Argos and her double influence, the pressure of her culture within and of her arms without. Internally, Cleisthenes renamed the tribes: to the three Dorian tribes, which Sicyon shared with Argos, he gave mock-names, *Pigmen*, *Swinemen*, *Assmen*; his own non-Dorian tribesmen were called the *Rulers*. It sounds very childish, and how far the childishness is due to Cleisthenes or to his historian we cannot say. But the end was gained, through pretty well the whole sixth century Dorian Argos was without honour in Sicyon. In the same spirit Cleisthenes expelled the rhapsodes who sang of Argos; and the Argive hero Adrastus, who was buried in Sicyon, and whose story was providing plots for the rudimentary tragedians of the city, was induced to quit. Externally, Cleisthenes waged continual war on Argos, and pushed his influence into the debatable ground which lay between

the two cities. In Phlius, rather less than a century before, the Argive influence had been too strong for the rise of an anti-Dorian Tyrant, but in Cleisthenes' reign Leon of Phlius succeeded where Hippasus had failed[1].

So Argos and the Isthmian cities fought each other to a standstill, while Sparta, not without her own troubles, watched the way being prepared for herself. The Tyrants had torn the empire of Pheidon to pieces, but Argos could still hit back. Before Cleisthenes was dead, the insulted and exiled Adrastus had found a home: the Nemean Games, near Cleonae, were established in his honour in 573 B.C. The Isthmian Games, established slightly earlier, in 581–580, mark a similar reaction against the Tyrants: their foundation celebrated the downfall of the Cypselids. It is worth while to take stock of the situation about 570 B.C. Argos has lost Phlius, but gained Cleonae. The non-Dorian Tyranny is stronger than ever in Sicyon, but it has disappeared in Corinth. Of the two great sanctuaries which either led or followed Hellenic opinion, Delphi had declared against the Tyrants—and this is the more notable in view of the support she had once given them, and her close union with Cleisthenes as recently as the Sacred War—and Olympia had declared for them[2]. The balance was pretty even, and the combatants tired: everything was ready for the tactful intervention of Sparta.

The Cypselids fell *c.* 582, from internal causes: Sparta, whose way to the Isthmus was still barred, cannot have interfered. Of the constitution then devised, which lasted for many generations, we have an account in Nicolaus of Damascus, and possibly a reference to it in Aristotle[3]. The citizen body was divided into eight tribes, and a cabinet of eight *Probouloi* (elected, it would seem, one from each tribe, like the Strategi at Athens) was the chief deliberate body in the state: by their side was a larger Boulē

[1] He is contemporary with Hippasus' great-grandson Pythagoras; Cicero, *Tusc.* v, 3, and *supra*, p. 550, n. 1. He doubtless rested on Cleisthenes' support, cf. Nicolaus Damascenus, 61, *sub fine*.

[2] For Delphi, cf. Herodotus, I, 14; v, 67, 2 (contrast v, 92, ε. 2). The second founding of the Pythian Games, 582 B.C., may mark Delphi's change of front. Plutarch says (*De Pythiae Oraculis*, 13) that when the Cypselids fell, Delphi erased their names, but Olympia refused to do so, consequently the Eleans were excluded from the Isthmian Games. Cf. *I.v.O.* 650. There is an Elean among Agariste's suitors, *c.* 570 B.C. Cleisthenes' Olympic victory is just before that date, Herodotus, v, 126, 2.

[3] *Pol.* 1298 B; cf. Lutz, *Class. Rev.* x, p. 419, whose translation of ὀκτάς in Nic. Dam. is impossible, but does not invalidate his main thesis. Cf. also Suidas, *s.v.* πάντα ὀκτώ.

whose size we cannot determine, unless, indeed, this is the same as the body of eighty mentioned by Thucydides (v, 47). Aristotle observes that the larger body can deliberate but cannot initiate business, and this, he thinks, makes for permanency, for it combines the advantages of democracy and oligarchy, and prevents both discontent and revolution.

Meanwhile in Sparta there was no Tyrant. The Spartan nobles had conquered Messenia and had land enough to decline the new forms of wealth which commerce and coinage offered; and they now enter on that phase of conscious conservatism which was to make their city unique in Greece. The huge social revolution which we have watched take place under the Tyrants was in Sparta successfully resisted, but even there it had its repercussion: the Revolt of Messenia.

The social antagonism, between master and serf, came to a head in this revolt, and was met with a categorical NO. This answer was possible, first and foremost because of the iron resolution of the Spartan character: but also because in Sparta the social question was not, as elsewhere, complicated by the racial question. The rebelling Messenians were, indeed, of non-Dorian stock; but they found no champion among the Spartan citizens, for this body, though not exclusively Dorian, yet allowed no distinction of origin to appear: *aut Spartanus aut nullus* (see vol. II, p. 539 *sq.*). Of the course of the revolt we know almost nothing. The war poems of Tyrtaeus were written for this war, but his fragments (so rich in information as to the War of Conquest) tell us nothing as to place, duration, incidents, or allies on either side[1]. On the other hand, after the Liberation of Messenia in 369 B.C., the earlier Wars of Liberation were freely treated as themes of romance, and to this seventh-century war especially were attached the deeds of the national hero Aristomenes. It was probably Aristotle's nephew Callisthenes (frags. 9–11 in Didot's Arrian) who was first responsible for this, and for conceiving the war as one in which all Peloponnese was involved. The whole story, conceived with romantic enthusiasm, is immortal in the pages of Strabo, Pausanias and William Morris, but it is almost certainly false to history. The date of the war can be fixed with fair security somewhere between 650 and 600[2]: during this half-

[1] Ancient scholars remarked that he did not name the reigning king. The battle of the Great Trench, which he cites as an example of bravery (frag. 5 B[4], cf. Pausan. IV, 17, 2), is probably not an incident in this war.

[2] From Tyrtaeus' poems. *Upper limit:* at least two generations after King Theopompus, frag. 5 (and probably one generation at least after the

century, when the Tyrants were at the height of their power, it is hardly conceivable that all Peloponnese was divided for a protracted war into two camps, one led by Spartans and one by Messenians[1]. For years on end, in this far corner of Peloponnese, the Spartan lords and Messenian serfs fought out their private quarrel: and the issue was bigger with history than all the splendour of Periander.

VII. SPARTA: THE EUNOMIA

After crushing the Messenian Revolt, the Spartans took stock of their position. They had successfully denied the Rights of Man to nine-tenths of the inhabitants of their land, their aristocracy of landed wealth had survived one more crisis: but they knew now they were living on a volcano. They met this situation with the *Eunomia*, the famous legislation which later generations associated with the name of Lycurgus. It was in part a sort of inoculation against democracy, whereby they accepted a harmless form of the disease and rendered themselves immune against the real thing. But it was chiefly a subjecting of their whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, to a discipline as rigid as any religious rule, in the strength of which they defied not the Devil but the Helots. This reorganization of the Spartan army was so radical that it changed the face of Spartan civilization.

We have already had glimpses of this civilization, which reached its flower in the time of Alcman just before the Messenian Revolt. For two things in which an aristocratic society will always show its quality—an exquisite womanhood and fine hunting—Sparta was early famed. We have heard the seventh century oracle which placed the Spartan ladies first among all in Greece: and we have more convincing evidence of the beauty of a Spartan girl's life in what is left of Alcman's *Maidens' Songs* (see below, vol. IV, ch. xiv). And even in the sixth century the pictures which Theognis gives us of Spartan hospitality are singularly charming. The hunting and other sport to be had in Laconia was early famous and long remained so. The Spartan Dioscuri were the patrons of horsemanship, and Castor was the inventor of hunting on horseback (Oppian, *Cyn.* II, 14). Above all, the Spartan dogs

inventors of elegy); *lower limit:* the army is still brigaded in the three Dorian Tribes, *new fragment* = Diehl frag. 1, cf. *Hermes*, LVI, 1921, p. 347 (and perhaps the pre-phalanx battle, frag. 11, lines 21–28, 35 *sq.*).

[1] The evidence for the coalition war is demonstrably weak. Aristocrates and the Great Trench battle are cardinal for Callisthenes' construction; cf. p. 531 n. 2, and p. 557 n. 1.

were the noblest breeds in Greece, especially the great Castor hounds; while the little 'fox-dogs' were prized as house-dogs and pets[1]. In the Homeric hymn, 'To Earth, Mother of All,' there is a beautiful account of the life of such a landed aristocracy.

> The ploughland's heavy with wheat of life, in the pasture
> Cattle abound, good substance fills the house.
> Fair women are in their city, and with just laws
> They rule, in wealth and great prosperity.
> The boys go proudly in fresh-blossom'd gladness,
> The girls with flowery dances and gay heart
> Gambol and frolick in the turf's soft flowers
> If thou giv'st grace, great Queen, Goddess of Bounty.

But Laconia was not, like Thessaly, a land of backwoodsmen nobles. Alcman sneers at the boorishness of the Thessalians, while Sparta was a centre of the arts. The early history of Greek music is laid mostly in Sparta: Thaletas and Polymnastus are dim names, but Terpander and, above all, Alcman, are real enough (see below, vol. IV, ch. xiv). Most of these, and possibly Alcman himself, were foreigners drawn to the hospitable city as Arion to Corinth. Alcman was said by one half of the ancient scholars to have been a Lydian from Sardes. He certainly held Sardes to be a centre of civilization (frag. 24), and Sparta was in constant touch with Lydia and welcomed what that land could offer to the Greek Renaissance[2]. Besides these lyrists, we have the names, from the seventh century or earlier, of epic poets and sculptors in bronze, above all Gitiadas the architect of the Brazen House. The earliest victor statue of which we have record at Olympia was that of the Spartan Eutelidas, set up 628 B.C., and one of the most beautiful of seventh century pottery wares was made in Laconia (see vol. IV, ch. xvi).

Spartan art, however, was not so unique in quality as Spartan society: it was in virtue of the latter that, during the great social revolution of the Tyrannis, Sparta became the last stronghold of the *ancien régime*. In the acute crisis which the Messenian Revolt

[1] Xenophon, *Cyn.* 3; *Jahreshefte*, VIII, 1905, pp. 251–8. Fashion is always strong in sporting terms; so the word κυναγός is used in its Spartan form in Attic writers. Here, as more clearly in (the later?) λοχαγός, we have a borrowing from the speech of the masters in sport and war.

[2] Sparta's earliest eastern contacts seem to be with Ephesus, *c.* 700 (*B.S.A.* XIII, 84 *sq.*). Ephesus becomes the 'port of Sardes' (as in Herodotus, V, 54), probably under Melas I, Gyges' son-in-law. Recent excavations in Sardes have found Laconian pottery there. The contact culminates in the alliance with Croesus, which is not a new thing; cf. the accession gift which Sparta sends at the beginning of his reign (Herodotus, III, 47 *sq.*).

had disclosed, she resolved to keep the essence of her society, and if her art must go, to let it. Such was the spirit of the Lycurgan *Eunomia*.

The central feature of the Lycurgan reform was the abolition of the three Dorian Tribes, and the substitution of five new Tribes, based not on descent but on locality: and it is thus a curiously close anticipation of the reform of Cleisthenes at Athens a century later. Of these five Tribes four (Pitana, Konooura, Limnai, Mesoa) were the quarters of Sparta town, the fifth, Amyclae, lay a few miles south and had been early incorporated. The significance of this reform was first and foremost *military*: the Spartan army henceforward (until a further reorganization in the fifth century) consisted of five regiments recruited by locality, instead of three regiments recruited by descent. It was probably a larger army, if the five new Tribes contained more citizens than the three old Tribes: it was far better organized, for the new regiment was elaborately subdivided into platoons and sections, each with its own officer. Most important of all, a discipline that was long unique among the world's armies was secured by a system of training which took the citizen when he was seven years old and kept an iron hold throughout the whole of his active life.

The significance was, in the second place, *social*. The five Tribes probably contained a number of new citizens: when Messenia was reconquered, it seems that the Stenyclarus Plain was divided up among the citizens, and a number of non-citizens who had served well in the war also obtained shares, and thus became citizens. For Spartan citizenship depended on a man owning sufficient land to be able to live on the produce and devote his whole energies to the public service—to be able, in fact, to pay his mess-bill without any private employment. Given this qualification, any further distinction of rich and poor was carefully obscured: the citizens were all called the 'Peers' and all went through precisely the same training, wore the same clothes, lived in the same way. The original citizens however seem to have retained some distinctions[1], such as certain religious privileges at the Carneia, and, a matter of more importance, the *Gerontes* were chosen only from them: and perhaps they alone possessed freehold land west of Taygetus, and thus were richer than the new 'Peers.' But the extra wealth mattered little, for no Spartan could raise his standard of living,

[1] There was certainly an inner aristocracy among the *Peers*, and this was probably based on pre-Eunomia citizenship.

nor in so socialistic a state could wealth mean power. Above all, it could not breed: for the land was by custom if not by law inalienable, and all other accumulation of property was prevented by the law which forbade not only coinage, but even the circulation of the precious metals. A seventh century pessimist had invented the proverb 'Money maketh man': Sparta defied the power of money by legislation.

And thirdly, the significance of the reform was *political*. Plutarch has preserved for us a document known as the *Rhetra* or 'Law,' which defines the new political situation[1]. It first enacts the creation of the new Tribes (which probably involved the incorporation of new citizens), and then constitutes two bodies, the *Gerousia*, consisting of the two Kings and twenty-eight Gerontes, and the *Apella*, consisting of all citizens. To the former body (for which probably only original citizens were eligible) certain powers are reserved, of which the most important enabled them to dismiss the Apella at discretion. From a contemporary poem of Tyrtaeus, it appears that they alone could initiate business, the Apella could only vote on it. Sovereignty, however, is categorically affirmed to reside in the Apella.

The sovereign body which can be dismissed at discretion ('if it votes wrongly,' in the naïve words of the 'Law') appears to us the clumsiest of compromises, a mark of political infancy. The Apella never indeed became a serious deliberative assembly; but the sovereignty of the whole citizen body, as opposed to the inner aristocracy represented in the Gerousia, was soon asserted in the persons of the five *Ephors*. The office of Ephor had existed in Sparta long before the Eunomia: a list of eponymous Ephors was known to ancient scholars which reached back into the eighth century. But the College of five Ephors, as we know it in classical Sparta, dates clearly from the creation of the five Tribes. This College, unlike the Gerousia, was open to old and new citizens alike: it was as the annual representatives of the whole Demos that the Ephors attained their enormous power. This power was not contemplated in the 'Law,' which does not even mention the Ephorate, and the first Ephor to assert the full strength of the office was Chilon, Ephor in 556 B.C. some fifty years after the creation of the College of Five: he, we are told, 'made them equal to the Kings.'

Thus Sparta became a democracy—in the sense that the chief magistrates were elected by, and from, the whole body of citizens;

[1] *Lycurg.* 6. It is here assumed that the *Rhetra* (including the 'Rider of Theopompus') is a genuine late seventh century document.

and a socialist state—in the sense that the interests of any individual were effectively subjected to those of this same citizen body. But such terms are in fact absurd, since that body was at no time more than one-tenth of the inhabitants of the country. Sparta was a city of nobles, because only the nobles had citizenship.

It has been here assumed that this great reform took place shortly before 600 B.C., immediately after the suppression of the Messenian Revolt, the direct consequence of that revolt. In that war the Spartan army is still brigaded in the old Three Tribes: our first evidence, perhaps, of the new Five Tribes is the board of five arbitrators who adjudged Salamis to Athens (*c.* 570 B.C.): we meet the five annual *Agathoergoi* about 560 B.C.; the five regiments first, for certain, at the Battle of Plataea in 479. The same date is implied in Herodotus' account of the Eunomia (1, 65–6), where he relates the Arcadian Wars of the early sixth century as the immediate consequence of the reform. It was indeed an age of legislators: and the use of the word *Demos* in the 'Law' in a political sense has parallels in a Chian inscription of about the same date (Nachmanson, *Hist. Gr. Inschr.* 2), and in the later poems of Solon; but not, it appears, earlier[1]. The poem called *Eunomia* of Tyrtaeus will thus be contemporary with the reform, and written late in life: the poet saw the Revolt of Messenia in his manhood, and the Eunomia in his old age. Finally, the excavators of Sparta have shown conclusive evidence at this period of a great change in Spartan life.

Such, then, was the Reform which Herodotus and Tyrtaeus described, and of which the Rhetra is a document. Herodotus ascribed it to Lycurgus, and all antiquity, at least after 400 B.C., followed him. Though they differ singularly in the date they ascribe to Lycurgus, they all concur in putting him far earlier than 600 B.C.: and Herodotus stultifies his narrative by implying that the Reform took place some centuries before those immediate consequences which gave him occasion to mention the matter at all. There is little profit in discussing whether the lawgiver's name of *c.* 600 B.C. was Lycurgus or not: suppose it were, it is certain that we know nothing of him, and all that we are told is fable[2].

[1] The Corcyraean inscription of Menecrates is perhaps a little earlier, but the use of *Demos* is hardly parallel, *I. G.* ix, 1, 867.

[2] In the opinion of the present writer Lycurgus was the hero under whose protection the reform was put. The Lycurgus oracle in Herodotus has nothing to do with the reform at all, and so Herodotus' Spartan friends told him. It is concerned with the question, always doubtful, whether

The Spartans said that their lawgiver had got the ideas for his Eunomia from Crete. This is likely enough in itself, for the island of Minos and Rhadamanthys was famous for lawgiving, and the fragments of the Code of Gortyn, discovered by scholars of our own generation, confirm this reputation; moreover the reopening of the Levant in the seventh century (and especially, for Sparta, the founding of Cyrene) had put Crete once more on one of the main highways of Greece. And certainly many features of Spartan life, including some which are strikingly analogous to the customs of modern nomadic peoples, occur also in the Cretan cities: the sexes are separated, the men have meals in common from which women are excluded, and in progressive preparation for this life the boys are classed by their ages into 'herds.' And both in Crete and in Sparta the population falls into three main divisions, first the ruling class who come under this strict discipline, next the rest of the free population, which does not, and last the serfs, who cultivate the land of the first class.

In this singular discipline, the Spartans were probably right to recognize a conscious imitation of Crete. It is true there are many differences in detail, and the likenesses named above might be due to the fact that in both countries the Dorians, many times outnumbered by the conquered, never felt enough at home to abandon altogether their nomad life. In these matters, perhaps, the Cretan model was acceptable because it resembled their own traditions.

But in the political institutions, and especially the organs of government, the likeness is not to be explained by parallel development. The Cretan cities had discarded their kings, and a rather close aristocracy of blood had taken their place. The Spartan lawgiver proposed to retain the kingship, and to dilute the aristocracy of blood by abolishing the Dorian tribes: and his remarkable plan of calling every citizen a 'Peer,' and thus making Nobility and Demos co-extensive, has no prototype in Crete. But to clothe these new conceptions he borrowed the Cretan forms. What these forms were in the seventh century, we can only infer from later documents: according to these, the Gerousia and the transparently nominal sovereignty of the Assembly are both to

Lycurgus was a god or hero: the apparent responsion of line 2 to *Iliad*, VI, 140, may suggest why the Spartans turned to Delphi for guidance—to resolve the question whether Homer was speaking of their Lycurgus. His date was so variously given, because no one knew when he had lived on earth: they knew he had not been a king, but supposed he somehow was of blood royal.

be found in Crete: and the Cretan *Kosmoi* apparently suggested the new form of the College of Ephors. The Kosmoi in the Cretan cities were, in effect, the king in commission: ten colleagues elected annually from a limited circle of families, they wielded the royal power, notably the command in war. Many, perhaps most, of their powers were of course, in the Spartan adaptation, reserved to the kings; enough remained to make the nucleus from which the great power of the Ephors was to grow. The two Colleges are strangely unlike: indeed, if with Cicero we compare the Ephors with the Roman Tribunes, the Kosmoi will rather correspond to the Consuls and Praetors. The purely formal likeness so often remarked in antiquity is not due to analogy of growth: rather it suggests a conscious adaptation.

In some matters the Spartan lawgiver got no guidance from his model. Crete was an island while Sparta was not, and it was a commonplace in antiquity that with any extreme form of government your best security against revolution was to live on an island. The Athenian democracy sought an artificial insularity in their Long Walls, the Spartan serfowners in their *Xenelasia*, a rigorous Alien Act ready for application at need. It was not completely successful. 'The Cretan serfs,' Aristotle observed, 'give less trouble than the Helots: for in their remoteness the Cretan cities have as it were a Xenelasia in permanent operation.' Again, the Cretans held, it seems, that laws should be codified and published: the Spartan lawgiver saw that his new Sparta had room for no 'sea-lawyers,' and he forbade the laws to be written down. His Spartans became, as he desired, amateurs in jurisprudence and professionals in war.

Whether it was fetched from Crete or not, the discipline meant, for Sparta, saying Good-bye to much of her own civilization. The city, where life had been as beautiful as anywhere in Greece, became a barracks: there are no more Spartan poets after Tyrtaeus, no more artists after Gitiadas. Henceforward, Sparta had none of the splendour of a Greek city: to look at her, said Thucydides, you would never believe the greatness of her people. The discipline impoverished their spirit: in the generation of the Eunomia, Spartans still could build, as the new temple of Orthia and the Brazen House of Gitiadas testify. Fifty years later, they were still proud that foreigners should build for them; the Magnesian Bathycles built Apollo's throne at Amyclae about 550 B.C., the Samian Theodorus built their Town Hall, the *Skias*, about the same time. And during this half century, 600–550 B.C., they could still make beautiful pottery. But there was no more building

after 550, and the pottery declines, and the little offerings to Orthia become steadily poorer. In the first half of the sixth century, King Agesicles had said that Sparta had nothing to learn from foreigners, and after the collapse of the Lydian alliance, she put this into practice[1].

VIII. SPARTA: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE LEAGUE

The *Eunomia* gave Sparta the finest army in Greece, and she itched to use it. Designed to secure the tranquil possession of Messenia, why should it not conquer a second Messenia? Arcadia, and especially the rich plain of Tegea, was the appointed victim, and Sparta embarked on those Arcadian Wars which fill the first half of the sixth century. Herodotus records the oracle which was said to have encouraged Sparta to these wars, and it represents faithfully enough the Spartan intentions: 'I will give you Tegea to dance in,' Apollo is alleged to say, 'and the fine plain to mete out with measuring ropes.' The Spartan lords wanted more land, and with their new army were not afraid of more serfs.

Happily for Sparta, this war of conquest was a failure, and the huge disproportion of serfs to masters was not increased. There was about a generation's unprosperous fighting (Herodotus says, the reign of kings Leon and Agesicles, *c.* 590–560) and then the new kings, Anaxandridas and Ariston, abandoned the idea of annexation; after a few more campaigns, the Tegeans, instead of becoming Helots, were admitted to alliance. In this momentous change of policy—we may for convenience call it the beginning of the 'League' policy—Herodotus sees the proximate cause of Sparta's appearance, about 550 B.C., as a World-Power.

The date can be fixed approximately. It is well before 546 B.C., the year of the fall of Sardes. Sparta has adopted the 'League' policy, her fortunes have mended, Tegea has been received into alliance, the rest of Arcadia and other cities have followed—all this before Croesus singles out Sparta as the leading Greek city by asking her alliance: and there still remain his expedition beyond the Halys, its failure, and the siege of Sardes, before we reach 546 B.C. On the other hand, we cannot well put it earlier than 560. Anaxandridas and Ariston are the kings in Sparta; and

[1] The archaeological evidence is still inconveniently scattered through the pages of the *B.S.A.* See XIII, 61 (where the provisional date of 550 for the sand stratum must be corrected to 600, see XVI, 53, note 2), XIII, 139, 144, XIV, 26, 35, XVI, 29, 32; cf. *Encyc. Brit.* XXV, 614. Amyclae Throne, Herodotus, I, 69, with Pausan. III, 10, 8; E. Fiechter, *Jahrb.* XXXIII (1918), 223 *sqq.*, cf. W Klein, *ibid.* XXXVII (1922), *Arch. Anz.* 6 *sqq.*

in 480 B.C. their two sons, Leonidas and Demaratus, are both present, one on the Greek and one on the Persian side, at Thermopylae; it is hardly credible that the fathers should both be reigning more than eighty years previously, that is to say, *before* 560. About 560 B.C., then, or slightly later, Sparta begins the building of her League.

The change of policy was announced to the world by bringing the Bones of Orestes to Sparta. This use of relics for the symbolical announcement of foreign policy is frequent in early Greek history. We have seen, about a generation earlier, the case of Adrastus at Sicyon; a century later, the bringing of Rhesus to Amphipolis is a rather closer parallel. In Orestes, Agamemnon's son, we must see the representative of the pre-Dorian peoples of Peloponnese; the institution of his worship in Sparta was a movement of conciliation to these peoples. It was remarkably opportune. Not only did the prospect of tolerable terms weaken the resistance of Arcadia, the citadel of the pre-Dorians, but the gesture opened the way for Sparta's interference in those cities round the Isthmus, where the question of the two races had long been burning. Sparta, unimpeachably Dorian in fact, had never stressed the point of race, and she now unites the pretensions of Argos as leader of the Dorians, with those of the Tyrants as champion of the pre-Dorians. As the heir of both, she claims allegiance from the whole of Peloponnese, and later from the whole of Greece.

Later Spartan opinion was less conscious of having made, on this great occasion, a concession to pre-Dorian opinion, than of having claimed the lordship of Peloponnese. The Bones were not freely given, but stolen, and in virtue of them they claimed that Agamemnon's self would cry out if Sparta's lordship were questioned (Herodotus, VII, 159). But that there was concession is clear. The Tegeans were given a post of honour in the allied army, on the strange ground that a king of Tegea had once led Peloponnese in resisting the Dorian Invasion. And there was need for such concession. The Greek race was deeply divided in two: how deeply is well shown by a temple inscription of the fifth century from Paros, 'The Dorian foreigner, and the slave, may not enter[1].'

The same barrier was met by Cleomenes on the Acropolis of Athens, shortly before 500 B.C. He wished to enter the temple of Athena, and the priestess said 'Spartan foreigner, no Dorian may enter.' Cleomenes tries to break down the barrier by the same gesture with which Sparta had won Arcadia, 'Lady, I am no

[1] *I.G.* XII, 5, 225. Herzog's corrected reading, *Philologus*, 1906, p. 630.

Dorian but an Achaean[1].' In view of this utterance of Cleomenes, and of the marked personal loyalty of Arcadia to the Agiad house —the most striking case is when Cleomenes threatens his own city at the head of an Arcadian army sworn to his personal service (Herodotus, VI, 74), but many more cases can be cited—we may be inclined to ascribe the new policy to Cleomenes' father, Anaxandridas. If it was due to Anaxandridas, its success will explain how, by the reign of Cleomenes, the Agiad has come to be the paramount house. It was not so always[2]. The outstanding figure in early Spartan history is King Theopompus, a Eurypontid, and the facts that Lycurgus was originally counted a Eurypontid (Simonides fr. 217 B), and that King Eunomus appears in the Eurypontid pedigree, suggest that the *Eunomia* was fathered by a Eurypontid king.

The hypothesis, that the Agiads are thus the creators of the Spartan League, and the Eurypontids the creators of the enlarged Helotry and the *Eunomia* which should secure it, illuminates the subsequent history of Sparta. The Agiads are generally imperialists, and often revolutionaries: for it was soon evident that the gifts with which her two royal houses had dowered Sparta were mutually destructive. The unstable equilibrium at home, whereby a few thousand citizens under a monastic rule kept ten times their numbers in serfdom, made Sparta unequal to the responsibilities of leading Greece. The Helot system or the empire must eventually be abandoned: at Leuctra she lost both. Meanwhile, the Agiads are imperialists: the Eurypontids cleave to the Constitution, and do not shrink from the 'Little-Sparta' policy which that entailed. See further, vol. IV, pp. 72 *sqq.*

The close of the Arcadian Wars opened the roads to the Isthmus. Sciritis, the Arcadian hill country on the straight road between Sparta and Tegea, was probably annexed by Sparta during these wars, and the hard Sciritans were made into a

[1] An 'Achaean' (that is, like Orestes, pre-Dorian) he could claim to be through his descent from Heracles. A century before, Tyrtaeus had used this to justify the conquest of Messenia, Cleomenes now disclaims the rôle of conqueror. In *I.G.* V, 2, 159, on Kirchhoff's hypothesis (which is still the best), of the two significantly named Spartans, Phil-*achaeus* is probably born in the reign of Anaxandridas, *Xuth*-ias in the reign of Cleomenes.

[2] The Spartan story, that it was always so, and due to the way the queen bathed the babies, is a gay extemporization—it 'contradicted all the poets,' Herodotus, VI, 52. Officially there was no senior house, he who has been king longest is senior king. See the two official documents, Thuc. V, 24, and *I.G.* V, 1, 1564 (p. xx).

regiment of their own with a privileged post of danger, which forms an excrescence on the symmetry of the New-Model army. Sparta also secured the better road over the Eurotas watershed, which ran thence past Orestheum into the plain of Tegea. The story, how Sparta occupied Phigalea after the Messenian Revolt was crushed, and later a hundred picked men of Orestheum turned the Spartans out, suggests how the fighting went. Sparta established her frontier on the Eurotas watershed, and south of the Neda; and Phigalea and Orestheum remained Arcadian cities.

The cities on the Isthmus were ripe for Spartan intervention. At Corinth, the Tyrants had been expelled, probably over twenty years before, but the ruling oligarchs would be glad of Sparta's support, and the commons had little to fear from her new moderation. It seems likely that she gave a signal proof of this at the neighbouring city of Sicyon. There, the great Cleisthenes had died a few years before, but there was still a Tyrant ruling, a certain Aeschines. The Spartans expelled him, and probably set up an oligarchy, but they made no root and branch reforms, and even allowed the new tribe names, which Cleisthenes had prescribed in mockery of the Dorians, to continue in use: they lasted till about the end of the century, when, probably under the reviving influence of Argos, they were dropped[1].

With such statesmanlike moderation, Sparta performed what is probably the first of those Expulsions of Tyrants for which she became famous. As a date one may suggest 556 B.C., the year tradition assigns to the ephorate of Chilon; for a papyrus fragment imputes the policy to the Ephor Chilon and King Anaxandridas; and since Chilon is said to have made much of his ephorate, it is quite likely that the policy was initiated that year. It has been conjectured above that Anaxandridas was the more active of the kings during these years.

Megara did not join the League as yet. After the fall of Theagenes she fell on evil days, under repeated blows from Athens. The island of Salamis was in dispute, and the Spartan arbitrators awarded it to her enemy. She seems to have found some slight support in her troubles from Boeotia, with whose

[1] It is commonly assumed that (*a*) the list of expelled Tyrants in Plut. *de Mal. Herod.* 21 is in chronological order, and so Aeschines is expelled later than Hippias, (*b*) the Spartans abolished the mock-names when they expelled Aeschines. This completely ignores the traditional 100-year duration of the tyranny, also (*a*), see the parallel lists *Rylands Papyrus* 18 and Schol. ad Aeschin. II, 77, whence we get three different orders, (*b*) Argos is more probable, since the mockery was aimed at her, whereas Sparta had abolished her own Dorian tribes. For the revival of Argive influence see Herodotus, VI, 92.

help she made her last colonizing effort, the foundation of Heraclea in the Black Sea, *c.* 560 B.C. Internally, she was suffering from violent alternations of oligarchy and democracy, and of these troubles Aristotle and Plutarch have preserved traditions, but the most vivid picture is in the poems of the contemporary Theognis. The problems of the new wealth, and of the increasing demands of the many, dealt with so wisely in Athens and so resolutely in Sparta, are seen here in full fever. Theognis, a passionate oligarch, is exiled and goes to the Sicilian Megara, and (the natural haven of oligarchs) to Sparta. In one memorable poem he is aware of a larger issue than the rancours of class-consciousness. In 546 Sardes fell, and Persia appeared on the Greek horizon. He prays Apollo to save his own city of Megara 'for I am afraid indeed when I see the folly of the Greeks and their ruinous dissension'; but in another poem he invites his friends to drink and talk gaily and put the Mede out of mind. For Theognis is, after all, the light-hearted type of the late Renaissance, a gay and exquisite *viveur*.

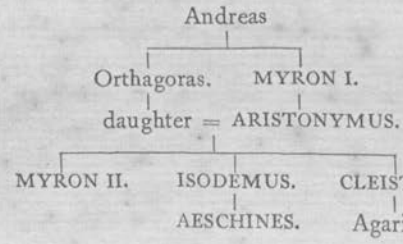
Megara was not yet in danger, the Persians left Europe alone for the present. But Spartan honour was involved. Croesus had got little good from 'the strongest of the Greeks,' and whilst Sardes was falling, the Spartans had been settling, this time for good, the old dispute with Argos about the Plain of Thyrea. At the Battle of the Champions, in 546, three hundred champions of Argos and Sparta fought for the Plain, and the issue was then fought out again in earnest by the full armies. Sparta won, her defeat by King Pheidon was at last avenged. The victory ranked as one of Sparta's chief battle-honours: the Thyrea dead were celebrated every year at the *Gymnopaidiai*, the 'Dance of Naked Boys,' the most brilliant of those solemn revels that sweetened the austerity of the new Spartan life, and later the same honour was given to the Thermopylae dead alone. In their pride, the Spartans sent word to Cyrus, who had conquered their ally, to keep his hands off the Greek cities of Asia. He answered scornfully, Sparta should soon have her own troubles to mind. The insult of Cyrus gave Sparta a sterner sense of realities than the flatteries of Croesus: it was just at this time, *c.* 545, that Cleomenes was born. An almost exact contemporary of Darius, he stands at the beginning of what Herodotus so strangely calls the 'Century of Sorrow[1],' a period of graver dangers and more serious issues than his fathers had known, and, more truly than that of Agamemnon, a Heroic Age.

[1] VI, 98. 'In the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, three generations, Greece suffered more sorrows than in twenty generations before.'

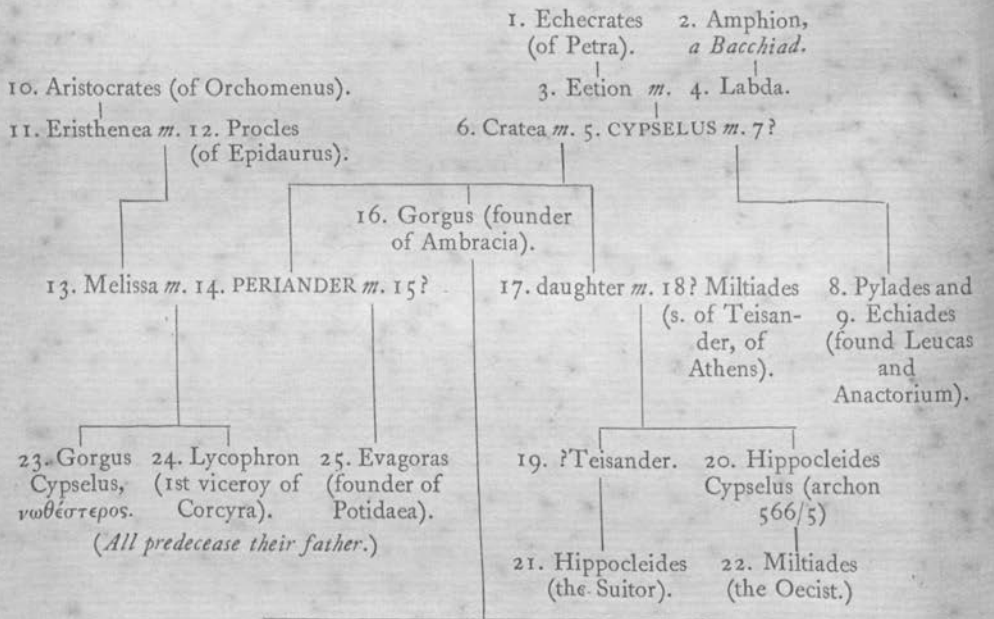
GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(The names of ruling Tyrants are in CAPITALS)

I. THE TYRANTS OF SICYON[1]



II. THE HOUSE OF CYPSELUS


1. Echecrates (of Petra).
2. Amphion, *a Bacchiad.*
10. Aristocrates (of Orchomenus).
3. Eetion *m.* 4. Labda.
11. Eisthenea *m.* 12. Procles (of Epidaurus).
6. Cratea *m.* 5. CYPSELUS *m.* 7?
16. Gorgus (founder of Ambracia).
13. Melissa *m.* 14. PERIANDER *m.* 15?
17. daughter *m.* 18? Miltiades (s. of Teisander, of Athens).
8. Pylades and 9. Echiades (found Leucas and Anactorium).
23. Gorgus Cypselus, νωθέστερος.
24. Lycophron (1st viceroy of Corcyra).
25. Evagoras (founder of Potidaea).
(*All predecease their father.*)
19. ?Teisander.
20. Hippocleides Cypselus (archon 566/5)
21. Hippocleides (the Suitor).
22. Miltiades (the Oecist.)
26. PSAMMETICHUS CYPSELUS (2nd viceroy of Corcyra, successor to Periander).
27. Periander and 28. Archinus (of Ambracia).

NOTE. Sources: [N.D. = Nicolaus Damascenus; D.L. = Diogénes Laertius.] 1–4. Hdt. v, 92 β; 6. D.L. i, 96; 7–9. N.D. 58, Strab. 452; 10–11. D.L. i, 94; 12–13. Hdt. iii, 50; 15. Cf. Hdt. iii, 50; 16. Scymn. 453–5, Strab. 325, 452, N.D. 60, Ant. Lib. 4, Plut. 7 *Sap. Conv.* 17; 17–22. Marc. *Vit. Thuc.* 3, Hdt. vi, 34, 128; cf. below p. 764 *sq.*; 23. Hdt. iii, 50, 53, D.L. i, 94, N.D. 60; 24. Hdt. iii, 50 *sqq.* D.L. i, 94, = N.D. 60; 25. N.D. 60; 26. Arist. *Pol.* 1315 B, N.D. 60; 27. Arist. *Pol.* 1304 A, 1311 A, Plut. *Amat.* 23, *Mal. Herod.* 21, D.L. i, 98; 28. Husband of *Timonassa*, Ἀθ. πολ. 17.

[1] See Denicolai, *Atti R. Accad. di Torino*, LI, 1916, p. 1225.

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Corinth, C 2
Cynuria, C 2
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THE PELOPONNESUS

C. 550 B.C.

Scales.

0 10 20 30 40
English Miles.

0 10 20 40 60
Kilometres.

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CHAPTER XXIII

EARLY ATHENS

I. INTRODUCTION

THE brilliant part played by Athens in the days of its zenith caused a reflected glory to be shed upon its earlier history, and the records of its past were accordingly explored by Greek scholars with special diligence. The foundations of a school of Athenian studies were laid in the fifth century B.C. by Hecataeus, Herodotus and Thucydides, who introduced digressions on primitive Attica into their general histories, and by Hellanicus, who endeavoured to fix Attic chronology as a line of reference for the general chronology of Greece. The work of these pioneers was carried on in the fourth and third centuries by a succession of 'Atthidographers' or writers of special monographs on Attica, by whose combined labours a considerable amount of historical material was accumulated. The work of this school has partly been transmitted to us by Plutarch and other antiquarians; and a valuable *résumé* of its earlier productions was presented to modern scholars in 1891 by the discovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. Of this important work, which is now our principal authority for the constitutional history of Athens, it will here suffice to say that it was probably one of the latest treatises from the master's own pen, and that it embodied the results of the researches achieved by Aristotle's predecessors down to the second half of the fourth century.

With these materials at hand modern historians can reconstruct early Attic history in its general outlines. But such reconstructions can be no more than skeletons: not until the sixth century B.C. does Attic history begin to take on flesh and blood. The zeal of the ancient Atthidographers did not make up for the lack of authentic records at their disposal, nor for their deficiency in historical method. The Athenians of early historical times were too much engrossed in the affairs of their own day to cultivate a detailed memory of the past, and the stock of genuine early traditions upon which the Atthidographers could draw was comparatively slender. In particular the Homeric poems, which constituted the main archive for primitive Greek history, ignored

Attica almost completely. Thus the ancient writers were mostly thrown back upon indirect methods of research, such as the argument from survivals. This line of reasoning was capable of producing good results, for in matters of form at least the Athenians were a conservative people, and some of the most valuable data in Aristotle's treatise have been secured by this method. But the Atthidographers did not apply the method consistently: they recorded but a fraction of what the institutions of their own day could have revealed. Worse still, none of them cultivated that gift of historic imagination of which Thucydides' sketch of early Greece had set them a shining example. Owing to this defect they accepted too readily the accretions which poets and rhetoricians had engrafted upon the stock of genuine early tradition. The field in which modern historians of Attica work contains but a thin growth of wheat which has to be extricated from dense tufts of weeds.

The archaeological evidence as to the history of Attica before 600 B.C. consists partly of architectural remains, of walls, houses, and tombs; partly of pottery which has been found in considerable quantities on the Acropolis of Athens, in the Ceramicus, and upon other sites. It is by no means easy to interpret this evidence, or to reconcile it with literary tradition; but certain main facts may be briefly stated.

In the lowest strata on the Acropolis, fragments of pottery have been found similar in shape and fabric to what occurs elsewhere in the Aegean region during the Neolithic age. These do not, however, give us much information as to the race or character of the people who made them. But the pottery of the Mycenaean age, in the forms, fabric and patterns characteristic of continental Greece is well represented on the Acropolis at Athens as well as on many sites of burials; and to the same age belongs the bee-hive tomb, of solid stone masonry, which has been found at Menidi (Acharnae); at Spata, Thoricus, and Eleusis are similar tombs excavated in the rock. The early fortification wall of the Acropolis, known as the Pelasgic or Pelargic wall, appears to be contemporary with the similar walls at Tiryns and at Mycenae; in all probability the tradition connecting it with the Pelasgians is of no greater historic value than that which assigns the walls of Tiryns to the Cyclopes or Stonehenge to the Druids. But it seems clear that the art and civilization, which attained its most brilliant growth at Mycenae, spread also in the latter part of the second millennium B.C. to Attica. Cf. vol. II, p. 459.

After the close of the Mycenaean age a new type of pottery,

of geometric style, is found throughout Attica, as well as elsewhere in Greece. This pottery and its developments last into historic times, and afford almost the only archaeological evidence as to the time between the decline of the Mycenaean civilization and the sixth century B.C. The problems to which it gives rise are difficult and complicated; these however must be reserved for later discussion (see p. 596 *sq.*). In addition to the great wall round the top of the Acropolis, there was also a kind of outwork at the west end, and extending a certain distance on the north and south sides; at the west it was arranged in a succession of terraces of approach, called the Enneapylon (nine gates). It is not certain at what time this outwork was added; the space within it was known, like the wall itself, as the Pelargikon or Pelasgikon, and appears to have been kept free of buildings. It therefore did not provide accommodation for citizens, but merely added to the defensibility of the citadel. Some fragments of it remain, but not enough to show its exact position or design.

In the present chapter we must limit ourselves to a general summary of early Attic history, and many of our conclusions must of necessity be merely tentative. The land of Attica was described by ancient writers as an *akte*, that is, a peninsula. This description is essentially accurate, for Attica did not cohere firmly with the adjacent continent. Communications with Boeotia were kept up by means of several minor tracks passing through the gaps of Mt Cithaeron and Parnes, and by means of an easy road which skirted the eastern end of the latter range. Connection with the Peloponnese was maintained by the 'Scironian road,' which skirted the coast of the Saronic Gulf and degenerated into a mere track where the cross-ranges of Cerata and Geraneia jut out into the sea. The land frontiers of Attica, though not impregnable to a military force, precluded close intercourse with the neighbouring countries. On the other hand, the coastline offered good facilities for commerce. The eastern seaboard, indeed, provided no safe shelter from the sudden storms of the Euboean channel, except in the bay of Marathon, and never became a highway for continental traffic. But the sheltered western shore contained the best landing-places in the Saronic Gulf. The broad bay of Phalerum offered a strip of firm sand for beaching, and the three land-locked basins which were scooped out of the adjacent Piraeus headland constituted a safe and defensible harbour, yet not too deeply recessed for sailing vessels. The Piraeus was the true gateway of Attica, and the communications of that country were essentially maritime.

The interior of Attica is ribbed with a loosely-jointed system of mountains, which break up the land into several distinct compartments, but do not completely sever intercourse between these. From the largest of these pockets, the central plain of Athens, two easy passes lead westward across the Aegaleos range to the coastal plain of Eleusis. On the eastern side a gap between the heights of Hymettus and Pentelicus affords access to the inland basin of the Mesogeia and the seaboard valley of Marathon. Thus Attica does not form an obvious geographical unit, but its constituent portions can all be connected up through the Athenian corridor which provides a natural centre of communications for the whole country.

The natural resources of Attica were far richer than those of most Greek districts, but they did not all lie on the surface. Of all the coast lands of Greece, Attica is most exposed to the dry north-east winds which dominate the Aegean basin in summer, and its rainfall is both deficient and ill distributed. The rare rain showers do not permeate the hard limestone crust of the uplands, but gather into torrents which are of little use for irrigation. On all the higher ground the bare rock crops out through the scanty soil, and this stony ground with its stunted scrub vegetation only affords subsistence to a few flocks of goats. The lowlands are coated with a good alluvial clay. The well-watered 'Thriasian' plain near Eleusis was famous for its wheat-land, and the other plains were well-adapted to the cultivation of the vine and the olive. But these fertile patches were not extensive enough to redeem the general barrenness of the land.

To make up for its infertility, the soil of Attica contained large mineral resources. The clay beds of the Cephisus brook near Athens were unsurpassed for the smoothness of their texture and the brilliance of their colouring matter. The pure white marble of Pentelicus, though inferior to the best Parian stone in translucence, excelled it in fineness of grain. The entire coastal range which runs out in the Sunium headland was a storehouse of metals; iron, zinc, lead and silver were found here, and the silver and lead mines of the Laurium district were the richest in Greece.

The climate of Attica was more extreme than is usual in Greece. Its torrid summers and dust-laden winds made it trying to weak constitutions. But the extreme lucidity of its atmosphere gave the Attic landscape a variety of outline and a delicacy of colour which made it a natural school of art; and its intensely stimulating air was recognized in antiquity as the source of Attic wit.

II. THE PEOPLE OF ATTICA

The people of Attica maintained traditions about their own origin which modern scholars have accepted as substantially correct. The inhabitants, so common opinion declared, were as a whole indigenous, but they had been intermixed with foreign elements whom the natives received in a hospitable spirit. Among these new-comers, it is true, Attic tradition reckoned several peoples who probably never set foot in Attica. The Pelasgi, who were reputed to have built the prehistoric fortifications at the entrance of the Athenian Acropolis, may have no real connection with Attica, except such as is provided by a dubious etymology. Their supposed presence may be no more than a deduction from Pelasgikon, a by-form of Pelargikon, the name officially assigned to those fortifications in the fifth century. At all events any Pelasgian admixture is without importance for Attic history and has a very small place even in Attic legend. Similarly a Thracian settlement at Eleusis may have been invented to explain the connection between the Eleusinian mysteries and the cult of the Thracian god Dionysus. The presence of a Carian element in Attica seems to have been inferred from the fact that a particular Athenian family worshipped Zeus Karios; but such a transference of cults of course does not prove a transmigration of peoples.

A somewhat stronger claim has been made by modern scholars on behalf of a Phoenician settlement in Attica. This theory, which originally rested on some unconvincing derivations of Attic place-names from Phoenician words, has been strengthened by the discovery at Eleusis of late Minoan tombs which contained Egyptian faïence ware and Phoenician imitations of Egyptian scarabs. These articles can hardly have been brought to Attica in other than Phoenician vessels, so we need not doubt that Phoenician merchants visited its shores. But did they make any permanent settlements? As a rule the Phoenicians contented themselves with occasional trading visits to Greek lands, and there is no reason for supposing that their sojourns in Attica were more prolonged. See below, p. 595 *sq.*

On the other hand, the infusion of an important Ionian strain into the population of Attica is proved to demonstration. Though the Athenians disowned the name 'Ionian,' they claimed that their land was 'Ionia's eldest' and the 'metropolis' of the Ionian settlements in Asia Minor. An Ionian immigration into Attica is implied in the legends of Ion, whom the Athenians regarded as a national hero. True enough, Athenian tradition did not include

Ion in the list of the Attic kings, but dubbed him a 'general' (Stratarchēs). Hence it has been supposed that the Ion myths did not originate in Attica but among the Ionians of Asia. But, even if we allow that the poet Euripides merely committed a patriotic perversion of legend when he provided his hero Ion with an Attic mother, we have to recognize a genuine old tradition in a tale which was current at Thoricus in eastern Attica, that Ion was a son of the local hero Gargettus, and in the cult which the Attic clan of the Ionidae offered to Ion as its eponymous ancestor. The Ion myth, we may conclude, was indigenous in Attica. But even if it were not, its mere appropriation by the Athenians proves that they recognized their kinship with the Ionians.

Again, the Attic dialect, though distinct from that of the insular and Asiatic Ionians, had many points in common with it and clearly formed a branch of the same 'East Greek' group. The evidence from Attic cults is equally decisive. Though Ion himself was not deified, his brother Xuthus received worship in the Marathon district. Poseidon Heliconios, who had a temple at Athens, was a specifically Ionian god. The Dionysiac festivals of the Thargelia and Anthesteria were common to the Ionians and the Athenians, and the latter also celebrated the distinctively Ionian festival of the Apaturia. The pan-Ionian festival of Apollo at Delos was not only attended but ostentatiously befriended by the Athenians.

Lastly, the names of the four Phylae or 'tribes' into which Attica was divided (see p. 583 *sq.*) recurred singly or in combination in various other Ionian communities. The kinship between the Ionians and Athenians is thus established by a fourfold line of proof.

Although, as we have seen, Ion sometimes passed for a native of Attica, he usually figured in legend as a newcomer. The Athenians therefore looked upon the Ionians in Attica as an immigrant people. This tradition is confirmed by all our other evidence. The Attic dialect, though predominantly Ionic, is a composite tongue, like that of the Boeotians and Thessalians, and contains a pre-Ionic element which is conspicuous in Attic place-names. The specifically Ionic cults were mostly localized in the eastern and north-eastern corners of Attica, and those Ionic deities which won their way to Athens failed to capture the Acropolis and had to be content with sanctuaries in the Lower Town. In the fifth century, it is true, Poseidon stole into the Erechtheum disguised as 'Poseidon Erechtheus.' But this identi-

fication of Poseidon with the primitive Attic god of agriculture was of late date, and it rested on a confusion, for Erechtheus was an earth-*breaker* (χθών, ἐρείκω), not an earth-shaker, like Poseidon. The original relation between Poseidon and the Acropolis deities was more correctly recorded on the western Parthenon pediment, where Poseidon was represented as an unsuccessful rival of Athena for the possession of the Acropolis.

The Ionian element in the Attic population was therefore clearly derived from an immigrant stock. The region from which this stock entered Attica need not be discussed here, but the localization of the Ionic cults in north-eastern Attica, the derivation of two Attic clans, the Gephyraei and the Eunostidae, from Tanagra, and the worship of Poseidon under the surname 'Heliconios,' all point to an invasion from Boeotia. The date of this invasion cannot be fixed. But it was certainly previous to the Ionian colonization of Asia Minor, else Athens would not have ranked as the metropolis of these settlements. The method of invasion must have been in the main a peaceful one. Attic tradition usually represented the Ionian leaders Ion and Theseus as helpful rather than hostile visitors. Archaeology bears out this belief, for the monuments of Attica reveal no such clean break between prehistoric and historic conditions as in Thessaly, Argolis or Laconia. The political institutions of Attica lead to the same conclusion, for they offer no trace of a conquering population exploiting a conquered race, as in the Dorian states of the Peloponnese; Ionian and autochthonous elements are fused on equal terms, and whatever political inequalities exist are not based on racial contrasts.

Of the pre-Ionic elements of population, which no doubt were the more numerous, nothing certain is known. A great many Attic place-names have an un-Greek appearance and point to a pre-Hellenic stratum of inhabitants. On the other hand, Athena, the principal pre-Ionic deity, certainly belonged to the Hellenic pantheon. Probably the pre-Ionic Athenians were no less a composite stock than their Ionicized descendants. But unless archaeology throws fresh light on this subject, it is unlikely that the pre-Ionic compound will be successfully analyzed.

III. THE UNION OF ATTICA

Attica, with its 1000 square miles, was a large block of territory as measured by the ancient Greek standard. Its internal structure, as we have seen, permitted but did not favour intercourse between

its constituent parts. Nevertheless the problem of uniting those parts into a single political community was achieved both speedily and with durable success: indeed no other Greek territory of equal size, except Laconia, formed an earlier or a more permanent political union.

At the dawn of history Attica, like all the larger Greek territories, was an aggregate of petty independent states. The number and extent of these states can no longer be determined, for Attic tradition preserved but a dim remembrance of the period preceding the union of the land: but their existence in primitive times is not open to reasonable doubt. The story that Attica was formerly grouped into twelve separate states (πόλεις) by Cecrops, the first Athenian king, cannot indeed be accepted as it stands, for Cecrops was undoubtedly a mythical figure, and the Attic Dodecapolis has all the appearance of being a fictitious pendant to the historic Dodecapolis of the Asiatic Ionians who were reckoned as colonists from Attica. On the other hand, the legends of wars waged by the Athenian rulers against Pallas of Pallene (in central Attica) and Cephalus of Thoricus (in the south-east) and the persistent tradition of conflicts between Athens and Eleusis, at least prove that the Athenians recognized the former existence of independent communities in every part of Attica. Besides, the somewhat scanty evidence of the legends is confirmed by the survival of cults and usages which presuppose an original division of Attica into Lilliputian states. No conclusions indeed can be drawn from the survival of a four-village group of Piraeus, Phalerum and two other townships, or of a three-village group of Cropidae, Peleces and Eupyridae as religious associations, for the objects of these groups may never have been anything but sacral. Again, the special privileges which were accorded to the village of Decelea by the Spartans throws no light on the conditions of primitive Attica, for this grant cannot be of earlier date than the last years of the sixth century, when the Spartans first came into touch with Decelea. But the Tetrapolis of Marathon, Oenoë, Tricorythus and Probalinthus in north-eastern Attica, though reduced in later centuries to a merely formal existence, probably originated in an independent political confederation, for the term *polis* would hardly be applied to a merely social or religious corporation. A condition of disunion and even of mutual hostility among the primitive Attic states is also suggested by the legal fiction which forbad intermarriage between the folks of Hagnus and Pallene in historic days. But the most decisive proof of the original condition of Attica is provided by the festival of the

Synoikia, a state function which the Athenians still celebrated in the fifth century to commemorate the amalgamation of all Attica into one state. This festival is sufficient in itself to prove a previous condition of disunion.

The extant archaeological evidence as to the early division of Attica is very slight and inconclusive. Some early citadels may be traced, for example one on the east side of Hymettus which may be the ancient Pallene, the home of the Pallantidae who attacked Theseus. The most considerable fortification is the wall of dry stones, some three miles long, which is built across the valley between Aegaleos and Parnes. This wall seems to mark the boundary between the territory of Athens and that of Eleusis; but its date is uncertain; it evidently was not regarded as defensible at the time of the Peloponnesian War. The groups of graves in various places also seem to imply several important centres of civilization.

The nature of the Synoikismos or union of all Attica has been well described by Thucydides. The essence of it, as he points out, lay not in any movement of population, but in a transference of political sovereignty, in a substitution of a general Athenian franchise for a multitude of particular Attic franchises. In a political sense Athenian and Attic were henceforth identical terms. It is important to notice, however, that a Synoikismos in the literal sense of 'concentration' into Athens was effected by the ruling and other noble families of the outlying communities, for these formed in early historical times an urban aristocracy (*astoi*) in contrast with the common folk of the countryside (*demos*).

Thucydides regarded this union of Attica as a bloodless conquest: superior insight rather than force was the weapon by which Athens established its sovereignty. This view of the case is in accord with general Attic tradition, which did not represent the early conflicts between Athens and her neighbours as wars of conquest, but recorded that the most important of these struggles, the feud between Athens and Eleusis, was terminated by a truce. Thucydides' account is also confirmed by the terms of the union, which gave equal political franchise to all inhabitants of Attica, and did not reduce the people of the outlying districts to the status of Perioeci or dependents. Though isolated passages of arms may have preceded the union of Attica, we must conclude that this process, like the previous Ionian immigration, was essentially peaceful.

In one respect, however, we must differ from Thucydides and

Attic tradition. These telescoped the Synoikismos into a single act and referred it to one individual, an Athenian king, Theseus[1]. On grounds of general probability we cannot believe that so extensive an amalgamation as that of all Attica could have been accomplished by one heroic *coup*; it appears far more likely that it was the result of many successive treaties and compromises. The festival of the Synoikia, we may infer, was instituted to celebrate the final consummation of a long-continued process.

The completion of the Synoikismos may be assigned to the end of the eighth century B.C.: its commencement cannot be dated with any certainty. The absence of references to the minor townships of Attica in Homer, which has been taken to prove that these had already been swallowed up by Athens in prehistoric times, merely proves that Homer chose to ignore them. But the fact that Athens alone of Attic communities is mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships is tolerably certain proof that the process of union was more or less complete at the time when this poem was composed, for the Catalogue purported to be exhaustive, and its knowledge of central Greece was singularly full. Conversely the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, which was probably composed about 700 B.C., represents Eleusis as an independent community with a king of its own. The beginning of the Synoikismos may therefore be dated back to 1000 B.C., or even beyond this point; but the final union of Attica cannot have taken place long before 700 B.C.

IV. THE CITY OF ATHENS

The topography of early Athens, both before and after the Synoikismos, is to a great extent a matter of conjecture. The *locus classicus* on this question is the well-known passage of Thucydides (II, 15), who states that Theseus, at the time of the Synoikismos, substituted the common Prytaneum and Bouleuterion (or Senate House) at Athens for the separate local ones hitherto in use. The situation of these two buildings was evidently supposed by Thucydides to be the same as in later times; and this is approximately known, the Prytaneum being below the north slope of the Acropolis, near the precinct of Agraulos, and the Bouleuterion being at the upper end of the Agora, near the north foot of the Areopagus. It appears therefore probable that the Agora, which during this period must have superseded the

[1] Opinion among modern scholars is divided as to whether Theseus was a historical person or a merely legendary character.

Acropolis as the centre of civic life, was from the first situated where it lay throughout the historical age, to the north of the Areopagus. This is obviously the most suitable position for it, since it lies in the region most easily accessible both from the harbour and from the mainland. Adjoining it, both within and without the city gate, was the Ceramicus, or Potters' Field, the centre of the most flourishing manufacture of Athens.

Thucydides adds that in early days Athens consisted of the Acropolis (still called Polis in later days for that reason) and the region below it towards the south. This seems inconsistent with the position of the Prytaneum and Bouleuterion; but he justifies it by the statement that 'the temples outside the Acropolis were situated in this direction, that of Zeus Olympios, the Pythium, that of Earth, and that of Dionysus in the Marshes, in whose honour the older Dionysia are celebrated.' The position of the Olympieum and the Pythium, near the Ilissus and south-east of the Acropolis, is known; and although there is no other evidence of the existence of the Pythium before the time of Peisistratus, foundations have been found beneath the remains of Peisistratus' colossal temple of Olympian Zeus, which must belong to a primitive shrine on the same site, probably that attributed by tradition to Deucalion; and the cleft where the waters of the deluge disappeared lay in this region. The site of the early Dionysium is not known unless it be identified with the precinct discovered by Dörpfeld in the hollow between the Acropolis and the Pnyx. Leake placed it south of the later theatre. The position of the spring Callirrhoë (later Enneacrounos) is also adduced by Thucydides, and this spring is known to have been in later times in the bed of the Ilissus near the Olympieum.

The whole topography of primitive Athens has been the subject of acute controversy. Dörpfeld refuses to recognize in Thucydides' words a reference to these precincts in the south-east, but suggests another Pythium and Olympieum close under the Acropolis, and identifies Callirrhoë with some borings for water in the Pnyx hill in a region to which an aqueduct was certainly built by Peisistratus in the sixth century. But such duplication seems improbable, and has not been generally accepted, at least in the case of the Pythium and Olympieum. It must be admitted that the evidence is insufficient to decide the questions at issue; but there is much to be said for the view that the position of the Agora remained in the same place from the Synoikismos to historic times, since no change is recorded. Excavations have given no decisive evidence, since no remains have been found of an earlier date than the

sixth century. The foundations of houses cut in the rock, on the Pnyx hill and in its neighbourhood, are also of uncertain date, probably not very early. All that can be said with certainty is that when Athens became the capital of Attica, the town was extended on all sides around the Acropolis and its outwork, the Pelasgikon, and was probably then surrounded by a wall which gave it the wheel-shaped form recorded in the well-known Delphic oracle. This wall must however have had a smaller circuit than that of Themistocles; for we are expressly told that, by the wall built by him after the Persian sack of Athens, the circuit of the town was extended on all sides.

V. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Synoikismos of Attica carried with it a reorganization of government and a regrouping of the population, among whom the enfranchized portion alone probably exceeded 10,000 at the outset. For various purposes the Athenian people were henceforth classified into *phratriai* ('brotherhoods'), *phylai* or tribes, *genē*, *i.e.* family groups or clans, and other subdivisions. The precise nature of these groups is hard to ascertain, for most of them soon became obsolescent or were adapted to new uses. But the more important of them require some discussion.

In historical times the citizen population of Attica was apportioned among twelve phratries or 'brotherhoods,' after a fashion common among Greek states. In origin the phratries appear to have been voluntary associations, being composed in the first instance of comrades-in-war, like the *phiditia* and *hetaireiai* which survived for centuries in Sparta and Crete. They then perpetuated themselves in the more settled period after the great migrations as 'frith gilds' whose members co-operated in defence of life and property. These functions were eventually forfeited by the phratries to the city-states into which they were absorbed, but the phratries usually survived as constituent groups of the city population, and performed minor offices in the state administration. Under the Athenian government the entire citizen body was apportioned among the Attic phratries, whose number was henceforth fixed at twelve.

The method of apportionment is uncertain. At all events nothing can be inferred from the fact that the names of such few phratries as are known to us mostly have the patronymic ending *-idai*, the equivalent of the Anglo-Saxon suffix *-ing*. Though these names suggest that the phratries were held together by a

bond of kinship, yet this bond may have been of an entirely fictitious character, according to the prevalent custom among all Greek associations of inventing common ancestors *pro forma*. And the size of the phratries, which even in the eighth or seventh century must have contained on an average some 1000 persons, proves that all the members cannot have been related by blood. It is more likely that the phratries were local groups, each occupying a distinct portion of Attic territory, for their *oikoi* or meeting-houses were not concentrated in Athens, but disseminated over the whole country. But whatever the exact constitution of these brotherhoods, it is certain that they came to comprise the entire citizen body, for down to the end of the sixth century membership of a phratry was the qualification for the Athenian franchise. The functions of the phratries in historic times were largely confined to sacral purposes such as the worship of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, and the celebration of the Apaturia, at which festival the united phratries did honour to Dionysus. Of their original guardianship of life and property the phratries preserved a few attenuated fragments, such as the right to prosecute the murderer of one of their number, and to pronounce on the legitimacy of children born to their members. The rôle of the phratry in historical times was of small and decreasing importance, but down to the end of the sixth century membership was still a coveted right, and attempts to restrict it to the select class who were enrolled in the *genē* or 'family groups' (see p. 584) were checked by special legislation.

The phratries in Greek communities were frequently linked up in larger units known as *phylai* or 'tribes.' These bodies, which originally formed so many independent war bands, were eventually subordinated to the state authorities in the same way as the phratries, and commonly served as the main divisions of the united state-army. In Attica the tribes were four in number, each being made up of three phratries. The names of these tribes—*Geleontes*, *Hoplētes*, *Argadeis* and *Aigikoreis*—must not be taken to indicate that they were castes pursuing particular callings, for an exhaustive division of the community into groups of that character was foreign to Greek practice, and the Athenian nobility was distributed among all the four tribes: the names were probably derived from the distinctive tribal cults. The Attic tribes, like most others, were primarily military divisions, and although their numbers were several times altered in later centuries, they always retained their military functions. We have already noticed (p. 576) that the names of the Attic tribes recur

in various Ionian towns; this is clear evidence that the tribal organization was subsequent to the Ionian immigration, and indeed we may assume on grounds of general probability that the whole citizen population of Attica was not distributed among them until after the Synoikismos. The principle of this division is not clear. It is generally assumed that each tribe formed one single block of territory like an English county. But there is no direct evidence to this effect, and it is quite conceivable that the early Attic tribes, like those instituted afterwards by Cleisthenes, were aggregates of disconnected sections. The *phylobasilēs*, or 'tribe kings,' who stood at the head of each *phyle*, were no doubt the commanders of the tribal levy, but they also exercised judicial functions, being assessors of the king in trials for murder at the court of the Prytaneum (see p. 593). It may be supposed that the phylobasilēs here acted as representatives of the constituent phratries of his tribe, for the phratries, as we have seen, had the right of prosecuting murderers. The phylobasilēs were chosen ἀριστίνδην, *i.e.* from the ranks of the nobility, but by what precise method is not known.

According to a classification preserved by Aristotle, each Attic phratry was split up into thirty *genē*, or 'clans,' so that the entire citizen population was apportioned among 360 such groups. This scheme is analogous to those which were actually carried into effect in several other Greek towns, but there is good reason for believing that the Attic clans were not an official grouping, and did not comprise the whole citizen body. It is perhaps no serious objection to Aristotle's scheme that the names of only some 90 out of a reputed total of 360 family groups have come down to us. But a decisive argument against him is supplied by an extant fragment of an early Attic law which prescribed that the phratries must admit not only members of clans (*gennētai*), but other categories of citizens as members. This ordinance proves clearly that the members of the clans formed but one constituent portion of the citizen body as enrolled in the phratries. Thus whereas the phratries and the phylae comprised the whole citizen population, the clans included but a fraction of it.

Again, it is certain that the clans were not subdivisions of the phratries. As a general rule the members of each clan did not all belong to the same phratry, but were distributed quite at random among these groups, and the case of the Eteobutadae, a clan whose members were apparently included *en bloc* in one and the same phratry, must be regarded as exceptional. It follows that

the clans stood in no definite relation to the phratries. Lastly, the unofficial character of the clans is quite certain, for we never hear of them performing any official political function after the manner of the tribes and the phratries.

The clans therefore were private and sectional associations. From what class, then, were they recruited? In answering this question we must not be led astray by the fact that a good many clans, like the tribes, had names denoting vocations; *e.g.* 'heralds' (*kērukes*), 'well-diggers' (*phreorychoi*), 'ox-spanners' (*būzygai*). It is unlikely that in the early days of Attic history an extensive system of 'gilds' should have been established, and that either such a comprehensive group as the 'ox-spanners,' or such a specialized group as the 'well-diggers,' should have constituted a separate 'gild.' In all probability these names were fancy-choices. Again, we must not be too quick to draw conclusions from the names of the other clans, most of which had a patronymic suffix, and therefore suggest that their members were related by kinship. No doubt the clans frequently contained whole families, but taken as a whole they constituted artificial aggregates of families rather than one interrelated group. The artificial character of the clans is expressly attested by ancient writers; it is also indicated by the obviously mythical character of the ancestors from whom they drew their name, and by the longevity of several clans which maintained an unbroken existence to the days of the Roman empire.

The real nature of the clans is not far to seek. Among early communities the first class of persons to segregate themselves from the commonalty and to pursue sectional interests usually consists of the large landowners: of these the primitive nobilities are formed. The Attic clans provide a good illustration of this rule. The fact that several Attic *demoi* or villages were named after a clan, *e.g.* Ionidae, Butadae, Philaidae, is as eloquent as English place-names like Stoke Mandeville or Melton Mowbray: evidently the clan which furnished the name of each village comprised the principal landowners of the district. These owners of large estates eventually coalesced into a nobility, and so the clans became an essentially aristocratic organization. It is not unlikely that in course of time the clans, like the Roman *gentes*, came to include plebeians. But the importance of the clans rested on the fact that they stood for high birth and wealth. For this reason, although unofficial bodies, they at first exercised a greater effective power than the tribes and phratries. Indeed the larger clans were able to organize formidable fighting forces, and as late as the

sixth century waged private wars in the best style of the Middle Ages. It required the combined efforts of the Athenian tyrants and Cleisthenes to break the corporate power of the clans, and to deprive them of their position as states within the state.

The rise of the Attic nobility which is reflected in the growth of the clans is also illustrated in the changes which the central government of Attica underwent after the Synoikismos. The concentration of the leading Athenian families in Athens enabled them to exercise continuous pressure upon the central government and eventually to recast it in their own interests.

VI. THE EARLIEST CONSTITUTION

Before we proceed to describe this revolution we shall have to discuss the original constitution of the Athenian state. Of this constitution unfortunately we know nothing for certain, except that it contained the usual two organs of a primitive Greek community, a king and a council. This confession of ignorance may appear strange in view of the fact that no less than six lists of the kings of Athens have come down to us, and that all these lists agree as to the names of the rulers. The authors of these lists, however, were all of a comparatively late period, for none dated back beyond the third century, and their prototype was certainly of later date than Herodotus, for Herodotus knew the names of only four kings, whereas the lists enumerate thirty. Another general argument against the lists is their very completeness. Of all Greek genealogies those of the Spartan kings ranked as the most authentic; yet the pedigrees of these rulers could not be traced back with certainty beyond the ninth century. The regal lists of Athens reach back beyond 1500 B.C. and assign exact dates even to the earliest reigns. It is evident that the greater part at least of these lists was not based on a genuine tradition. The value of the lists is further impaired by the numerous discrepancies between them in regard to chronology, discrepancies which extend down to the very last dynasty. Lastly, a glance at the names of the individual kings will show that several of these were not historical persons. 'Cecrops' and 'Erechtheus' are counterfeits of two archaic gods; and it is not unlikely that other names were borrowed from half-forgotten deities. At the lower end of the lists we meet with figures which were almost certainly reproduced from the genealogies of various noble houses. In 'Codrus' we readily recognize the eponymous ancestor

of the Codridae, a clan which was not indeed domiciled in Attica, but in Ionia, yet was reputed to be sprung from the royal line of Athens. The names 'Alcmaeon,' 'Megacles' and 'Ariphron' taken singly might not excite suspicion, but since all of them recur in the pedigree of Pericles, the greatest though uncrowned king of Athens, it is fairly obvious that they were foisted in *ad maiorem Periclis gloriam*.

The lists of the kings are so full of flaws that the only safe course is to accept none of their data except where they are confirmed by independent evidence. In only two instances is such evidence forthcoming. The family of the Medontidae, from whom the last royal dynasty was supposed to have been drawn, were represented in historical times by a clan of the same name which owned a piece of land hard by the Athenian Acropolis. As the Acropolis was the natural place of residence for Attic kings, and some remains of what was probably the royal palace are still to be seen there, it does not seem too rash to infer that the property of the historic Medontidae was the surviving portion of the royal domain which their kingly ancestors had enjoyed. Thus the Medontid dynasty is made safe for history. Among the names of this dynasty, moreover, one at least belongs to a real person, viz. that of Acastus. We are informed by Aristotle that in his own time the archons before entering office still took an oath that 'they would fulfil their sworn promises "as under Acastus".' This Acastus can hardly be any other than the king of that name, who must accordingly be accepted as a historical person. But he stands out as a solitary figure without any background. He was evidently one of the last kings of Athens, for in his day the archonship (see p. 592) was already in being; but his date and place within the Medontid dynasty cannot be fixed.

For the history of the king's council we have not even a bad tradition to guide us, but must rely entirely on inferences from survivals and from the general probabilities of the case.

As we never hear of an *ecclesia* or folk moot before the time of Solon, we may assume that such a body, though perhaps not unknown to the constitution, had no practical importance and, if summoned at all, was convened merely for formal purposes. A king's council, however, was a common and indeed a necessary organ in an early Greek state, and there can be no doubt that such a body existed in Athens. But it is disputed whether this body should be identified with the Council of the Areopagus or with the boulē of historical times. In favour of the latter view it has been urged that the boulē's meeting-place, the Prytaneum, or

'town hall,' was one of the oldest public buildings of Athens, and therefore must have been the seat of the original state council. Further evidence for this theory has been sought in a passage in Herodotus, who mentions certain officials known as 'Prytaneis of the naucrari' in connection with the conspiracy of Cylon. These, it is contended, held the same office as the prytaneis of the fifth and later centuries; and as these later prytaneis were simply a committee of the boulē, it is argued that Herodotus' prytaneis of the naucrari were a committee to the selfsame boulē, and that this boulē dates back to the period before Cylon's conspiracy, *i.e.* to the early days of Attic history. But this reasoning is based on serious errors of fact. Undoubtedly the Prytaneum was quite a venerable building, and it played an important part in public administration, for it was the seat of one of the early courts of justice, but it was not the meeting-place of either the boulē or its prytaneis: the former assembled in the bouleutērion, the latter in the *skias*. Again, the prytaneis of the naucrari, as Herodotus shows quite plainly, were an executive, not a deliberative body; and therefore no analogy can be drawn between them and the prytaneis of later centuries. Furthermore, Athenian tradition denied the boulē's claim to high antiquity, for it ascribed this body to Solon. And this tradition, though of no great value in itself, is confirmed by the procedure of the boulē. Unlike the genuine survivals from an early age, that body observed no archaic rituals and ceremonies; and it was convened, not by the basileus or archon eponymos or some other early official, but by a committee of prytaneis of whom no trace existed before the sixth century. We may therefore take it as certain that the original state council at Athens was something distinct from the boulē of later times.

This leaves the field free for the Council of the Areopagus. The claims of this body to a high antiquity were a matter of dispute among the Athenians themselves. Isocrates and Aristotle upheld these claims emphatically; but a current Athenian tradition affirmed that the Areopagus was a creation of Solon's, and though this belief perhaps sprang from no better source than the common Athenian tendency to find in Solon the author of the entire Athenian constitution, yet it was accepted by some ancient scholars on the ground that no mention was made of the Areopagus in Draco's laws. This *argumentum ex silentio* would be a cogent one, if it could be shown that its authors were well acquainted with Draco's code. But there is good reason for believing that the only portions of the code which survived to the fifth and fourth centuries were those few scanty fragments of the statute

concerning unpremeditated murder, which have been preserved to our own time; and unpremeditated murder was an offence of which the Areopagus never had cognizance. The only argument against the high antiquity of the Areopagus thus falls to the ground.

A strong presumptive argument on the other side is offered by the special feeling of respect and even of veneration which the Athenians always had for the Areopagus. The peculiar prestige of this assembly is not sufficiently explained by its functions as a court for homicide, and consequent association with the *Arai* or goddesses of revenge. The divinity which hedged the Areopagus appears rather to have been due to its long record of public service. But a more definite reason for assigning a high age to the Areopagus is supplied by an extant fragment of a decree of amnesty issued by Solon: 'all men who were outlawed before the archonship of Solon are to recover their rights, save those who were exiled under sentence of the Areopagus, the Ephetae or the kings' court in the Prytaneum....' In spite of attempts to prove the contrary, the words 'the Areopagus' can only be taken to refer to the council commonly known as that of the Areopagus (ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή). Although this name does not prove that that body met only on Ares' hill, or even that this was its original place of meeting, it surely suffices to show that no other court or council met on that hill, else its title instead of being distinctive would have been utterly ambiguous and misleading. Moreover the only other tribunal which could conceivably have assembled on Ares' hill, the court of the Ephetae, is expressly distinguished in the amnesty decree from the court of the Areopagus. We thus have found indisputable evidence that the Areopagus was pre-Solonian, and therefore the oldest state council in Athens. Lastly, in Aristotle's time, the Areopagus still met in the King's Porch under the presidency of the King Archon, who was the direct successor of the early Attic kings (see p. 591 *sq.*). This is proof conclusive that the Areopagus dated back to the early Attic monarchy.

The functions of the Areopagus in its original form were probably the same as those of any early Greek *gerousia* or council of state. That it was from the first a deliberative body is proved by the fact that its full official title was always the *Council* of the Areopagus. Its activities as a court of law were certainly of old standing. In addition to the evidence of Solon's amnesty decree on this point, the very name of 'Areopagus' is a proof of these judicial functions, for this name would never have been conferred

upon the council unless its sessions on Ares' hill had been among its most distinctive features; and these sessions were purely judicial. And the same conclusion may be drawn from a persistent Athenian tradition that one of the fundamental prerogatives of the Areopagus was the guardianship of the laws. The early attributes of the Areopagus may therefore be compared with those of the Spartan gerousia, which similarly combined the functions of a council and a tribunal. Nevertheless we must not exaggerate the importance of the early Areopagus as a court of law. Its judicial functions were confined to criminal actions, and the disciplinary and censorial powers which some ancient authors attributed to it must be regarded as a fiction, for such powers were hardly compatible with the social conditions or conceptions of government which obtained in early Attica. We shall not go far wrong in assuming that the Areopagus was primarily an advisory body, and that its early judicial duties were derivative and incidental.

Though nothing is known for certain about the original membership of the Areopagus, it was no doubt composed, like other such bodies, of the principal nobles. Its leading members would probably be drawn from the families which had once held independent sway in the outlying parts of Attica.

VII. THE ARISTOCRACY

Our evidence concerning the earliest Athenian constitution, scanty as it is, suffices to show that it conformed to the general type of primitive Greek monarchy. By the seventh century, however, Athens has unmistakably been transformed into an aristocratic republic. The king has left the palace on the Acropolis for the 'King's Porch' in the lower town; he has been degraded into an elected official, drawn from the general body of the nobility, and holding office for one year only; and apart from his sacral duties, which remain unimpaired, he has no functions except a remnant of his criminal jurisdiction. The king's military functions have now devolved upon another elected official, the Polemarch, and his civil jurisdiction upon a third magistrate, the archon eponymos, who gives his name to the year like the Roman consuls. (Cf. the Assyrian usage, p. 3.)

The process by which this change was accomplished therefore ran on three lines: the kingship was made elective; it became an annual office; and it was put into commission. The successive steps in this triple process have been indicated by Aristotle. The

kingship, so he makes out, became elective in the days of Acastus or of his predecessor Medon, but the royal power continued to be conferred on the Medontidae for a further period which he does not specify. The king's term of office was reduced in 753 B.C. to ten years, and in 683 to one year. The first stage in the division of the king's powers was the appointment, at an unknown date, of the Polemarch ('war-chief'): the next step was the creation of the archon eponymos, who appears in later history as the Archon *par excellence*. Aristotle's scheme, however, is confessedly based on conjecture. His only documentary authority consisted of the 'fasti' of the Attic archons, which gave a continuous list of names from 683 B.C., and it is merely a probable, not a certain inference, that this was the year in which the archonship became an annual office. Moreover, the above reconstruction of events is open to two serious objections. In the first place, a ten-year tenure of the kingly office is quite unparalleled in Greek history, and there is reason to believe that the earlier histories of Attica, such as that of Hellanicus, did not recognize the existence of this half-way house in the downward career of the king. Secondly, it seems strange that the Attic nobility, having gained the right of election to the royal office, should indefinitely have waived that right in favour of the ruling dynasty. We therefore seem justified in recasting Aristotle's scheme, and this can best be done by simplifying it. We may eliminate the ten-year kingship, thus reducing the process of transition from lifelong to annual tenure to a single stage. We may further assume that the kingship did not become elective until it became annual: the Medontid dynasty, so long as it ruled at all, ruled by hereditary right. Thus we reach the conclusion that two of the essential steps in the abrogation of kingship at Athens, the shortening of the term of office and its conversion from a hereditary to an elective function, were accomplished in one single act.

But this act was rather the consummation than the crisis of the revolution. The decisive factor in the decline of the monarchy was rather the institution of the Polemarch and the archon eponymos, which transferred the reality of power from the king to his new colleagues. These, we may assume, were elected from the first out of the ranks of the nobles, and their tenure of office was probably never other than annual. In any case, these two offices were the executive organs by which the nobility exercised their power. In particular, the institution of the Polemarch represents a vital change in the balance of power. True enough, the archon eponymos eventually came to rank as the highest

Athenian magistrate. But his office was almost certainly younger than that of the Polemarch. As Aristotle aptly remarks, he did not officiate at any of the older religious cults. Moreover, his positive functions mark him out as a late-comer. The special province of the archon eponymos was the adjudication of disputes about property: the proclamation which he made on entering office, 'that each man should have and hold to the end of his archonship what he had before his archonship began,' proves clearly that the safeguarding of property was his primary function. But this branch of jurisdiction does not attain importance until the comparatively late moment in a country's history when property begins to accumulate. In early Attica the duties which the Polemarch took over were certainly of prior origin to those of the archon eponymos. Against this view it has been urged that the office of Polemarch must be secondary to that of the Archon, because the name Polemarch is derived from that of Archon. But several Greek states instituted the office of Polemarch without Archons to precede or to follow them. The appointment of the Polemarch must therefore be regarded as the first and most serious step in the degradation of the kingship.

Of the method by which the nobles attenuated the king's power, nothing is known. The oath of the archons, 'that they would fulfil their sworn promises as in the days of Acastus' has been compared with the yearly compact to which the kings and ephors swore at Sparta, and the settlement which this oath consecrated has therefore been regarded as the outcome of a serious if not actually violent conflict. But this inference would only be admissible if the other archons had exchanged oaths with the Basileus who represented the sovereign king of earlier days; in point of fact the college of archons took the oath *en bloc* and tendered no oath in return. The revolution, as Aristotle implies, was probably carried out entirely by amicable means, for Attic tradition knew nothing of a sharp conflict between kings and nobles, and the gradual nature of the change in the government indicates its peacefulness.

The chronology of the revolution cannot be fixed precisely. It was certainly completed by 683 B.C., the year from which the list of archons eponymoi runs unbroken, and as the list may not be complete at its upper end, the institution of the annual magistrates perhaps goes back somewhat further. On the other hand, the whole process was subsequent to the Synoikismos. The annexation of Eleusis, which was probably the concluding act of the Synoikismos, was the work of the kings, for in later times the

administration of the Eleusinian sanctuary was in the hands of the Basileus, the king's lineal successor. Moreover the revolution presupposes the union of Attica, which had the double effect of increasing the scope of the king's work to a point where a division of labour became essential, and of concentrating the 'king's peers' in the capital, where they could shape the necessary changes in the constitution to their own advantage. The second half of the eighth century, broadly speaking, was the date of the revolution.

When the king was reduced to an annual elective official, the change from monarchy to aristocracy was complete. But some minor changes in the constitution which mostly took place in the seventh century still require notice. The board of archons, which at first comprised only the archon eponymos, the Basileus and the Polemarch, was subsequently increased to nine members by the addition of six *thesmothetae*, or 'law-setters.' According to Aristotle these officials were appointed to commit to writing and publish the statutes of Athens. This definition of their duties, however, will not pass muster. It is incredible that such simple clerical work should have required the permanent establishment of six supplementary officials of high rank. Besides, Aristotle himself acknowledged the common and credible tradition that the first written record of Athenian laws was made, not by the Thesmothetae, but by Draco. The real purpose of the Thesmothetae may be inferred from their name, 'setters' or 'fixers' of the law, and from their later functions as presidents of the Heliaea or popular court of law (see vol. IV, p. 55). Evidently they, like the King Archon and archon eponymos, were judges, though their original sphere of competence cannot be defined.

To the pre-Solonian period we may likewise ascribe the institution of the Ephetae or 'admitters' (to trial), a tribunal of fifty-one noblemen who served as the principal court for the trial of murder. This court met under the presidency of 'the kings,' a term which probably stands for the Basileus and the phylobasilēs or tribal kings sitting as a panel of chairmen. The ephetae are mentioned in Draco's murder law and in Solon's amnesty decree. Some such body was almost certainly anterior to Draco's code, for Draco regulated existing institutions rather than created new ones. The ephetae were identified by some ancient authors with the Areopagus; but Solon's amnesty decree proves that they were distinct. In this decree the Areopagus and the Prytaneum figure as concurrent courts of murder alongside the ephetae, and a strict division of labour between the several tribunals does not appear

to have been made before Solon's time. But the ephetae were the first court to be expressly instituted for the trial of murder, and they took cognizance of most of such cases. This specialized character of their functions stands in contrast with the more comprehensive powers of the Areopagus and suggests a comparatively late date for their establishment. We may therefore assume that they were instituted in the seventh century rather than in the eighth. In pursuance of their duties the ephetae went on circuit to the various 'asylums' or 'places of refuge' in and around Athens to which homicides could repair for sanctuary. The essence of their jurisdiction lay in finding whether the violence inflicted was wilful, and therefore to be requited with death, or unpremeditated, and expiable with a lesser penalty. The method by which the court was originally constituted is uncertain, and conjecture on this point is useless. See further, vol. IV, ch. ii.

To the seventh century we may refer a military reorganization which led to the creation of the property classes (τέλη) and the naucraries. The property classes provided a new grouping of the citizens in reference to their wealth. The original division, that before the time of Solon, was probably into three classes: the *Hippēs*, those who could serve as horsemen; *Zeugītae*, those who could equip themselves for the ranks of the hoplite phalanx; and *Thētes* or labourers. This last class comprised the 'cottars' and possibly also the landless men. Though the property classes were based on wealth, their original purpose was certainly not fiscal, but rather military, as was the purpose of the Roman *centuriae*. The creation of the property classes was commonly ascribed to Solon, but it is preferable to follow Aristotle in calling them pre-Solonian. On the other hand, the military weakness of Athens in Solon's time suggests that the reorganization of the army was of recent date. The property classes may therefore be regarded as a product of the seventh century.

The institution of a treasury and of a board of *kolakretai* ('ham carvers') to administer it probably belongs to the same period. The Kolakretai, as their archaic name suggests, were probably of older standing, but their original functions as distributors of largesse at public festivals were little more than ceremonial. In later centuries they certainly were financial officials. The appearance of a money economy towards the end of the seventh century, the accumulation of fines inflicted by the courts, and the expenditure on the remodelled army and navy, were probably the causes which led to the creation of the treasury and the conferment of administrative functions upon the Kolakretai.

The revenue of the state as far as it did not acrue from fines or rents appears to have been raised as occasion required by special levies. For the purpose of these levies the citizen body, or at any rate its taxpaying section, was divided into forty-eight naucraries of which twelve went to each tribe. The duty of collecting the contributions within each group devolved upon its headmen, the naucrari, whose local activities were coordinated by a smaller body of chiefs (prytaneis) in touch with the central government. The duties of the naucrari seem to have included the provision of ships and horses for the Athenian army and navy, but on this point our evidence is very obscure. The mention of the prytaneis of the naucrari as assisting to suppress Cylon's conspiracy proves that the naucraries were established before Solon; but they cannot have been much older, for their existence implies a tolerably advanced system of administration.

Lastly, the creation of the various boards of officials which we have enumerated led to an important increase in the powers and duties of the Areopagus. According to Aristotle, the Areopagus was entrusted with the election of the archons. In view of the complete inactivity of the Ecclesia in pre-Solonian days, the main responsibility for the choice of magistrates must have devolved upon the Areopagus, though possibly the Ecclesia received a *congé d'élire* and formally ratified the Areopagus' choice, or even chose a number of magistrates by whom the various offices were filled at the Areopagus' discretion. In the absence of any other electoral body, we may also agree with Aristotle in supposing that after the fall of the monarchy the Areopagus was recruited automatically from the ex-archons.

VIII. ATHENIAN PROGRESS IN CULTURE

This sketch of the early Athenian constitution shows that Athens was fairly well abreast of political progress in Greece during the seventh century; and in the union of Attica she had achieved a work which most of her neighbours accomplished late or never at all. Nevertheless the general condition of the country remained backward. Its military power was barely equal to that of its tiny neighbour Megara. In general culture Athens lagged behind her Ionian kinsmen in Asia and her neighbours in Boeotia, Euboea and Corinth. Athenian literature was still unborn, and Athenian art quite rudimentary.

A very difficult problem is offered by the geometric pottery which succeeds the Mycenaean in Attica, and which is found in

such quantities in the burial ground of the Ceramicus that it is commonly known as Dipylon ware, from the name of the city gate leading to that quarter. Similar pottery is found on many sites in Greece, succeeding and supplanting the Mycenaean, which deteriorates and finally disappears about 1000 B.C. The most flourishing age of the new style is about the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. It does not appear to have developed from the Mycenaean, but to come in as a fully established style. An obvious inference from these facts, in conjunction with literary tradition, is that the geometric style was brought with them from the north by the Dorian invaders. The difficulty, in the case of Attica, is to reconcile such a theory with the Athenians' claim to autochthony, and especially with their racial and religious antagonism to the Dorians. An analogy may indeed be sought in the Doric style of architecture, which reached its highest development in Athens. But some archaeologists hold it more probable that the geometric style is a revival of the early and almost universal geometric ornamentation, submerged for a time during the predominance of the Mycenaean civilization, and reasserting itself in a more systematic form after the decay of that civilization. Whatever its origin, the Dipylon style has a distinct character of its own; it is distinguished by the colossal size of its vases, some of them set up as monuments over tombs, and by the subjects which it represents, in primitive but intelligible drawing. The horse frequently occurs, both painted and modelled; and the great funeral processions, with warriors and women and chariots, the choric and war dances, the ships and sea-fights represented upon these vases clearly reflect the life of the Attic people at the time. There is no definite break at the end of the Dipylon period as at its beginning; but it passes imperceptibly into what is known as Phaleric ware, because many examples of it have been found in graves near Phalerum, the early harbour of Athens. Here we can see the gradual intrusion of Oriental motives, both in plant and in animal forms, which testifies to intercourse with Ionia, and so corresponds to the age when Athens claimed to be the mother-state of many of the great Ionic colonies of Asia Minor. This ware belongs mainly to the eighth and seventh centuries; towards the end of the period it is superseded by the black-figured vases which henceforth become the usual type in Athens as well as in Ionia, at Corinth, and elsewhere; and the unrivalled skill of the potters of the Ceramicus, helped by the beautiful red clay which produced the finest terra-cotta, came to establish the wide supremacy of Attic fabric both in local use and in export.

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Little if any architectural remains survive from the period between the Mycenaean age and 600 B.C. There must have been an early temple of Athena on the Acropolis, which seems, from a passage in Homer (*Od.* VII, 81) to have been identical with the old palace of Erechtheus. Some traces of this palace have been found; but it is uncertain to what period the walls of the old temple on the same site to the south of the Erechtheum belong. The colonnade around it was not added until the time of Peisistratus. Nor have any clear indications been found of an earlier temple on the site of the Erechtheum, in connection with the sacred olive tree of Athena, and the salt spring of Poseidon. There were other early shrines both on the Acropolis and outside it; but no remains of them exist which can be dated with certainty earlier than the sixth century B.C.

The root cause of this backward condition lay in the slow economic development of Attica. The early industry of the country was merely sufficient to supply its own needs. The export of ceramic products, which eventually became one of Attica's chief sources of wealth, does not appear to have commenced before the sixth century; the Laurium mines, if worked at all, were only exploited in their unproductive upper lodes; and the marble quarries of Pentelicus had not yet been opened. The demiurgi or craftsmen, who played a considerable part in sixth century politics, were unorganized and uninfluential. Athenian trade was equally undeveloped. Such coins as circulated in pre-Solonian days were of Aeginetan or other foreign standard; and unlike many of her daughter-cities Athens took no part in the colonial movement of the eighth and seventh centuries. The growing population of Attica therefore relied for its subsistence on agriculture; but as it soon reached the limits of cultivation on its scanty soil, it fell into a condition of poverty and distress. The political crisis which arose out of this distress, and the steps which were taken to relieve it, will form the subject of another chapter (vol. IV, ch. ii). Here it will suffice to say that, once the economic pressure was relieved, the Athenians soon learnt to make full use of their natural opportunities and gifts of mind, and Attica passed into the forefront of Greek states.

CHAPTER XXIV

NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GREECE

I. THESSALY

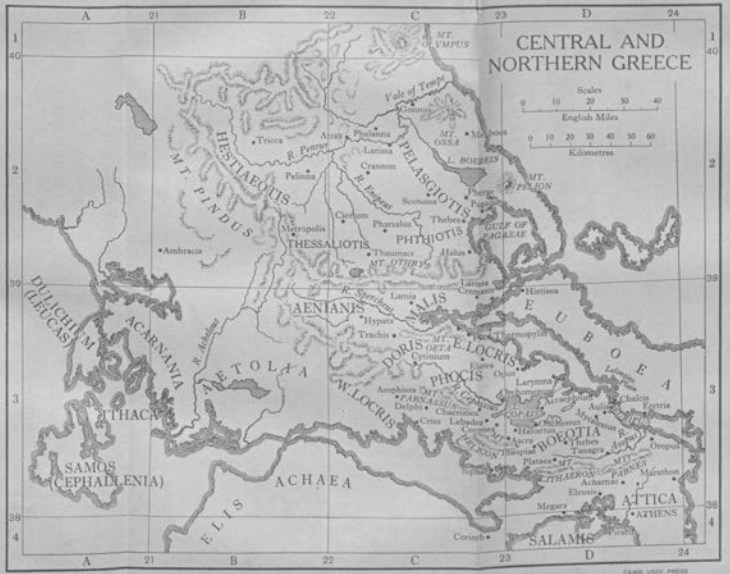
THE early history of northern and central Greece, being a record of parallel development among a number of independent states, cannot conveniently be traced along one single line of narrative, but requires a separate section for each constituent group.

Since neither Macedonia nor Epirus was reckoned as a Greek country until late in Greek history, the borderland of Greece in the north was Thessaly. This district forms one of the most distinctive units of Greece. Created by a wide subsidence in a lofty plateau, it is a lowland encompassed on all sides by overshadowing heights. The floor of the basin is drained through the vale of Tempe, an earthquake fissure in Thessaly's sea-wall. Apart from a few hollows on its eastern margin where shallow lakes are formed, and a diagonal partition of hill country, the lowland is rolled out into an unbroken level of 3000 square miles, the largest plain in Greece.

The soil of this plain, a rich alluvial clay, is eminently well suited to the growth of wheat. Along the river Peneus, which traverses the lowland from end to end, and along the numerous tributaries that feed its upper course, long strips of horse and cattle pasture supplement the corn land. Except in its south-eastern corner, where the intrusion of the sea into the Gulf of Pagasae creates an equable climate and so favours the growth of olives and other sub-tropical plants, the plain is as bare as a steppe. Its Greek summer drought is fatal to deciduous trees, while, in turn, the snows of its continental winter ruin the evergreens. The surrounding mountains, which rise to 10,000 ft. in the peak of Olympus and to 7000 ft. in the Pindus range, are among the highest in Greece. Their upper slopes, watered by the heavy winter snows, are richly clad with forests and summer pastures.

The richness and the variety of its products make Thessaly one of the most self-contained lands of Greece. Its configuration makes it one of the most secluded. The mountains which frame it in form an almost continuous barrier to foreign intercourse.

MAP 11



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The vale of Tempe, the sea-inlet of Pagasae, and the Thaumaki pass across Mt Othrys in the south, offer the only convenient passages for traffic. The passes of the Pindus range in the west and of the Olympus range in the north are too high and desolate for ordinary travel, and on the east side Mts Ossa and Pelion form a rock-bound coast without a single shelter from the prevailing Levanters. Thus Thessaly is cut off from its neighbours by land and sea.

This geographical isolation had a lasting effect upon Thessalian history. From prehistoric days Thessaly remained at most times out of close touch with the commerce and culture of other Greek lands. Its contributions to Greek art, literature and religion were insignificant. But its natural wealth and consequent abundance of man-power made it a potential leader of the Greek nation. In the seventh and sixth centuries, and again in the fourth, Thessaly for a brief period directed its resources to a common political purpose and for the time being could aspire to a predominant position in Greece.

The population of Thessaly was composed in historic times of two main groups: a complex of prehistoric tribes, and the Thessalians proper, who entered the land to which they gave their name at a time not far distant from the Dorian Invasion (see vol. II, p. 519). The latter of these groups will require special notice, for it was this section which made the history of Thessaly.

We need not discuss here from what country and by what route the Thessalians came, nor the dates at which they began and completed the occupation of Thessaly. But it is important to observe that their invasion was a forcible one. The doubtless protracted wars between the conquerors and the indigenous population left but a faint mark on Greek tradition, but their consequences are manifest in the economic and political condition of the country in the historic era. The Thessalians have become the owners of the rich central plain. Of the earlier inhabitants a large portion have either emigrated overseas or withdrawn to the outer ring of mountains. Of the tribes which took refuge in the highlands, the Perrhaebi are settled on Olympus and the adjacent ranges, the Magnetes on Ossa and Pelion, the Achaeans (or 'Phthiôtian' Achaeans, as they are called to distinguish them from their Peloponnesian namesakes) on the ridge of Othrys.

Compared with the Perioeci of Laconia, these dwellers on the outskirts of Thessaly enjoyed considerable freedom. They retained distinctive tribal names and tribal organizations, and

among the Achaeans at least a separate dialect survived. But the security and the economic welfare of the central lowlands, whose occupants required access to the forests and summer pastures of the mountains, and protection against their inhabitants, demanded that the Perioeci of Thessaly should be brought under control. Although the mountain tribes were allowed to call themselves 'allies' of the Thessalians, they became in effect subjects and were liable to taxation and conscription.

Those natives who remained in the lowlands were reduced to substantially the same position as the Helots of Laconia. These so-called 'Penestae,' though not under such elaborate supervision as the Laconian serfs, were equally tied to the soil and served no purpose but to cultivate the domains of their Thessalian masters. The Penestae were probably responsible for the large 'Aeolic' or 'North Greek' element which preponderated over the 'West Greek' element in the Thessalian dialect. But their part in Thessalian history was a purely passive one.

Within the ruling Thessalian people we must distinguish between the demos and the nobles. The former constituted a free peasantry like that which nowadays clusters round the springs at the edge of the plain. But their holdings were probably mere islands in an ocean of aristocratic large estates, which would comprise the cornland and the riverside pastures and be cultivated mainly by Penestae. The assignation of these estates to the nobility probably occurred at the time of the conquest, for there is no record of a later distribution by a Thessalian Lycurgus. It was certainly on a generous scale. The individual allotments, being required to support a contingent of 120 men for the Thessalian army, cannot have fallen far short of five square miles.

From these great domains the nobles drew revenues which most other Greek aristocrats would have envied. Unlike other such nobles, they did not capitalize their resources. Favoured by the self-sufficiency of their land, they neglected industry and commerce. They did not foster the growth of art, and although they engaged famous poets to celebrate the victories of their teams at the national Greek games, they never helped to give birth to a specific Thessalian literature. Their energies, like those of mediaeval barons, were devoted to hunting and feasting and to the pursuit of war. Each nobleman kept a troop of personal retainers, who were mounted on horses of the excellent native breed and constituted the finest cavalry in Greece.

The economic and military preponderance of the Thessalian nobles provided a secure basis for their political power. In

Thessaly the normal political unit was the city (see below, p. 693). The Thessalian towns were mostly situated on mountain bastions near the edge of the plain (*e.g.* Pherae, Pharsalus, Atrax), or on low mounds arising out of the plain (*e.g.* Larissa, Cierium). Except Larissa, all these places were of small size, for the Thessalian demos was essentially rustic. But each city was an independent centre of government.

The earliest municipal constitutions were of the usual monarchical type. From the fact that the municipal 'tagi' or chief magistrates who succeeded the kings were not eponymous, we may infer that they were of late creation, and the disappearance of the kings cannot be set earlier than in the seventh century. But the aristocracies which rose to power after the fall of the kings were among the most long-lived in Greek history. Not till about 400 B.C. were they threatened by tyrants, and in Aristotle's days the demos in some Thessalian towns was not even allowed to set foot in the political meeting-place.

The Thessalian nobles did not steer clear of the municipal feuds which so often wasted the strength of Greek city-states. But they were statesmanlike enough to co-operate in the formation of a federal union which was the most distinctive feature in Thessalian politics, and formed the basis of Thessaly's occasional ascendancy among Greek states. Of the federal institutions thus created little is known for certain. The cities were grouped together in four 'tetrădes,' or cantons, known as Thessaliotis, Hestiaeotis, Pelasgiotis and Phthiotis, with an elective 'tetrarch' at the head of each. These four sections together constituted the κοινόν or pan-Thessalian federation, whose chief official was a 'tagus,' elected indifferently from any Thessalian town. The functions of the tagi and tetrarchs, and therefore also of the units over which they ruled, were mainly military. Every other statement about the federal constitution is open to dispute. But its details may be tentatively filled in as follows. Thessaliotis comprised the southern and Hestiaeotis the northern part of the Upper Peneus plain. Pelasgiotis extended over the Lower Peneus plain, including the three important towns of Larissa, Crannon and Pherae. Phthiotis was a small strip north of Mt Othrys, with Pharsalus for its chief town; it is to be held distinct from Phthiotian Achaea, which was Perioecic land and lay outside Thessaly proper.

The only cantonal authorities to whom any allusions are made in ancient texts are the tetrarchs. It is all but certain that these held office for life. There is no mention of a cantonal assembly,

but we can hardly doubt that the constituent cities convened such an assembly from time to time, if only to appoint the tetrarchs.

The federal tagus was compared by Dionysius of Halicarnassus with the Roman dictator. This comparison is borne out by a fifth-century inscription which contains the crucial words 'whether a tagus be in office or not.' From this expression it may be safely inferred that the tagus was appointed only in emergencies; and it further follows that his tenure of office was not for life, but for some shorter term, perhaps only for the duration of the crisis which gave him birth. Another inscription, which records that a particular Thessalian grandee was tagus for twenty-seven years, suggests that the term of office could be renewed or extended; it does not prove that the office was conferred for life.

The existence of a federal assembly for the election of the tagus and the discussion of federal policy is indicated by Herodotus' reference to the *κοινὴ γνώμη*, 'the joint decision,' of the Thessalians, and in any case might be taken for granted; but nothing can be said as to its composition.

The whole history of the federation shows that it had a military purpose, and Thessalian tradition declared that its founder had organized the recruitment of the federal army. The power to levy taxes can hardly be dissociated from that of levying troops, and it is on record that one of the tagi fixed the contributions due from the Perioeci. Of the method of making levies nothing is known, except that a quota of soldiers was raised from each large estate. In accordance with the general practice of Greek federations, the enforcement of levies was probably left to the constituent cities. The primary object for which the federation was created was no doubt the exercise of an effective control over the Penestae and the Perioeci, a task which might easily have proved beyond the strength of individual cities. A similar purpose brought about the union of the original Swiss cantons in the thirteenth century A.D.

The federal institutions were certainly in full working order before the end of the seventh century. Their origin cannot be dated with any precision. The absence of any reference to a common Thessalian festival like the Pamboeotia of the Boeotians indicates that the Thessalian League was of comparatively late growth, for a sacral institution of this kind was an almost necessary concomitant of an archaic association. The date at which the League was completed cannot therefore be pushed back far beyond 700 B.C. The cantons were no doubt of earlier origin But as they were not natural tribal units but artificial aggregates

of territory they were probably not created until some considerable time after the Thessalian invasion.

Of the makers of the League we know practically nothing. The assessment of the Perioecic tribute was ascribed to one Scopas. As such financial operations are not the kind of achievements which mythology assigns to its heroes, Scopas may be taken as a historical personage and a member of the family of Scopadae, the principal house of Crannon. As this family was at the height of its influence in the sixth century, Scopas probably belongs to a late period of the League's history and completed rather than began its organization. Another tradition ascribed to Aleuas, 'the Red-Head,' the formation of the tetrades and the military organization. The epithet 'Red-Head' favours the view that Aleuas too was a historical figure, presumably one of the Aleuadae, the leading family of Larissa. But since the tetrades were probably not cast in one mould, it is safer not to ascribe them to Aleuas or to any one individual. The Aleuas tradition is therefore not above suspicion, and it may be surmised that it was concocted by and for the Aleuadae, in justification of their attempt to establish a hereditary tageia in the early fifth century.

Whatever the precise origin and structure of the Thessalian League, there can be no doubt of its importance as a factor in Thessalian history. It led to the formation of a federal army which was the strongest military force in Greece previous to the sixth century. In the fourth century the Thessalian levy was computed at 6000 horsemen, at least 10,000 hoplites, and unlimited numbers of light troops. True enough, the hoplites, who were recruited from the peasantry, and the light troops, consisting of Perioeci, were seldom, if ever, mobilized *en masse*, and they were probably available for home defence only. But the cavalry, which was drawn from the nobles and their dependents, was practically a standing force, and of high quality.

By means of this force the Thessalians not only secured their hold on Thessaly, but achieved foreign conquests which form the main content of their history in the seventh and sixth centuries. The record of these conquests has been almost obliterated. But by 600 B.C. they had subdued the Dolopes on the south-eastern edge of Mt Pindus, had overrun the land of the Malians and Aenianes in the Spercheus valley, and had carried the pass of Thermopylae. It is not known whether they proceeded to invade Phocis, Locris and Boeotia, but their participation in the Lelantine War (see p. 622) suggests that they had free access to the farther end of Boeotia. The ascendancy gained by the Thessalians in

central Greece is also proved by the predominant position which they assumed in the Amphictyonic League during the sixth century.

This League was a union of states which were 'Amphictyones' or 'neighbours' in reference to the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela near Thermopylae. The origin and primary aims of the association are uncertain, but it exerted an important political influence upon its members, for it pledged them in case of mutual war not to cut off each other's water supply or to destroy each other's towns. As a bond of union among Greek states the Amphictyonic League was potentially of great value. But its title, 'League of Neighbours,' suggests that its original membership was small; indeed we may doubt whether at first it included more than the communities of the Spercheus and the Upper Cephisus districts.

By 600 B.C., however, the League had come to comprise all the peoples of central and northern Greece, viz. the Thessalians, Perrhaebi, Magnetes, Phthiotian Achaeans, Dolopes, Malians, Aenianes, Locrians, Dorians (of Doris), Phocians, Boeotians and Ionians (of Euboea). This extended list of members comprised three peoples, the Perrhaebi, Magnetes and Achaeans, who had long been mere vassals of Thessaly, and three others, the Dolopes, Malians and Aenianes, who had more recently fallen under the same control. Thus the Thessalians could dispose in all of the votes of seven out of the twelve communities in the League, and as each member possessed one vote, and one only, the Thessalian *bloc* had a permanent majority in the League Council. It is highly probable that this extension and reorganization of the League was carried out at the instance of the Thessalians, after they had established their influence in central Greece; at all events, it had the effect of consolidating that influence.

The ascendancy which the extended Amphictyonic League conferred upon the Thessalians was further increased by a masterful stroke of policy which they carried out through the medium of the League in 590 B.C. A dispute between the two Phocian communities of Crisa and Delphi, in regard to the tolls which Crisa imposed upon pilgrims to the sanctuary at Delphi, was magnified by the Amphictyones into a crusade on behalf of the national Greek god Apollo. The Thessalians on behalf of the League dispatched a force to the assistance of Delphi, and in conjunction with contingents from Athens and Sicyon took possession of the sanctuary.

According to one tradition this 'First Sacred War' was initiated

by the Athenian Solon. But this story is probably nothing more than Athenian propaganda. At all events, the Thessalians took the chief part in the field operations and dictated the settlement to suit their own interests. While Delphi was declared free from Crisa, it was brought under the tutelage of the Amphictyones, who took over the trusteeship and administration of the sanctuary and transferred two of their four yearly council sessions from Anthela to their new protectorate. The control which Thessaly thus exercised had, it is true, to be shared with Athens and Sicyon. These states had probably entered the Sacred War for the very purpose of securing a foothold in Delphi and preventing a purely Thessalian dominion, and Sicyon had contributed materially to the downfall of Crisa by the building of a fleet which cut the enemy's avenues of supply in the Corinthian Gulf. The Amphictyones accordingly duplicated the votes of the 'Ionians' and 'Dorians,' and allotted the second vote to the Athenians and the Peloponnesian Dorians respectively. But at the same time they doubled the votes of all the other members, so that Thessaly still possessed a majority of fourteen votes out of twenty-four. In addition, the Amphictyones took over the management of the Pythian festival, which was presently elevated into one of the great national festivals of Greece (see p. 630). Henceforth a Thessalian delegate frequently if not regularly presided over these games.

The Sacred War and the establishment of the Thessalians as the trustees of Greece at Delphi constitute the high-water mark of their power. Soon after this episode the ascendancy of Thessaly came to an end, and the leadership of Greece fell to Sparta. A comparison between the two first states to attain hegemony in Greece will show that they had much in common. Both the Thessalians and the Spartans had their home in a secluded and self-sufficient corner of Greece and took little part in the general life of the nation. Both gained their subsistence by the exploitation of a conquered serf population, and this at once enabled and compelled them to specialize in the profession of arms. By their specialized military skill each acquired a political ascendancy over its neighbours, and drew them together into a political union which might have served as a nucleus for a national Greek state.

The Thessalians possessed a large acreage of fertile land and therefore did not suffer from the lack of man-power which hampered Sparta. But their mounted soldiery proved in the long run less suited to Greek warfare than the Spartan hoplites. The less

equable distribution of land among the citizen population and the more rigid division between rich and poor brought on party strife in Thessaly at an earlier date than in Sparta. Lastly, while the slight extent of the Laconian plain facilitated the synoecism of the whole Spartan community in one state, the wider expanse of Thessaly encouraged the growth of several independent cities. The rivalry between these cities was held in check for a time by their subordination to the tetrarchs and the tagi, but eventually paralysed the federal organs and so caused the downfall of Thessalian power.

II. BOEOTIA

In its geographical conformation central Greece bears some resemblance to Thessaly. Its principal portion is a sunken lowland, boxed in by a framework of mountains, which seclude it from the waters of the Corinthian Gulf and the Euboic Channel, and from the adjacent lands of northern Greece and Attica. The greater part of this plain is watered by a single river system, whose main stream, the Cephisus, traverses central Greece almost from end to end. But this valley is narrowed in its upper regions by the projecting buttress of Mt Parnassus, and its broad lower plain has a larger inundation area than Thessaly. Compared with the Thessalian lowlands, the Cephisus basin has a far smaller acreage of cultivable soil. The river valley, moreover, is bisected by a cross ridge which sunders it into two distinct compartments, Boeotia and Phocis; and the coastal mountains leave room for several pockets of alluvial lowland where small independent communities, such as the Malians, the Aenianes and the Locrians, could be formed. Lastly, the island of Euboea, cut off from its continent by a prehistoric subsidence, formed a state-system of its own. Thus geographical conditions were less favourable to political unity in central Greece than in Thessaly.

Among central Greek lands the predominant was Boeotia. This country was a wide expanse of mountain-girt lowland, divided by a low central range of hills into two basins, the valleys of the Asopus and of the Lower Cephisus. The Asopus plain, which stood at a relatively high level, was drained into the Euboic Channel through a gap in the mountains. The more sunken Cephisus valley had no surface outlet for its river, but depended for its drainage on a system of subterranean channels which were formed by nature but required the hand of man to keep them in repair. The extent of this valley has therefore varied considerably, according as these outlets have been kept open or not; whenever

they have been neglected, the Cephisus has inundated the plain. The Boeotian lowlands recall those of Thessaly in the richness of their alluvial soil, the polarizing of their climate towards a hot summer and a snowy winter, and the consequent dearth of trees. Boeotia was above all a wheat-growing land. But in some well-watered regions, such as the borders of the Cephisus and the hill-land of Thebes with its copious springs, tree cultivation and horse-breeding could be carried on. The surrounding mountain ranges were not lofty enough to hold the winter snows or attract summer rains, consequently they lacked the rich vegetation of Olympus or Pelion. Except on the eastern slopes of Helicon, which were well watered and wooded, the upland was a region of stunted grass and scrub. As a barrier to human intercourse the Boeotian mountains played a lesser part than those of Thessaly. True enough, they prevented the growth of any intensive maritime trade, and the rise of other than a few fishing villages on either seaboard. But they seldom proved an effective military barrier: on the south, invading armies repeatedly scaled Mt Cithaeron or turned its eastern flank; in the north-west, they entered by the gap through which the Cephisus channel is cut. Thus Boeotia earned an unenviable title, 'the dancing-floor of Ares.' But thanks to these openings in its ring-walls Boeotia was never shut off from the intellectual and artistic life of Greece. Indeed, in spite of a reputation for stupidity which was fastened upon them, the people of the country made large and continuous contributions to Greek culture. Boeotia, though inferior to Thessaly in natural wealth and man-power, made a far deeper mark upon Greek history.

The 'Boeotians' of historic times were regarded in Greek tradition as an invading stock. In all probability they were composed of at least three racial elements. Their language was a mixture of the 'Aeolic' dialect (as spoken in Thessaly) and of the 'west-Greek' speech. In the southern part of their country Ionic Greek long remained predominant, and in Thebes itself Ionic inscriptions of the seventh century (presumably to be identified with the 'Cadmeian writings' of Herodotus (v, 59)) have been discovered. But tradition was by no means clear as to the date and circumstances of the invasion by the main Boeotian stock, and the invasion left no such distinct marks as we have noticed in Thessaly. Though Boeotia had its full measure of internal conflicts, with city arrayed against city and oligarch against democrat, yet the line of cleavage was not racial, and the duel between Thessalians and Penestae, between Spartans and Helots, was not

reproduced here. For practical purposes therefore the Boeotians may be considered a single people.

At the outset of the historic period the cultivable area of Boeotia suffered a serious curtailment through the choking of the Cephisus outlets and the inundation of the adjacent valley. The northern Boeotian lowland was thus converted into a lake. This Copaic Sea, as it came to be called, dried up almost completely in summer, but in winter it flooded the greater part of the Lower Cephisus valley; in spite of repeated attempts to drain it off by the clearance of the outlets, its basin remained unreclaimed until 1890. The Copaic Lake, besides submerging the richest part of the Boeotian plain, had a deleterious effect upon the climate. It rendered the Boeotian winters less cold, but made them notoriously foggy, and the summers correspondingly sultry.

The stoppage of the Cephisus outlets may be explained by the action of earthquakes, which have always been frequent in central Greece, or by the political upheaval of the Boeotian invasion, which may have caused the tunnels to fall into disrepair. But ancient tradition ascribed it to the deliberate action of the Theban god Heracles, who was said to have used this means of destroying the ancient preponderance of Orchomenus in Boeotia. And if the case is to be settled by applying the test *cui bono?* the Thebans were certainly the guilty party. While several minor settlements in the Cephisus valley were wholly obliterated, and the territory of Orchomenus was reduced to that of a second-rate town, Thebes rose from the position of a subordinate and perhaps tributary place to that of a capital. From the sixth century the history of Boeotia becomes more and more merged in that of Thebes.

The predominance of Thebes rested partly on its central position in the southern Boeotian lowlands, to which the economic centre of the country was shifted after the formation of Lake Copaïs, and partly on its superior political energy. The chief political problem which lay before the early Boeotians was to federate themselves in some such league as that of the early Thessalians, for although they had to fear no internal rebellions from serfs or Perioeci, they were frequently exposed to foreign invasion. A tribal union was indeed in existence from the days of the Boeotian invasion, and delegates from all the Boeotian communities attended the festival of the Pamboeotia at the temple of Athena Itonia near Coronea; but this congress was of a purely sacral character. Political power was at first divided among a number of independent communities, of which twenty-nine are enumerated in the Homeric Catalogue. This number, it

is true, had been reduced by the sixth century to thirteen, as the small unfortified settlements came to be absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. Thus Tanagra extended its territory along the Euboic Channel, while Plataea and Thespiae divided among themselves the villages along the Corinthian Gulf. But the very growth of these larger units constituted an obstacle to federation, for mutual jealousies among the more ambitious towns ran high. Nevertheless the task of embracing all Boeotia in one league was steadily pursued by Thebes, and the growing strength and aggressiveness of the Thessalian Confederacy supplied the Boeotians with an urgent reason for federating themselves in self-defence. According to tradition, this city had to wage wars against its neighbours on all sides to secure their membership, and Plataea and Orchomenus kept aloof until the fifth century. But by 550 B.C. the other important towns, including Coronea, Haliartus and Tanagra, had joined the League and blazoned on their coins the Boeotian shield which was its symbol. Eventually Thebes united the whole of Boeotia in a well-organized federation and thus raised the country to the rank of a first-class power.

The importance of the Boeotian League is set off by the weakness of the individual cities before the federation became effective. Boeotia did not figure in the First Sacred War, and in the Lelantine War (see p. 622) it had played a purely passive part, offering no resistance to the foreign forces which trespassed on the country. This debility was assuredly not due to military incapacity, for the horsemen of Boeotia were among the best in Greece, and its hoplites were a match even for the Spartans: its cause is to be sought in political disunion. The growth of the League in the sixth century suggests that the Boeotians had been taught the need of unity by the Lelantine War.

The almost complete absence of traditions concerning Boeotian kings suggests that they were supplanted at an early date by aristocracies and the 'basilēs,' of whose rule the poet Hesiod complained (see p. 611), are probably to be regarded as noblemen. In Thespiae and Thebes, and no doubt in other towns, political rights were based on the possession of land, and in the latter town a legislator named Philolaus (probably *c.* 600 B.C.) endeavoured to safeguard property by framing careful laws of succession. But the Boeotian nobles drew no such revenue from their estates as the owners of the great Thessalian domains, and the economic basis of their ascendancy was therefore less secure.

The economic history of Boeotia is that of an essentially agri-

cultural people who drew a rough plenty from their soil, and lacked the incentive, as well as the geographical facilities, for commerce. The proximity of the trading towns of Euboea was not indeed without its effects upon Boeotia. Excavations at Mycalessus, a village near the Euboic straits, have brought to light much proto-Corinthian, Corinthian and Ionic pottery, but the nature of the commerce thus indicated is not yet clear. The prehistoric trade connections of Orchomenus were kept in remembrance by the Calaurian League, a sacral union of maritime states of the eastern Greek coast which met at the temple of Poseidon at Calauria on the Argive coast and counted Orchomenus among its members; but in historic times the commerce which gave rise to this league was nothing but a memory.

The artistic record of early Boeotia is slender. The prehistoric culture of Orchomenus and Thebes was obliterated soon after its inception, and the big geometric vases made in southern Boeotia in the proto-historic period are scarcely recognizable as descendants of the Late Minoan ware. The promise of Boeotian sculpture, as represented by the early statues from the temple of Apollo on Mt Ptoüs, was not fulfilled save on a modest scale and at a much later date among the terra-cotta artists of Tanagra. But the Boeotians were among the foremost musicians of Greece. The aulos or double flute in its improved concert variety was an essentially Boeotian instrument, and Boeotian performers procured for it a vogue hardly inferior to that of the national Greek lyre. It was a musical no less than a literary skill that gave distinction to the odes of Pindar.

The chief contribution of Boeotia to early Greek culture lay in the field of literature. In this country a school of epic poets carried on the Homeric tradition into the eighth and seventh centuries. Whether this school derived its technique from Ionia by way of Chalcis, or plied a craft already domiciled in Boeotia in Late Minoan times, its affiliation to the Homeric epic is unmistakable. Some of these poets were content to round off the Homeric cycle with epilogues and appendixes moulded in the common Homeric form, but devoid of imagination and disfigured with erudition. These lesser epics, however, are of slight importance beside the poems of Homer's principal successor, Hesiod. Of the two undoubtedly authentic compositions of Hesiod, the *Theogony* attempts to round off the theology of Homer and of the more primitive figures of the vast Greek pantheon into a compact system. Judged from this standpoint, it was a great success, and Hesiod came to be reckoned along with Homer as the author

who fixed the attributes and relations of the Greek gods (see vol. II, p. 605 and further, vol. IV, pp. 474 *sqq.*).

But the principal poem of Hesiod is his *Works and Days*. In this work he faithfully reflects his experience as a husbandman on the craggy slopes of Helicon. His general outlook upon life is that of the boor as we find him in all countries and ages. In the ordering of his farm-work he clings to all manner of rustic taboos; he distrusts the chances of seafaring commerce; he gives for the sake of the return; he advocates Malthusianism in the interests of his property; he sets his wife on a level with the labouring ox. He also shares the peasant's faith in resolute hard work and betrays a somewhat un-Greek impatience of gossips and loungers. But in addition to these typical traits he displays a truly individual character in his strong moral earnestness. Stung by personal injuries suffered at the hands of forsworn witnesses and rapacious judges, Hesiod muses deeply over right and wrong. At times he sinks into pessimism and asks 'why be just when the unjust flourish?' But his belief in justice always reasserts itself. His guiding principle is that justice is the law of man, as violence is the law of brutes; and he warns corrupt rulers that 'Zeus has thirty-thousand watchers' who will spy out the wicked and avenge their sins upon them. His conception of punishment is quite materialistic, and he retains the primitive belief that the guilty man's community must suffer with him. But his stout belief in the moral order is a new phenomenon in Greek poetry. The Boeotian peasant rather than Homer should be regarded as the originator of that vein of ethical speculation which runs through Greek literature.

III. LOCRIS AND PHOCIS

The smaller states of central Greece occupied the country which lies between Boeotia and Thessaly. In this region the mountains do not merely form a framework for the interior lowlands but encroach upon it and break it up into little sections. The great *massifs* of Oeta and Corax form a solid block of mountain land in the west, while on the southern margin of the plain the square buttress of Parnassus is thrust forward like a headland into the central valley of the Cephisus. This valley, and the gap left between Mt Oeta and the southern Thessalian heights, where the river Spercheus flows as in a trough, are the only considerable tracts of level country. The remainder of the cultivable land is wedged in between the mountains on the coasts

of the Corinthian and Malian Gulfs. These isolated plains were grouped together in six different state systems. The Malians and Aenianes formed two separate communities in the Spercheus valley; the upper Cephisus valley and the adjacent coastal plains were shared by the Dorians, the Phocians, and the two branches of the Locrian people, the 'Opuntian' and the 'Ozolian.'

The basin of the Spercheus, which had attained a brief importance in prehistoric days as the home of Achilles and the first Greek abode of the tribe of the Hellenes, was occupied in historic times by two insignificant peoples. The Aenianes dwelt at the head of the valley, the Malians in its lower and broader reaches, hard by the little town of Trachis. The Aenianes are little more than a name to us, and all we can say about them is that they were a member of the Amphictyonic League and virtually dependent on Thessaly since the seventh century. The Malians play a somewhat larger but a merely passive part in Greek history. They had the misfortune to live in a land of passage and their proximity to the defiles of Thermopylae and the Asopus valley which form the northern gates of central Greece exposed them to invasion by conquering powers. The Malians were no doubt the first of the central Greek peoples to become dependent on Thessaly. Their vote in the Amphictyonic League, like that of the Aenianes, was always at Thessaly's disposal.

Beyond Thermopylae the cultivable strips of the northern coastland were inhabited by the Locrians; and the same people were settled in the hill country between the Corinthian Gulf and the head of the Cephisus valley. Near the source of the Cephisus four villages were grouped in the territory of Doris. This tiny community was unduly honoured in being reckoned the metropolis of the entire Dorian branch of the Greek nation, and in possessing one of the two Dorian votes in the Amphictyonic League. The greater part of the upper Cephisus valley, together with the plain of Crisa and the hill-country of Cirphis to the south of Mt Parnassus, was in the hands of the Phocians.

The Phocians and Locrians, who alone need occupy our attention, are shown by their dialect to have been composed of an earlier 'Aeolic' stock and a predominant element of invaders who had immigrated at the dawn of the historic period. Though the Phocians and Locrians were evidently akin, their precise relations are difficult to determine. A question which obtrudes itself upon us is why the Locrian territory did not form one contiguous whole, but was split up into two sections by the intervening of Phocian land. It is conceivable that the Locrians

entered central Greece in two distinct streams which proceeded forthwith to occupy separate territories on the Malian and Corinthian Gulfs, and that they never set foot on the central plain because this was already in the hands of the Phocians. In support of this view it has been urged that in historic times there were no traces of Locrian place-names, cults or myths in Phocis, such as might have been expected to survive a Locrian occupation of that country. But this *argumentum ex silentio* does not carry much weight, for we need not suppose that the Locrians remained in Phocis long enough to leave permanent traces. There is better reason for believing that the Locrians once occupied the whole breadth of central Greece from sea to sea, but that a subsequent Phocian irruption into the Cephisus valley drove a wedge through them, just as the intrusion of the Anglo-Saxons into western Britain sundered its Celtic inhabitants into several scattered fragments. This view accords well with the fact that in historic times the Phocians made encroachments upon Locrian territory. It is also confirmed by the survival of a political union between the two branches of the Locrian people at least as late as the fifth century. The laws of the Locrians at this period still recognized a general Locrian franchise over and above that of the separate communities. Such regulations point to the existence of one undivided Locrian state at a time not too far remote. We may therefore take it that the Locrians were first in possession, and that the Phocians were a later band of intruders.

We may now consider in turn the early history of Locris and Phocis. The Phocian invasion which bisected the Locrian people and deprived them of the best part of their territory also relegated them to the margin of Greek history. In eastern Locris the coast route which leads from Thermopylae into the Cephisus valley by the pass of Elatea was of strategic importance, and in western Locris the fertile valley of Amphissa formed part of a thoroughfare from Thermopylae to Delphi and the Corinthian Gulf. But apart from this valley, and the plain of Opus on the Euboean channel, the Locrians had no cultivable land worth mentioning. Their trade was so scanty that they did not issue coins until about 400 B.C. Their population therefore remained sparse, and so backward was their culture that in Thucydides' time the western Locrians still practised piracy and wore armour.

In spite of these deficiencies the Locrians made one conquest which might have proved important. They carried the fortified frontier line which protected the main outlet of the river Cephisus against an invasion from the north, and occupied the harbour of

Larymna at its mouth. But the advantages of this conquest, which no doubt was made at the time of the Locrian immigration into central Greece, were minimized by the choking of the Cephisus tunnels and the consequent decay of such commerce as the towns of the Copaic basin had carried on. The discovery of proto-Corinthian pottery at Larymna indicates that some trade lingered on until the eighth or seventh century; but this traffic never attained any important dimensions.

The Locrians appear in history chiefly as the victims of aggressive neighbours. The Phocian conquest of Daphnūs, by which eastern Locris was split into two sections, was probably an incident of the Third Sacred War, *c.* 350 B.C., for the division of the eastern Locrians into an 'Opuntian' and a 'Hypocnemidian' group, which was almost certainly a consequence of the Phocian irruption into Daphnus, is not mentioned by any early Greek writer. On the other hand, the pass of Thermopylae passed at an early date into Phocian hands, and it is doubtful whether the neighbouring town of Alpeni, which was regarded as the 'metropolis' of the Locrians, remained in Locrian possession. The subsequent encroachments of the Thessalians upon central Greece do not appear to have met with Locrian opposition. When the Thessalians reorganized the Amphictyonic League and duplicated its votes, the eastern and western Locrians each received one vote. It is not known how their previous single vote was apportioned among them.

In western Locris there is no trace of a cantonal authority. In the fifth century at least its tiny individual communities made treaties with each other like independent states, without reference to any cantonal organization. In eastern Locris the government was highly centralized, for the town of Opus had absorbed all its neighbours and extended its municipal franchise over the whole territory, just as the Athenians extended their franchise to the whole of Attica. The supreme authority at Opus was vested in an assembly known as 'The Thousand,' who were probably drawn from a group of noble families known as 'The Hundred Houses.' The property of these Houses appears to have been safeguarded by a law which prohibited the sale of land except in cases of extreme necessity; but it is not certain whether this regulation refers to Opus or to some other Locrian community.

The principal achievement of the early Locrians was the foundation of a colony, in southern Italy, not far from the Chalcidian colony of Rhegium. Though this settlement was no doubt

made by agreement with the Euboean discoverers of southern Italy (see p. 619), it drew its population mainly from Opus and bore the name of Locri. This 'Locri of the West' was never more than a small agrarian community, but it achieved a reputation as one of the best ordered cities in the Greek world.

The territory of Phocis had a composite character, for it was made up of two distinct portions, the valley of the Upper Cephisus and the coastal plain of Crisa by the Corinthian Gulf, which had no good connection except a pass across the southern spurs of Parnassus. But Phocis was not broken sheer apart like Locris, and it always formed a single political unit. Apart from the petty profits which accrued to the town of Crisa from the traffic of pilgrims at Delphi, Phocis depended wholly on its agricultural resources. But its cultivable land was of good quality. The Cephisus valley contained excellent pastures, crop-lands and plantations, and the plain of Crisa is at once a corn-field and an olive grove. The population of Phocis was distributed among some twenty small towns, most of which were perched on the spurs of the heights overlooking the Cephisus valley. The positions of these towns illustrate one distinctive feature in Phocian history, the exposure of the country to invasion. Phocis was eminently a land of passage, for all land communications between northern and southern Greece went through it. The route from Thermopylae through the Asopus gorge continued its course through the whole length of the Cephisus valley, and the road along the Locrian coast rejoined the inland route in eastern Phocis through the pass of Elatea.

The early history of Phocis is largely taken up with the determined but unsuccessful resistance which its people offered to the Thessalian invasion of central Greece. The Phocians attempted at first to check the Thessalian advance by fortifying the pass of Thermopylae. But this advanced position fell into the hands of the Thessalians before the end of the seventh century, for the invaders must already have been in possession of the pass at the time when they organized the Amphictyonic League at Anthela. In 590 B.C., moreover, the Phocian territory was completely penetrated by the Thessalians, who, as we have seen, utilized a quarrel between the Phocian communities of Crisa and Delphi in order to proclaim a 'Sacred War' against the former. The transference of the Amphictyonic League to Delphi at the close of this war shows that the Thessalians henceforth had free access to the heart of Phocis. The Thessalian occupation, it is true, did not last long, and the Phocians eventually took the principal part in

expelling the intruders from central Greece. But this story belongs to another chapter.

The Phocians were able to make a better stand against Thessaly than their neighbours because they had an effective tribal organization. It is not certain whether this tribal government was a survival from the time when the Phocians first entered central Greece, or was instituted in the seventh century for the very purpose of resisting the Thessalians. In any case, in the sixth century the Phocian federal assembly was in full working order: it struck federal Phocian coins and appointed the commanders of the joint Phocian levy. Unlike the Thessalian and the Boeotian Leagues, the Phocian federation did not suffer disruption at the hands of its constituent communities, which never attained political importance and apparently never attempted to obtain complete independence. The success of the Phocians in maintaining the proper relations between the national and the merely local governments is the most distinctive feature in their domestic history.

IV. EUBOEA

Among the constituent countries of central Greece may be reckoned the island of Euboea, whose history connects it with the adjacent mainland rather than with the other Greek islands.

In spite of its insular position, Euboea enjoyed but indifferent communications by sea. Its rock-bound eastern coast, exposed to the full force of the prevailing north-easters, did not possess a single safe harbour. Its western waters, though relatively sheltered, were rendered unsafe by the sudden gusts (*καταιγίδες*) which swoop down from the mountains, breaking in upon a flat calm. A notorious obstacle to navigation was offered by the tortuous passage of the Euripus at the meeting-point of the two inner channels. The tides flowing up these two funnels at varying heights and times here create an alternating current which races along at speeds rising to six or eight miles per hour, and reverses its direction with baffling rapidity. Among peoples accustomed to tideless waterways the Euripus became proverbial. The easiest sea approach to Euboea lay through the Artemisium straits on its northern side; but this avenue was of slight commercial importance. Euboea therefore was not such a natural home of sailors as a glance at the map might suggest. On the other hand, Euboea lay within easy reach of the mainland. The subsidence-groove which parted the island from its continent shrank at the Euripus into a narrow trench 100 yards across, and sea-works abutting

on a reef in mid-channel were constructed about 400 B.C., so as to reduce this width by half.

In spite of its mountainous interior, Euboea was a relatively rich country. Its heights were mostly clad with tall timber of chestnut and oak; and they left room near the sea for several fertile strips of cattle pasture and vineland, such as the territory of Histiaea in the north and of Carystus in the south, and chief of all the central alluvial plain of the river Lelantus. The wealth of Euboea's soil was supplemented by purple fisheries in the interior channel, by marble quarries at Carystus, and by several deposits of copper and iron. These metals are now found only near Carystus, but their principal source in early antiquity was a composite mine containing both metals on the Lelantine plain.

The Euboean mountains, however, had the effect of sundering the island into several isolated compartments. The north, centre and south of Euboea were shut off from each other by parallel chains running diagonally across the land, and each of these sections had a history of its own. Owing to the difficulties of internal communication Euboea never achieved political unity.

The prehistoric population of Euboea, which was closely cognate with the prehistoric stocks of the adjacent mainland, was not overlaid, like that of Thessaly, with a dominant group of proto-historic invaders. Its constituent elements did not readily fuse into a homogeneous mass, but remained distinct for many centuries. Nevertheless, as early as the seventh century Euboea as a whole was reckoned an Ionic country. The two principal towns of the island, Chalcis and Eretria, belonged to the stock out of which the Ionic branch of the Greek nation was formed, and their dialect was more purely Ionic than that of Athens, their reputed metropolis. Owing to the preponderant part which Chalcis and Eretria played in the history of Euboea, the whole island could for all practical purposes be counted in with Greater Ionia, and so we find that in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, not Chalcis and Eretria, but simply Euboea, is named as a participant in the pan-Ionian festival at Delos.

The history of Euboea almost coincides with that of Chalcis and Eretria. Of the more northerly communities Histiaea is occasionally mentioned on account of its vineyards and its strategic position on the straits of Artemisium. But it lay too far from the main currents of Greek commerce to sustain a continuous part in Greek history. The little town of Cyme on the eastern coast gave its name and a contingent of settlers to the important colony of Cumae in southern Italy (see p. 619), but has no further claim .

upon our attention. In the south Carystus had the makings of an important town by reason of its quarries and mines. But the Carystian marble, with its peculiar green streaks running through the white mass, found no favour in early Greece, and the mines, if worked at all, would appear to have been exploited for the benefit of Chalcis or Eretria. Carystus therefore figures hardly at all in history. On the other hand, Chalcis and Eretria were among the principal cities of early Greece.

The prosperity of these two towns was originally based on the purple fisheries of the Euboic channel, and upon the vinelands and pastures of the Lelantine plain, of which Chalcis occupied the western and Eretria the eastern edge. Nevertheless, the Chalcidians and Eretrians were not content to rely on these home resources, but took a leading part in the discovery of fresh lands for Greek settlers overseas. Although, as we have seen, the Euboic seas were not specially favourable to navigation, and the Euboean mariners had no natural advantages except an unrivalled supply of ship timber from the mountains of their island, yet Euboea may claim to have been the first Greek land to revive a 'thalassocracy' like that of prehistoric Crete. See pp. 650 *sqq.*

The overseas settlements of the Chalcidians and Eretrians were made in two comparatively restricted areas. One stream of emigration was directed to the fertile little islands off the Thessalian coast and to the peninsula of Chalcidice in Macedonia, where a Greek-speaking tribe with the name of Chalcideis was already established in the interior. The Euboean colonies were mostly established on the western or leeward side of the Chalcidian promontories. It will suffice here to mention Torone, the principal settlement by Chalcis, and Mende, the chief Eretrian foundation.

But the most important achievement of the Euboean colonists was the opening up of the western Mediterranean. The first step towards the discovery of the west was a settlement of Eretrians, probably reinforced by a contingent from Carystus, on the island of Corcyra. This colony, it is true, was not long-lived, and its very existence has been called into doubt. But its establishment is attested both by Strabo and by Plutarch, the latter of whom had a specialist's acquaintance with the antiquities of central Greece. Their evidence moreover is supported by a series of Carystian coins whose type is all but identical with the standard type of Corcyra. We may therefore infer that the Eretrians and Carystians made a temporary settlement on the island of Corcyra.

This colony, however, was quite eclipsed by the more permanent foundations of the Chalcidians in Sicily and southern

Italy. The first landing on Sicilian soil was made by Theocles of Chalcis at the foot of Mt Etna, where the altar dedicated by him to Apollo Archegetes long remained as a memorial of the Greek discovery of the west. The town of Naxos which Theocles founded on this site was followed by settlements farther south at Catana and Leontini, and on either side of the Sicilian straits at Zancle and Rhegium. All these towns played a considerable part in Greek history; but the most important of all Euboean colonies was founded at Cumae on the outskirts of the bay of Naples. This colony and its daughter-city, Naples, formed the northern outposts of the Greek nation in Italy and achieved a work of permanent importance in introducing Greek culture to Rome.

In the foundation of the western colonies Eretria left the field almost entirely to Chalcis. But the latter city often reinforced its settlers with drafts from the smaller Euboean towns and from Boeotia. An insignificant Boeotian stock which contributed to the population of Cumae, the Grai, in all probability gave rise to the name of 'Graeci,' which the Romans have fastened upon the Hellenes.

The proto-geometric pottery which has been discovered at Cumae proves that this settlement dates far back into the eighth century. Of the Sicilian colonies Naxos was reputed the oldest: here stood an altar to Apollo to which all Sicilian Greeks paid homage as the earliest monument of their settlement. Of its two foundation-dates, 790 and 735 B.C., the latter is to be preferred. The only Macedonian colonies whose dates are recorded, Acanthus and Stagirus, lay far out on the farther side of Chalcidice and were probably among the last to be established. Their foundation-date, 655 B.C., may be taken to mark the end of the process of settlement. The age of Euboean exploration thus falls between 800 and 650 B.C. It begins some fifty years before the other pioneers of the colonial movement made their first settlements, and ends a full century before that movement drew to a close.

The reason why Chalcis and Eretria were the first to enter and the first to leave the field of foreign settlement was no doubt because they felt the need of fresh land, and satisfied that need, before the other Greeks. The Euboean plains, however fruitful, were of no great extent, and the limits of cultivation on them may well have been reached in the eighth century. On the other hand, the Chalcidians and Eretrians, being first in the field, had a free choice of good colonial land. Their Macedonian settlements were mostly made on snug coastal lowlands resembling the

Lelantine plain; their western colonies were mostly situated on the rich volcanic soils of Etna and Vesuvius. These acquisitions probably sufficed to appease the land hunger which had prompted Euboean exploration.

A further reason for the early withdrawal of the Euboean towns from the colonial movement may be found in the development of their industries. In the seventh and sixth centuries Chalcis became one of the chief manufacturing centres of Greece, and its staple products, pottery and metal-ware, formed two of the principal articles of early Greek commerce. The Chalcidian vases which have been discovered in Etruscan tombs are fully equal to the best Corinthian ware, and inferior only to the ceramics of Attica. An even greater proficiency was attained by the Chalcidians in metallurgy. The deposits of iron and copper in the Lelantine plain, which were worked so intensively that they became completely exhausted in the later period of Greek history, were apparently more than sufficient to supply the needs of Chalcis, for it is not unlikely that the metal industries of Corinth and other Peloponnesian towns were fed from this source. The forests of the Euboean upland provided fuel in such abundance as no other industrial centre of Greece could rival. The Chalcidians made such good use of these natural advantages that their iron and copper ware was reputed the best in Greece, and writers of the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries refer to the armour of Chalcis as mediaeval writers might speak of Milan or Toledo steel. In the fifth century Chalcis also made silver ware which became a familiar object of luxury in Athens. But it is doubtful whether this industry was of earlier date, for before 500 B.C. the output of the Greek silver mines was probably not sufficient for its industrial needs.

The part played by Eretria in this industrial development was comparatively modest. Although this city probably had access to the mines of Carystus, there is no clear evidence of its having become a metallurgical centre, and we may surmise that the product of the southern Euboean mines was not consumed locally but exported to Aegina or other metal-working cities. On the other hand, Eretria undoubtedly participated in the ceramic industry of the island. Its vases, indeed, were but inferior imitations of Cycladic or Attic ware, and hardly comparable with the fabrics of Chalcis, but they were apparently manufactured on a scale surpassing that of the Chalcidian potteries.

Did the Euboeans take any active share in the trade which grew out of their industrial proficiency? No certain conclusion

can be drawn from the coinage of Chalcis and Eretria, for it is doubtful whether these towns struck money before 550 B.C. More importance attaches to the wide diffusion of the Euboic standard of weights, which was adopted in the course of the sixth and fifth centuries by Athens and Corinth, by numerous towns of the Aegean area, and almost universally among the western Greeks. But the energies of the Euboeans appear to have been increasingly absorbed in their manufactures. In the sixth century the Chalcidians and Eretrians no longer appear among the chief seafaring peoples of Greece. It is not unlikely that part at least of their exports was shipped by traders from other states, such as Aegina, Miletus, and above all Corinth, which probably acted as middleman between Chalcis and her colonies in the west.

Of the domestic politics of Euboea we know very little. At Chalcis the memory of a king Amphidamas was preserved. But it is impossible to assign any certain date to this ruler, or even to determine whether he was a historical personage. During the seventh and sixth centuries Chalcis and Eretria were generally under aristocratic government, though at Chalcis the reign of the nobles was interrupted by a tyranny which was probably contemporary with that of Periander at Corinth, *i.e.* 600 B.C. or somewhat later. The name of 'horse-grazers,' which the Chalcidian nobles retained to the end of the sixth century, indicates that the aristocracy was recruited from the large landowners. Whether these formed a separate class from the industrial magnates it is impossible to say.

In foreign affairs the Chalcidians appear to have been content with trading alliances. The Eretrians pursued a more ambitious policy. Among the Cyclades they conquered Andros, Tenos and Ceos. In southern Euboea they probably reduced Carystus to vassalage. On the Boeotian coast they seized Oropus. It has also been conjectured that they held Tanagra previous to its absorption into the Boeotian League; but the evidence in favour of this view is very slender, and it is unlikely in itself that the Eretrians should have penetrated so far inland. The date at which this miniature empire was formed is uncertain. But since Andros made colonial settlements on its own account about 650 B.C., the Eretrian conquests in the Cyclades were probably subsequent to this time. The date at which Eretria lost control of the Cyclades is equally unknown. Oropus, as we shall see, was wrested from Eretria early in the seventh century. Carystus was apparently under Eretrian rule as late as 490 B.C.

The relations of Eretria and Chalcis fluctuated strangely

during the period of colonization. Sometimes the two cities joined forces in making a new settlement. But a conflict between them was invited by their situation at opposite ends of a fertile but none too roomy plain, within which the Lelantus rivulet made but an indifferent frontier; and it is not unlikely that they competed as well as collaborated in the quest for colonial sites. Greek tradition preserved the memory of a war (the so-called 'Lelantine War') between these two states which drew in a considerable part of the Greek world and developed into the greatest conflict in Greek lands since the Trojan War. Unfortunately the details of this struggle were mostly forgotten, and the conjectures of modern scholars concerning it are widely divergent.

In reconstructing the history of the Lelantine War the safest point of departure is the list of allies on either side, which is comparatively complete. Chalcis was aided by Corinth, Samos and the Thessalian League; Eretria received the aid of Aegina, Miletus, and possibly Megara. Apart from the Thessalian League, all the states here mentioned were centres of commerce, and most of them took an active part in colonization. The struggle therefore probably arose from the scramble for colonial sites and commercial bases, in the course of which two rival coalitions formed round the Euboean cities. If this explanation is correct, the date of the war must fall in the eighth or seventh century. The latter date is perhaps to be preferred, as this is the period of most intensive colonization. But the conflict, like the colonial wars of modern times, may have spread over a considerable period and have belonged to more than one century. A more precise dating, such as modern scholars have attempted on the basis of some very uncertain literary allusions, is hardly possible with the means at our disposal.

Concerning the course of the war we can make a somewhat more definite statement. That fighting took place on sea as well as on land may be confidently inferred from the maritime character of the belligerents on either side, and one stray piece of information, that Corinth and Samos were busy providing themselves with warships about 700 B.C., may be taken as a confirmation of this view. But the absence of all allusion to any striking episode in the naval war suggests that it was made up of a long drawn out series of small skirmishes rather than of a few set battles. The land warfare on the other hand seems to have been concentrated in the Lelantine plain which has given its name to the whole conflict. To this part of the operations may be referred two

ancient records which were long preserved in a temple at Eretria; one of these bears witness that Eretria could muster 3000 hoplites, 600 horsemen and 60 chariots; the other sets forth a compact with Chalcis by which either party bound itself not to use missile weapons. But the most definite piece of information regarding the land war is that it culminated in the intervention of a corps of Thessalian horsemen who won a final victory for the Chalcidian coalition. Although the reason for the participation of the Thessalians in the war is not clear, it is at all events certain that they dealt the decisive blow. As the result of their defeat the Eretrians lost their Boeotian possessions and part of the Lelantine plain.

But the Lelantine War had little effect upon the distribution of power in central Greece. The carrying trade of this region passed more and more into the hands of Corinth and Aegina, and the Eretrian territory on the mainland eventually fell to the neutral powers of Boeotia and Athens.

Though Chalcis and Eretria were pioneers of Greek colonization and industry, they contributed little to early Greek art or literature. The legend that Chalcis was the scene of a poetic contest between Hesiod and Homer, though incorporated in Hesiod's text, is usually rejected by modern scholars as a fabrication; and Euboea never was the home of a distinctive school of art. But the influence of the Euboean cities upon the world is not yet spent. The alphabet of Chalcis, which was disseminated in Italy through the agency of the Euboean colonists at Cumae, became the parent of the Latin alphabet. Thus our present-day letter-forms are derived through Rome from Euboea.

V. DELPHI

In dealing with the history of Phocis we have only made a casual reference to Delphi. This little town was a constituent part of Phocis until the time of the First Sacred War. But in consequence of that war it became independent both of its immediate overlord, the town of Crisa, and of the Phocian League, and towards the end of the sixth century it advertised its independence by striking coins of its own. Henceforth Delphi, though in Phocis, was not of Phocis. It did not give but received allegiance, and its sphere of influence spread from central Greece over all Hellenic lands and beyond. Its history therefore requires separate treatment.

The ascendancy of Delphi in Greece was derived simply and solely from its oracle. In itself, this oracle was not a unique

institution, for divination was practised in almost every corner of the Greek world. But whereas the other soothsaying agencies seldom achieved more than local renown, Delphi became the spiritual capital of Greece.

The pre-eminence of Delphi among the seats of Greek oracles may be explained in part by the natural advantages of the site. From its central position within the Greek lands it earned the reputation of being 'the hub of the world'; and the grandeur of its surroundings appealed to the ancient pilgrim as it does to the modern sightseer. Approaching from the south through the luxuriant olive yards of the Crisaean plain, or from the east by a winding path along the bare flank of Mt Parnassus, the traveller suddenly alights upon a semicircular recess of some five acres, poised 1000 ft. over the steep cleft between Mts Parnassus and Cirphis, and surmounted in its turn and enfolded by gleaming limestone cliffs to an altitude of 700 ft. The hard clear outlines of this landscape, and the sheer magnitude of the mountain walls which isolate and as it were imprison Delphi, exhibit the stern beauty of Greek scenery at its best. Yet the natural features of the site do not sufficiently account for its importance. Landscapes of similar if not of equal majesty abound in Greece. Moreover, though Delphi lay near the main roads that run through Greece from north to south, it did not thereby acquire any commercial importance, for these roads were not great avenues of trade. The seasonal traffic which eventually grew up at Delphi and made it the seat of a Pan-Hellenic fair was the result not the cause of Delphi's fame.

The Delphic oracle further derived prestige from its antiquity. As we shall see presently, the sanctuary was already frequented in Late Minoan times. But several other centres of Greek divination could claim a prehistoric origin, and in point of seniority Delphi may actually have been surpassed by some of its rivals.

The principal factors in the rise of Delphi to a position of unique celebrity are to be found in its association with Apollo, and in the sagacity of the priests who interpreted the utterances of this god. The original sanctuary of Delphi belonged to a primitive earth goddess who had her first abode in a betyl-stone (known as the 'navel of the earth'), and sent forth oracles in the form of dreams. But in historic times Earth had been displaced by Apollo.

The advent of Apollo (on whom see vol. II, p. 632 *sq.*) is described at length in a Homeric hymn which probably dates back to the seventh century B.C. Apollo, so the story runs, came

in procession from Macedonia to Thessaly, and thence to Euboea and Boeotia. After a sojourn in Boeotia he continued his progress to Delphi and took forcible possession of the sanctuary by slaying Earth's warder, the serpent Pytho. Finally, he set out to sea and brought the crew of a Cretan vessel to Delphi to be his priests. This legend not only has the authority of high age, but is confirmed in its broad outlines by the known facts of the Apolline cult. The worship of the god first spread from the north to the eastern and insular parts of the Greek world. In Crete it acquired new features which eventually played an important part in the religion of Delphi. The epithet 'Delphinios,' which was commonly attached to Apollo in central and Aegean Greece and may perhaps have been the origin of the name of Delphi, was probably derived from an old Cretan sea-god whose symbol was a dolphin. The ritual of purification which was prominent in early Delphian ceremony was distinctively Cretan, and the liturgy of the Paean, a slow solemn melody which was chanted at Delphi in praise of Apollo, can be traced back to the same origin. The connection between Delphi and Crete has been confirmed by finds of Late Minoan pottery and terra-cotta idols in the sanctuary, and most significant of all, by the discovery of a stone drinking-horn which is an exact parallel of a similar vessel from Cnossus. We may infer, then, that the cult of Apollo came originally from the north, but that it reached Delphi by a back-eddy from the Aegean area, where it had received accretions from the old Cretan worship. The tradition that Apollo was a violent intruder at Delphi is confirmed by the ritual of the historic period, which commemorated the slaying of the serpent Pytho in a mimic battle.

The date of the god's intrusion is fixed by the Late Minoan finds and by a passage in the *Odyssey* (viii, 79 *sqq.*) which relates how Apollo gave a response to King Agamemnon. The god was evidently brought to Delphi in the course of the great migrations which closed the prehistoric period in Greece.

At the coming of the Dorians Apollo appears to have been in momentary danger of dispossession, for Greek legend represents the first appearance of their patron god Heracles in Delphi as that of an enemy and a destroyer. Yet Apollo not only maintained his hold on the oracle; but won over to his side the Dorian invaders, who eventually spread his cult to Peloponnesus and all the scenes of their later wanderings. It has even been maintained that the Delphian Apollo chiefly owed his prestige in Greece to Dorian propaganda. This view is refuted alike by Greek tradition and by the uniform diffusion of the Apollo cult over all the branches

of the Greek nation; but it contains this germ of truth, that the last of the northern invaders who found Apollo installed at Delphi acknowledged his lordship of the oracle as zealously as the earlier immigrants who had set him up.

The attributes from which Apollo derived his character as a soothsayer are not laid down in ancient tradition. If Apollo was primarily a god of light, it is easy to see how he became a god of enlightenment. But his luminary properties were probably late and derivative. It is more likely that Apollo derived his oracular authority from his character as 'Agyieus' or 'lord of the way.' The god, as we have seen, was established at Delphi in the age of the migrations. He had escorted the wanderers to their new homes in Greece, and after their settlement remained their spiritual guide.

Apollo thus became adviser-in-chief to the Greek nation. But he had many seats of prophecy besides Delphi. The reason why Delphi became his oracle *par excellence* is to be sought in the method of divination and the opportunities which this gave to a sagacious priesthood.

At Delphi the method of consulting the oracle was not quite uniform. To those who preferred it advice was given through the primitive medium of dreams, or by the drawing of lots; and Apollo's earliest messages were delivered by the rustling of his sacred laurels. But the usual procedure was as follows. On stated days the consultants were admitted to the threshold of the Adyton or Holy of Holies, a narrow rock chamber underneath Apollo's temple, and there presented their request to the priests. The reply of the god was apparently elicited by the Pythia, a Delphian woman whose predecessors had probably been priestesses of the archaic earth oracle, though she herself was but the medium of Apollo's priests. After some conventional ritual of purification the Pythia mounted the tripod or three-legged table in the Adyton and awaited inspiration. In spite of a persistent tradition to the contrary, it appears certain that the Pythia's frenzy was not induced by physical intoxication from vapours ascending out of a chasm in the earth. If her ecstatic condition was due in any way to a physical agency, we must attribute it to the chewing of laurel leaves or the inhaling of laurel smoke; but it is not impossible that her prophetic mood was the result of simple hypnotic suggestion. Under the spell of her trance the Pythia broke into incoherent utterance. This was the voice of the god which the priests professed to interpret. The Pythia's delirious gabble was recast by them into epic hexameters or (in later days) into

simple prose, and was invested with any meaning which they thought fit to impart to it. In effect, the Pythia's frenzy was by-play, the responses were originated by the priests. Here, then, we have found the chief makers of Apollo's oracle.

The Delphic priesthood, being recruited from Delphi itself, were not the chosen best of the whole Greek nation. At first sight their success as oracle-mongers may appear strange. They possessed neither genius nor great courage. They did not soar high above the average thought of their age, and instead of originating new doctrine they were mostly content to inculcate existing beliefs and practices. Their canny timidity is exhibited amusingly in the maxim which purported to have come from the oracle, 'go bail, and ruin stands by.' A more tragic instance of this same calculating caution was afforded at the climax of the Persian Wars, when they undermined Greek *morale* by prophesying success for Persia's big battalions. To the urgent problem of reforming the religion of early Greece they contributed but little. They left it to laymen to denounce the immoralities of the Homeric religion, and to the general Greek sense of humanity to abolish human sacrifices, of which not a few were performed at Delphi's direct bidding. Greece produced many pioneers in thought and heroes in action, but the priests of Delphi are not to be counted among these.

On the other hand, the voice of the oracle was endowed in a conspicuous degree with those commonplace virtues which make most of all for worldly success. In relation to other deities they exhibited a broad-minded tolerance, and for their own god they merely claimed a monopoly of divination. At Delphi itself they left room for old-established cults like those of Poseidon and Athena, and they not only allowed *Gē* or Earth, the original possessor of Apollo's sanctuary, to retain her sacred stone, but provided her with a temple. Among later intruders into the Greek pantheon they recognized Dionysus as a god who had come to stay. At Delphi they gave him a share of the cult in Apollo's own temple; elsewhere they enjoined the foundation of shrines in his honour. In every part of Greece they recommended the continued observation of existing cults and sanctioned the introduction of new ones. Among the characteristic Greek worships which owed their wide diffusion to Delphi may be mentioned the cult of defunct great men or 'heroes.'

In working the oracle the priests practised a certain amount of mystification. But they kept the temple ritual simple and free from extravagance. With characteristic prudence they discounted

the risks of exposure by limiting the *dies fasti* to one in a month, and they parried indiscreet questioners, especially those who would pry into the future, with responses of 'Delphic' obscurity. Thus King Croesus on the eve of his war with Persia was told that he would destroy 'a' great kingdom; Pyrrhus of Epirus was assured that 'Aeacus' son the Romans could conquer.' In the same spirit of caution they avoided the pitfalls which commonly bring down those in enjoyment of spiritual authority. Though they often gave advice on questions of politics, they usually refrained from taking sides between contending parties. They never sought to enforce their precepts by recourse to the 'secular arm,' but were content to reprove and admonish the disobedient. The essence of their wordly wisdom is concentrated in two words which they had caused to be engraved on an entrance pillar of Apollo's temple, 'nothing overmuch' (ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ).

Again, though the priests initiated no new moral gospel, they neither stoned nor snubbed the prophets who arose elsewhere. Solon and other leaders of Greek thought they welcomed to their sanctuary, and at times they assisted such pioneers to disseminate new doctrines for which the Greek world seemed ripe. The great transformation by which humane views of life were substituted in Greece for the primitive code of violence was frequently, if not uniformly, assisted by them. Not only did they reprove unprovoked murder, but they helped to discourage the blood-feud and laid down the cardinal rule that the moral value of an act depends, not on its external circumstances, but on its inward motive. In the later days of Greek history, when the evils of slavery had become apparent, the priests at Delphi encouraged acts of manumission and guaranteed the slave's liberty by a fictitious purchase which made him technically a chattel of Apollo but in practice secured his freedom against all comers. In regard to the taking of money Apollo did not escape suspicion, but he never placed his spiritual functions on a purely commercial basis, and in one famous case he angrily drove away a faithless trustee when he endeavoured to compound his felony with a gift to the god. Compared with other Greek gods, who regularly expected payment for value received, Apollo's standard of disinterested service was exemplary. With similar insight and yet greater courage the priests spoke plainly to overbearing potentates like Croesus or the Deinomenidae of Syracuse or Jason of Pherae, asserting against them that the real if not the outward prizes of life went to humble folk who quietly performed a simple duty.

But whatever the sources of Delphi's influence may have been,

there can be no doubt as to the commanding position which it acquired. In the days of Homer its fame was already spread over Greece, and in the seventh century foreign kings from Asia began to pay homage to it. In the sixth century the entire Greek world, assisted by King Amasis of Egypt, collaborated in providing Apollo with a temple worthy of his fame. In this shrine, and in numerous 'treasure houses' which various Greek states set up in competition during the sixth and fifth centuries, votive gifts from grateful or expectant consultants accumulated until Delphi became a standing temptation to predatory warriors and politicians. Among the dedications were included war-offerings from Greek and barbarian conquerors, and the 'golden harvests' from Greek colonists who had found prosperity in their new homes. These latter gifts illustrate the prestige which Apollo acquired as the 'Archēgetes' or leader and lord of the numerous bands of emigrants who left Greek soil in the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries. Although the reputation for geographical omniscience which Apollo acquired was scarcely deserved, for the instances in which the god actually selected the site to which his consultants were to repair were few and late, and the masterful way in which he directed an unbelieving band to a happy home in Cyrene is not to be regarded as typical, yet his sanction to each new colonial enterprise was regarded as almost indispensable, and as a means of legitimizing Greek appropriations in barbarian lands it was more effective than the division which Pope Alexander VI made of the New World of modern times.

But colonization was not the only affair of state on which the oracle came to be regularly consulted. It was usual for Greek cities to obtain a blessing from Delphi for the new constitutions which they gave themselves; and several of the communities of central Greece regulated their calendar by that of Delphi.

Perhaps, however, the most significant tribute to the authority of Delphi came from the unofficial leaders of Greek thought, from the great Hellenic thinkers and poets. Solon and Pindar, the Attic dramatists and Plato acknowledged Apollo as the fount of all wisdom.

The full recognition of Delphi's pan-Hellenic importance may be said to date from the First Sacred War (see p. 604 *sq.*). This intervention in Delphian affairs by interested neighbours, and the establishment of the Amphictyonic Council as a permanent Board of Control, were not indeed an unmixed blessing, for they exposed the sacred site to the risk of becoming a subject of sordid political intrigue. But the patronage of the Amphictyones raised

Delphi to the status of a federal capital, and the festivals in which they commemorated their victory in the Sacred War put it on a level with Olympia as one of the chief seats of the Greek 'Panēgyreis' or national holidays.

In its origin the 'Pythian' festival was nothing more than a ritual celebrated every eight years at the tomb of the serpent Pytho to commemorate his death, and the only part of the cult which was of more than ceremonial interest was a contest of singers accompanied by a lyre. At the first festivals celebrated by the Amphictyones (590 and 582 B.C.) a contest in flute-playing was added to the musical events, and athletic matches and horse races were introduced. Though the standard of athletic performance at the Pythian games was not reckoned equal to that of Olympia, yet as an all-round exhibition of physical and of artistic prowess the Delphic festival probably stood first among the Greek Panegyreis. Thus Delphi became not only a place of pilgrimage but the home of a 'League of Nations' and one of the chief playgrounds of Greece.

In estimating the influence of Delphi upon the Greek world we must consider not only its educational work but also the part which it played in standardizing Greek religion and ethics, and in supplying a national court of reference in which the widely divergent customs of the several Greek cities could be reduced to a common standard. Together with the Zeus of the Olympian games, the Pythian Apollo was one of the chief agents in the fusion of the peoples of Greece into the Greek nation. But whatever relative importance we attach to the educational and to the organizing functions of the oracle, we need not hesitate to say that in its total influence upon the Greek world Delphi far surpassed all the other communities of northern and central Greece.

MAP to illustrate GREEK COLONIAL EXPANSION
Scale
Statute Miles
Kilometres
Old Greek coast
Poleis and Phoenician cities
Pelasgian cities
Cities of Old Greece and primary settlements in Asia
Chalcidian, Eretrian, and other Ionian colonies
Ionian colonies
Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia and other Dorian colonies
(The dashed area shows the extension of the Pan-Greek Empire described by Isocrates in 380 B.C.)
A B C D E F G H I K L
1 2 3 4 5

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CHAPTER XXV

THE COLONIAL EXPANSION OF GREECE

I. SURVEY OF DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK COLONIES

IF we compare the distribution of the Late Minoan civilization, or even that assigned in the Homeric Catalogue to the allies of Agamemnon, with that of the Greek city-states at the close of the sixth century, we find striking resemblances, and also striking contrasts. To elucidate these is the purpose of this chapter, in the light thrown upon literary tradition by geographical circumstances and archaeological discovery. Some of the most important contrasts, however, may here be taken for granted, and have indeed been already discussed (see vol. II, chap. xx): namely, the establishment of the three great groups of Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian city-states on the west coast of Asia Minor, in the course of the Minoan *débâcle*. The establishment of a fourth such group, the so-called 'Achaean' cities of Magna Graecia—the significance of which seems only to have been appreciated gradually and rather late by the Greeks themselves, if we may judge from that revision of the Hellenic pedigree which appears first in Hellanicus —is so imperfectly attested by tradition, and so intimately involved in the story of colonization westward, that it must be considered in rather greater detail in that connection.

Similarly, a few later extensions of the area of colonization, due to Persian pressure on the cities of Ionia in the latter part of the sixth century, and to the political ambitions of Athens and Corinth in the fifth, belong rather to the general history of these later periods than to the Age of Colonization itself; and will only be treated here in outline. At most they were attempts to fill gaps in a distribution of which the main outlines were already clear by the middle of the sixth century, and of which only the first rudiments are traceable before that of the eighth.

The regions assured to Hellenic enterprises during this period of about two hundred years (750–550 B.C.) may be briefly summarized as follows:

(*a*) Within the Aegean, the whole north coast, from Thessaly to the Hellespont, was occupied by more or less coherent groups of settlements, of which the most extensive and important, around the three promontories of Pallene, Sithonia and Athos, was due

to Chalcidian enterprise; others originated from Eretria, Andros and Paros; from Chios, Clazomenae and Miletus in Ionia; and in a small region east of the Hebrus river, from Aeolic cities.

(*b*) Adjacent to the Aegean, and only accessible through it, are the shores of the Propontis and Pontus. Here the settlements were mainly from Ionian cities, Phocaea, Erythrae, Samos and (above all) Miletus; but an important group around the Bosporus came from Megara; and eventually Athens acquired important strategical and economic footing at Sigeum, on the Chersonese, and in the islands which command the Aegean approaches to the Hellespont.

(*c*) In the Levant, natural obstacles, and the rival sea-power of the Phoenicians, prevented any such wholesale exploitation, so that the remnants of Late Minoan enterprise, in Cyprus, and on the coasts of Cilicia and Palestine, either faded away, or found independent and peculiar expression. In the Nile Delta, too, colonization of the normal kind is replaced by trading-factories of abnormal constitution and precarious tenure.

(*d*) Farther west, on the north African coast, Cyrene and its offshoots entered into unusually close friendship with the Libyan natives, and had intercourse with the far interior. Beyond the Cyrenaica, however, the Tripolitan region around the river Cinyps, between the two 'quicksands,' was foreclosed by Phoenicians from the west, before 515 B.C., so that the Greek world ends here abruptly.

(*e*) North-westward it was otherwise. The 'Achaean' region of refugee-settlements, however much interpenetrated by later emigrants from the Aegean, retains a special character throughout, between the colonies, mainly Corinthian, which extend up the west coast of the Greek peninsula itself from Oeniadae to Epidamnus and Black Corcyra (Curzola), and the western Chalcidians, astride of the Strait of Messana, and along the northern and eastern shores of Sicily, as far as Himera westward, and Leontini just beyond the Simaethus. Another and perhaps even earlier Chalcidian region is the coast of Campania, limited southwards by the forested highlands of Calabria, and northwards by the home waters of Etruria, foreclosed like Punic Africa by deep-seated hostility. Late in date, but unusually successful within their remote field of enterprise, the Phocaean colonies east and west of Massilia, from the Riviera to the Ebro, kept precarious touch with their Chalcidian friends at the Strait, through short-lived occupation of Alalia in Corsica, and afterwards through Elea (Velia), in the Calabrian no-man's-land.

(*f*) South of the Chalcidian area of Sicily, Corinth's sphere of influence, around Syracuse and Camarina, was interrupted for a while by the Megarian settlements at Thapsus and among the Sicels of Hybla; and restricted westward by the colonies from Asiatic Doris, Gela and Acragas. Beyond these, the Megarian forlorn hope at Selinus, the precarious foothold of Heraclea-Minoa, and the failure of belated Dorians to gain foothold at Lilybaeum, mark the debatable ground between Greek and Punic territory, since the whole north-west of Sicily remained in enemy hands till the Roman conquest in the third century.

II. PRECURSORS OF GREEK COLONIZATION; THE FATE OF THE SEA-RAIDERS

Obviously such a piecemeal distribution as this represents the outcome of long and various attempts to establish Greek settlements in face of natural and political obstacles. Of these the most notable, on the physical side, are the abruptness and infertility of such sea-coasts as those of Thrace, Lycia and western Cilicia; the severe climate and especially the copious rainfall of Caucasus and the north side of Asia Minor, and of the Adriatic from Epirus northward; the harbourless lee-shore and dangerous shoals of long stretches of north Africa. Among human adversaries the most important are the native populations of the Thracian, Paphlagonian and Pamphylian highlands, the Illyrians and Epirotes of north-western Greece, the Phoenician occupants of parts of Cyprus, Punic Africa and western Sicily, and the Tyrrhenian overlords of the coastlands north of Campania. Generally favourable circumstances, on the other hand, were the exceptional uniformity of structure, climate, and natural products which characterizes most parts of the Mediterranean region, so that, proceeding coastwise, it was possible to propagate settlements similarly constituted and sustained on the economic plane, with a minimum of adjustment to local circumstances; while the principal exceptions to this uniformity, in the featureless deep-soiled prairie north of the Black Sea, and on the plateau-steppe of Cyrenaica, happened to permit such exploitation of corn-crops and sheep-farming respectively, as most completely supplemented the natural produce of the homeland, and induced profound economic changes in its indigenous mode of life.

No less favourable, though less easily explained, was the reception generally accorded to the Greek colonies by the native populations among which they were founded, and to whose

tolerance, if not positive goodwill, they necessarily owed their permanent security. Scythia and Cyrenaic Libya are conspicuous examples; Sicily and southern Italy less uniformly so, as will be seen later in detail. Most important of all, as the archaeological evidence is now beginning to reveal, was the previous extension, on somewhat similar lines, and with the same natural facilities or obstructions, of the Late Minoan civilization along the Mediterranean seaways, in the centuries between the Fall of Cnossus and those irruptions of alien peoples out of east-central Europe in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, which cut short that civilization prematurely.

Of their Minoan precursors—as of the sea-raiders who wrecked so much of their work, while elsewhere they merged themselves in it—the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries seem to have preserved surprisingly fragmentary memories. Principal types of such traditions are those which attribute certain early settlements to the Argonauts and other 'leaders from Thessaly,' to the companions of Heracles in his raids on the Amazons and the cattle of Geryon, to Achaeans 'returning from the Trojan War,' to Trojans, Phrygians and other survivors of that struggle, to Thracians, Pelasgians and Carians; and (following quite another clue) to 'those who came with Cadmus' whose original Cretan ancestry had been displaced by the belief in a Phoenician origin.

To understand, therefore, the course actually taken by the principal currents of Greek colonization, both within the Aegean and beyond it, account must be taken of the general course of events around the margin of the cradle-land of the composite Greek people; more especially as such considerations as these will be found to offer important clues to the distribution and activities of the chief rival sea-farers, with whom Greek colonists came into conflict as they began to range farther afield. It has been often observed that, in the west especially, Greek, Phoenician, and Tyrrhenian enterprises were running a neck-and-neck race for principal points of vantage; and the question is unavoidable, how it comes about that the Mediterranean basin became the scene of this keen maritime competition, during the period under review. The answer to this question is all the more important, because it will be evident in the long run, that at the moment when the Persians were reorganizing the continental resources of the Near East in a single efficient and aggressive empire, something of a deadlock had been reached in this struggle for mastery of the seaways; and that the rivals themselves realized that the new land-power might well come to have the decision in a conflict

which was in itself naval. Such a belief, on the Greek side, seems to have influenced the judgment of Herodotus on matters of the first importance, and certainly inspires the retrospect of earlier sea-powers with which Thucydides opens his history of the 'greatest of wars till now.'

Aegean Hellenism, indeed, was by no means the only national culture which the long 'dark age' engendered. While the dismembered remnants of the Late Minoan régime were reconstructing their shattered societies within the outer-guard of a stabilized Macedon and Thrace in south-eastern Europe, and a stabilized Phrygia and Lydia in western Asia Minor, the survivors of the communities on the shores of the Levant, which had been wrecked by the combined Sea-raids and Land-raids in the early years of Ramses III, were recovering themselves similarly, and reconstituting partly a modified counterpart of what had existed before, partly fresh states with mixed ingredients, new outlook and interests, and consequently new relations with their neighbours.

Until the Fall of Cnossus, intercourse between the Aegean and the Levant seems to have been rather strictly limited to the direct line of intercourse between Crete itself and Egypt. Imported Egyptian objects seem only to occur on sites of the Helladic mainland during the period of Cretan predominance; and on the other hand, even so attractive a region as Cyprus seems to have been hardly touched by Minoan enterprise down to the end of the 'Palace Period.' The resemblances between Minoan craftsmanship and that of the splendid objects brought as tribute by the Levantine (and probably north Syrian) 'Keftiu-folk' to Thuthmose III have been exaggerated; and the two cultures are now generally recognized to be essentially distinct (but see vol. II, chap. xii, pp. 279–80).

But with the substitution of Mycenaean for Minoan hegemony in the Third Late Minoan period, after 1400 B.C., the range of oversea contact widened rapidly, and its character changed. Cyprus was colonized extensively, and the foundations were laid of settlements such as Curium, Citium and Salamis, which persisted into historic times. On the mainland, evidence is still scanty, but there was intercourse with Palestine from the late fourteenth century onward.

The Levantine world into which the new comers penetrated was in agitated suspense between the waning protectorate of Egypt, the persistent aggressions of the Hatti-folk from beyond Taurus, and the depredations of Amorites, Ḫabiru and other 'men of blood,' nomad raiders from the desert. To these a fourth

distraction was added by western adventurers, whom Egyptian records describe generally as Lukki, very probably from an element which had made itself at home in the creeks and coast-fastnesses of Lycia—if indeed it did not actually originate there. Among these disturbances, old-established cultures in Cilicia, in north Syria, and on the Phoenician coast, maintained themselves as best as they could, siding with the more civilized Egyptian overlord as long as that was practicable, but transferring their allegiance sooner or later to the most aggressive competitor.

A century later, fresh danger loomed up from the north-west, from the founders of the Pelopid and Trojan hegemonies. An early symptom is the mutual-insurance treaty between Ramses II and the king of the Hatti, about 1272, not far removed in time from that Phrygian inroad on the plateau, which was an early memory of King Priam. Then comes the joint attack of Aegean and Libyan peoples on the west edge of the Delta, about 1225, almost contemporary, that is, with the Greek dates for the Pontic sea-raid of the Argonauts, Heracles' attack on the Amazons, and the Hittite references to 'Attarissyas (?Atreus) of Achaea[1].' And then, in the fifth and eighth years of Ramses III, came the combined and evidently concerted Land-raids and Sea-raids which devastated all coasts, and much of the Syrian interior, and were only stopped by the double victory of Ramses somewhere on the south Syrian coast (*c.* 1194 B.C., vol. II, pp. 173 *sq.*, 283 *n.*). The survivors were settled where they surrendered, in that lowland of 'Philistine' or 'Palestine' Syria, which still bears the name of their most notable contingent (see vol. II, p. 295 *n.*).

How general and severe were their devastations may be judged from three instances. In Cyprus the large Minoan settlements all end abruptly, and the most important, Salamis and Citium, even change their sites, just at the stage in their declining culture which supplies the sudden and rather copious evidence for oversea settlements at Askalon and apparently also at other Philistine sites; there to persist, in more rapid degeneration, and to be gradually superseded by later phases of the local culture into which they intruded. In Phoenicia, where archaeological evidence has only begun to be available since the French occupation of the country, the tradition of a refoundation of Tyre 'in the year before Troy fell,' or perhaps a little earlier, indicates just such a breach of continuity as appears on the Cyprian sites (cf. vol. II, p. 379). In Cyprus itself, too, the culture of the Early Iron Age which follows abruptly, in most parts of the island, on

[1] For the last see Forrer, *O.L.Z.* 1924, col. 113 *sqq.*

the extinction or displacement of the Minoan colonies, is characterized by many points of resemblance with what is known of the civilization of Cilicia and north Syria in the period of 'reoccupation,' even so far inland as the district around Carchemish; from which it may be inferred that Cyprus was now both a refuge for broken folk from mainland districts, and a source whence those districts were repeopled and reconstituted when the worst was over. As Phoenician sites share in this hybrid island-culture, modifying it only slightly into conformity with that already mentioned as habitual in Palestine before the Sea-raiders were settled there, it seems to follow that the new 'Tyrian' phase of history, which opens now, owes something to similar give-and-take with the Minoanized areas of eastern Cyprus.

Thus, with the hereditary connections between the Phoenician cities and the centres of trade and craftsmanship in the Syrian interior, and in Palestine and Egypt southwards, were interwoven now those of easterly outliers of the Late-Minoan West, which extended not only far into the north Aegean, as we are now beginning to discover (see p. 650 below), but farther still along the shores of southern Italy and Sicily, and up the whole length of the Adriatic. Nor is it without significance that the Sea-raid in Merneptah's reign co-operated with a large Libyan force (vol. II, p. 166 *sq.*), and that it was for a Libyan trading-voyage that Odysseus pretended that he and his Phoenician partner had fitted out the ship which was caught, like that of Paul, 'in mid-sea outside Crete.'

At this point the contrast must be noted between the composition of the Philistine, the Phoenician, the Cypriote, and the Cilician communities, in this period of reconstruction, and also between their respective fortunes.

(1) *Palestine.* On the coast-plain of Palestine alien elements predominated derived from the Sea-raiding captives of Ramses III. Within a century they had thrown off any allegiance they owed to his successors, and could insult an Egyptian envoy with impunity (vol. II, p. 192 *sq.*). While they still harried their neighbours by sea—and were liable to be harried themselves by kindred 'Teucrians' (see vol. II, p. 491 *n.*), such as those in Cypriote Salamis—they had a large, open, and fairly fertile country behind and around them, and some trouble to defend it against occupants of the Judaean highland, who, according to the Old Testament, were apparently as recently installed as they were themselves. Amid the general appropriation of the 'Promised Land' by the Israelite invaders from beyond Jordan, the failure

of Joshua and his successors to conquer Philistia stands out conspicuous; and we may be sure that if we had both sides of the story, the repeated expeditions of the Philistines into the highlands would appear no less punitive than predatory; interspersed as they were with the wild doings of a ne'er-do-weel like Samson, and culminating in strict disarmament of the Israelites of the hill-country in the early years of King Saul (cf. vol. II, pp. 379 *sqq.*). It is an epitome of border warfare between a mainly pastoral upland and the corn-lands of a coast plain; and the difference of origin, language and manners between Hebrew and Philistine only served to exacerbate a feud that was physically inevitable.

The Philistine domination lasted about two centuries. Then, the political reunion of the Israelite tribes under Saul, and the military prowess of David, turned the scale. Henceforth we hear little of the Philistines in the Old Testament, though the Assyrian records show how important was the part they could play in the history of Palestine (cf. pp. 380 *sqq.*). That there was still some spirit in the lowlanders is seen from the utterances of Ezekiel (xvi, 57, xxv, 15); and Jeremiah threatens that 'Yahweh will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the country of Caphtor' (xlvii, 2), a literary phrase which covers Cyprus (see vol. II, p. 286, and p. 646 below). How far the 'Cherēthim' of the sixth century had maintained their original connection with Crete or even Hellenic Cyprus, or were in league with the 'Ionian and Carian' adventurers who were now serving the Saïte kings of Egypt, or with Jeremiah's 'Lydians that handle and bend the bow' (xlvi, 9) in the same cause, cannot be proved directly; but the frequent allusions to 'the Isles' in the manifestos of that period prove community of interests between the descendants of the old Sea-raiders and their actual counterparts (see vol. II, pp. 285 *sqq.*). In view of this later history, and—still more—of their original circumstances, the 'fenced cities' of Philistia, with their court-yard houses, their porticoes whose columns could be wrenched from their bases (as in the story of Samson), their gigantic leaders in helmet, greaves, vast shield, and long iron spear, and their close aristocracy of 'lords of the Philistines,' present striking analogies with the communities of the Homeric Age, and with all that we know of the first Greek settlements in Ionia, and of the Hellenic cities of Cyprus, which are to be described later. We seem to catch glimpses of what might have been another Ionia, had Jerusalem been able and willing to play the part of Sardes. (See vol. II, p. 289 *sq.*)

(2) *The Phoenicians.* On the Phoenician section of the coast,

farther north, the course of events after the Sea-raids was quite different. The Lebanon is far more rugged and inhospitable than the Judaean hill-country, and the coastland is of negligible extent, barely large enough to yield mere garden-crops to settlements of fishers and coast-traders clinging on the sea front. Here, therefore, there was no such partition between highland and lowland interests. The civilized Canaanite population, if it had to leave its ancient cities, had sure refuges at hand—the foot-hills, the defensible promontories and, above all, the islands inshore. Of the last named, the most important was the 'Rock,' the 'strong city' of Tyre; and it is no accident that whereas in Homeric tradition, as under the Egyptian protectorate, the place of wealth and craftsmanship had been Sidon, in the reconstruction period Tyre was predominant.

It was from Tyre, whose king Hiram I is also 'king of the Sidonians' about 970 B.C., that Solomon obtained timber and craftsmanship for his temple at Jerusalem, supplying Hiram in return, 'because he inhabited on an island', with agricultural produce, corn, wine and oil. It was Tyre, too, which under Hiram and his successor Abibaal was rebuilding itself on a large plan to meet its growing needs; which, a little before 800 B.C., made the great venture into the west and established a dependent 'New-town' at Carthage (*ḳart-ḥadasht*); and whose earlier occupation of the district of Citium in Cyprus is attested by another 'New-town' which was governed by a 'servant of Hiram king of the Sidonians' at least as early as the middle of the eighth century, and seems, from its scanty remains, to have been fortified during the early part of the last Assyrian hegemony.

As yet another king of Tyre, Ethbaal, is described as 'king of the Sidonians' in the middle of the ninth century, and as 'Sidonians' appears to have been a general term for the 'fisher-folk' of the whole coastline, it seems that this primacy of Tyre over the rest of Phoenicia was continuous, at all events until the great schism at the end of the eighth century.

Phoenician colonization, and Phoenician influence on the early civilization of Greece, were given a larger extension by Greek historians and by many modern writers than is supported by the material evidence. The reasons for such exaggeration cannot be discussed in detail here. Principal arguments in support of Greek traditions and theories were philological comparisons of place-names with Semitic words; similarities between some of the Greek cults least closely associated with the Olympian deities, and the obscure and unfavourable descriptions of Phoenician

myths and rituals; and premature generalizations as to the routes, methods, and objects of early Mediterranean trade. Like the traditional Pelasgians, many Phoenician settlements would seem to have been 'put there only to be driven out,' and planted not by Phoenicians but by the Greeks who wrote about them. With the discovery of the Minoan civilization—and especially since its geographical range has been approximately determined—and with fuller information, mainly from archaeological sources, as to the stages by which archaic Greek arts and industries came to their historical maturity, Greek legends of 'Phoenician colonization' fall into a fresh perspective. Some of them seem designed to explain ancient discoveries of non-Hellenic and pre-Hellenic (that is to say, Minoan) monuments and works of art; others, to account for survivals of old practices not specially Syrian or Semitic, but once widespread around the Mediterranean, such as the worship of upright stones, of trees and other symbols of the natural forces concerned in growth and reproduction, of beast-killing and giant-killing heroes; or of local and special industries, such as mining or purple-fishing, which have no necessary connection with either the craftsmen of Sidon or the fisher-folk of the Lebanon foreshore.

Arguments based on similarities between the Phoenician and the Greek systems of writing are undercut by the circumstance that in Cyprus, nearest to Phoenicia of all areas of Greek settlement, the Phoenician script was limited to a few specifically Phoenician communities, while their Greek-speaking neighbours used no alphabet at all, but a syllabary mainly derived from the Minoan pictographs, and connected with them by transitional forms from the Late Minoan sites in Cyprus itself. Cypriote weights and measures, too, seem more closely related to the Aeginetan system than to that which was in use in Phoenicia; and the material culture of Phoenician cities, from the period of the Sea-raids onwards, borrowed from the island, in the Early Iron Age, quite as much as it contributed. When we take account, further, of the fact that though about a score of loan-words from Phoenician speech have been detected in the Greek language, most of them denote articles of luxury or sedentary craftsmanship, and not one of them has any reference to building, agricultural processes, writing, nor, above all, to ship-building or navigation, the Greek terminology of which is wholly indigenous, it would seem that it is only from direct evidence of a material kind that it would be safe to infer the existence of any Phoenician settlement which is not attested by contemporary allusions. Even so, the

discovery of objects of conjecturally 'Phoenician style' on a site does not demonstrate a permanent abode of Phoenicians, still less an organized town or state of Phoenician origin, culture and administration; any more than the presence of Greek vases in early tombs at Carthage disproves the Phoenician origin of that settlement.

A few communities such as Gades, which were Phoenician in historic times, were believed to be considerably older than the Tyrian colonies already discussed; perhaps because they were believed to have been founded from Sidon or Byblus. In such cases it is as difficult to prove a negative conclusion as to accept the arguments offered. All that can be noted at present is that on no such site, except in Cyprus—and single stray vases from Thera and Athens—have any material remains been found as yet which resemble any class of objects found in Phoenicia and referable to an earlier period than the Sea-raids. But it must be remembered that the Phoenician sites themselves, with the recent exception of Byblus, are very ill-explored; and that, hitherto, the material from Byblus itself is in entire accord with what is stated above.

Positive conclusions, then, are justified only in regard to the following districts. In Cyprus, copious intercourse with several centres of culture on the Syrian coast is demonstrable a little further back in time than the Late Minoan exploitation; but the earlier interchanges are rather with Palestine than with Phoenicia, and the exact source of most of these foreign imports is still unknown. In the Late Minoan period no site has been found which yields mainland material to the exclusion of Minoan; even Citium, which later was the headquarters of Phoenician enterprise and administration, lies in a thoroughly Minoanized area. Paphos, which had what was afterwards the most famous sanctuary of the 'Cyprian Goddess,' can hardly be traced back even to the Sea-raid period; and Idalium, the only great sanctuary which was in Phoenician hands in historic times, had a Greek 'king' in the seventh, and in spite of its inland situation had been as fully Minoanized as Citium itself. In the sixth and fifth centuries, a well-marked district round Citium and Idalium in the south-eastern lowland, and a smaller one round Amathus on the south coast, were the only territories actually in Phoenician hands, and seem to have maintained themselves so, mainly by playing off against each other their stronger Greek neighbours, Salamis on the east coast, Curium and Paphos on the south-west, and Soli on the north.

Punic Africa tells a different story. Though the earliest remains hitherto found at Carthage cannot be dated earlier than the seventh or eighth century, ancient tradition as to its foundation by expelled or seceding Tyrians is exceptionally precise and detailed, and the occasion falls within a historical context, namely the reconstruction-period following the collapse of the hegemony of Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser, who had repeatedly harried Tyre and other Phoenician cities between 876 and 846 (p. 155*q.*). It remained a dependency of Tyre until after the surrender of the motherland to Cyrus, when the connecting link was cut by Amasis' conquest of Cyprus; a masterly counter-stroke to Tyre's defection from the cause of Mediterranean freedom, and an important supplement to the Herodotean version of Cambyses' negotiations for the use of Phoenician sea-power (cf. pp. 306, 418).

Of the other Punic cities, some were colonies of Carthage; others seem to have claimed 'Sidonian' or other early origin; the most important—Utica, Lixus in Mauretania, and Gades in south-western Spain—were attributed to Tyre, and to the period immediately following the Sea-raids; and in the same way Virgil's account of the first settlement of Carthage itself transfers the historical Elissa to the morrow of the Trojan War.

The stories of 'Sidonian' exploitation of a great dependency ('Tarshish') beyond the Strait of Gibraltar have become inextricably confused with those of the Samian and Phocaean intercourse with the country round Tartessus, somewhere in this region, but apparently unvisited until Colaeus touched there by accident about the time of the foundation of Cyrene (630). Historical data do not go back here beyond the Carthaginian occupation of Gades in 501; and Phoenician prospectors were probably as skilful in advertising their speculations as in concealing trade-secrets. But there is no reason to doubt Herodotus' story of systematic explorations along the Atlantic coast of Africa as early as the reign of Necho; and the ancient consensus as to Phoenician tin-trade in the far west makes it probable that they had at all events reached the Galician promontory. No site in the Spanish peninsula however has as yet yielded any Punic object of earlier date than the sixth or late seventh century.

Within the western Mediterranean the material evidence is ampler. The native civilization of some parts of the Sicilian interior during the Early Iron Age certainly absorbed elements of the same culture as is common to the tomb-contents of Carthage and to the contemporary industries of Cyprus and Phoenicia itself. Precise dates are not available, but this influence

may mount back rather earlier than the first Greek settlements, that is, at least to the eighth century; and if so, Thucydides' description of coastlands beset with Phoenician factories at the time of the Greek colonization receives qualified support. The only permanent hold, however, which Punic enterprises retained in Sicily was in the rugged and metalliferous but comparatively uncivilized west, where Eryx was believed to have a long history, and Thucydides, like Virgil, thought there were 'Trojan and Phocian' settlements of Sea-raid quality and date. But the historic centres, Soloeis, Motya and Panormus, though early enough to forestall Chalcidian expansion, did not prevent Megarian Selinus from establishing itself far beyond its Dorian cousins; and about 580 it was still a neck-and-neck race for the natural harbour of Lilybaeum. Of all this the sparse archaeological evidence offers cautious confirmation.

In the Lipari Islands, no Phoenician settlement seems to have preceded the Hellenic colony in the early sixth century; but in the Maltese group, which had had a magnificent culture, of west-Mediterranean affinities, in the late Stone Age, but had been long desolate afterwards, Phoenician settlements begin abruptly about the seventh century, and there is no trace of any Greek attempt to dislodge them. Sardinia, to judge from rich archaeological material at Tharros, in the fertile lowland promontory at the south end, was occupied abruptly and vigorously early in the sixth century, or perhaps at the end of the seventh; but the rest of the island does not seem to have been affected by this. In Corsica, so far as we know, the Phocaeans in the sixth century found no rivals in possession, though they were themselves expelled by a combination of Phoenician with Tyrrhenian rivals. The Balearic Islands, on the other hand, were allowed to fall under Punic control uncontested, like Malta, but not early enough to bar the Greek route to Tartessus, or facilitate Punic intercourse with that region. (See vol. IV, ch. xi.)

(3) *Cyprus.* It remains to deal with the non-Phoenician elements in Cyprus, and with the obscurer question of the coast-settlements of Cilicia.

That the Greek cities of Cyprus directly inherit from the Late Minoan settlements may be inferred first from their peculiar dialect, akin to that of Arcadia, and consequently introduced before the Arcadian-speaking population of Peloponnese was hemmed in by the Dorian-speaking peoples which occupy the coast districts in historic times; secondly, from their peculiar script, derived (as has been already noted) from Minoan syllabary;

from cults common to Cyprus and Arcadia, such as those of Apollo Opaon, Alasiotes and Amyklaios, the latter also represented in the pre-Dorian culture of Laconia; and further, from the survival of a variety of Minoan dress, and archaic types of weapons, ornaments, furniture, burial customs, and religious ritual; and from their political constitution, with hereditary kingships like the Achaean dynasties in Greece. Of these last, the most famous and best-attested was the Teucrid dynasty at Salamis, represented in the sixth century by Evelthon, and in the fifth and fourth by Evagoras and Nicocles, whose pedigree dated the foundation of Salamis to the generation of the Trojan War and the Sea-raids. Other such dynasties are illustrated by the kings who did homage to Sargon in 709, and to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal later—Eteander of Paphos, Pylagoras of Chytri, Onasagoras of Ledri, Damasus of Curium, Aegisthus of Idalium. Obviously connected with the courts of such kings are the 'Cyprian' epics which came back into vogue in the Aegean, not later than the time of Stesichorus (632–552), alongside the Homeric which were traditional there: though commonly accepted in antiquity as authentic survivals of the same literature as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, they preserved alternative versions of episodes in the Trojan cycle, as well as much other material; but as the text of them is lost, nothing is known about their language or style.

Hellenic folk-memory of the origin of the Cypriote cities was full and precise, and in general accord with the other evidence. The foundation legend of Salamis linked this city with its namesake off the coast of Attica. Paphos had two legends, of an earlier foundation by a Syrian named Cinyras, a friend of Agamemnon, and therefore contemporary with the Sea-raids; and a later, attributed to Agapenor, an 'Arcadian returning from Troy.' Amathus too had a Cinyrad element. Curium was a 'colony of Argives'; Lapethus on the north coast was 'Laconian.' Soli claimed Athenian origin, from another contemporary of the Sea-raids, Demophon son of Theseus; it also had a cult of Athena; but the specially close relations established in Solon's time between the two cities may have been occasion for refurbishing the story.

On the other hand, there is no legend of colonization from Aeolis, Ionia or Doris; and the material intercourse between Cyprus and the Aegean was at no period so rare as in the centuries from the eleventh to the seventh. Even Rhodes only shows few and unimportant analogies in craftsmanship, after the Minoan

débâcle; and Crete almost nothing. In the later age of colonization it is the same; it may therefore be inferred that when 'Ionian and Carian' adventurers made their way to the Levant, they found their Cypriote kinsmen isolated, but secure and prosperous, and were able to make use of their resources without any such wholesale reinforcement of the old Arcadian-speaking communities as we shall see reason to suppose in the 'Achaean' settlements of Magna Graecia (see below, pp. 672–4).

The arts and industries of these Cypriote cities differ widely from those of the Aegean, and in many respects resemble those of the Phoenician mainland. But, as has been noted already, outstanding elements in their culture—which is common to Greek-speaking and to predominantly Phoenician sites—seem to have come to the island not from the Syrian coast but from the Cilician frontage of Asia Minor. The 'geometric' decoration, characteristic of the Early Iron Age in Cyprus as elsewhere, owes much to older styles in north Syria, and almost nothing to the Aegean, in spite of demonstrable importation of a few Aegean objects. From the eighth century onwards, and especially after the foundation of Tyre's 'New-town' at Citium, the 'mixed-oriental' style, of which Phoenician cities are chief traditional exponents, rapidly dominates the higher artistic achievements, sarcophagi, monumental stelae, gold and silver vessels, bronze-work and jewellery. The older votive figurines of clay are supplemented, though never wholly replaced, by sculpture in local limestone, under the influence mainly of Assyria in the eighth and seventh centuries, then of Egypt in the seventh and sixth, then of successive Hellenic styles. Architecture, till Hellenistic times, was almost universally of wood and sun-dried brick; the temples were mere enclosures with open porticoes, crowded with commemorative stelae, and effigies of priests and votaries from the eighth century onwards.

Side by side with the western cults of Apollo already mentioned, and variously combined with them, was the worship of an 'oriental Heracles' partly akin to the lion-taming Sandon of Asia Minor, partly to the Egyptian Bes: he wields bow and club simultaneously, so that one of his epithets is *amphidexios*, and his symbol is a lion, whose skin he wears, as in the Aegean. At Curium, Apollo is also 'lord of woodland,' *hylates*; elsewhere he is patron of flocks and herds; or has attributes of deities so incongruous as Pan and Adonis.

In the same way, the nameless 'Paphian Goddess' on the west coast, where alone the striking spectacle of her 'rising from the foam' is to be seen to-day, was transfigured both as Aphrodite,

and as Artemis, at Idalium and elsewhere, combining the nursing-function of the 'Great Mother' from Asia Minor and Syria, with other attributes, the crescent moon, an oracular sphinx, and a snake-symbol reminiscent of Minoan Crete. At Paphos itself her doves drink from a fishpond, like that of Derceto in Askalon of the Philistines. The frequent 'temple-boy' figures, if not votaries, may be her Adonis. Later, Hecate sometimes replaces Artemis.

In the more Hellenized centres Olympian cults appear in time; Zeus seldom and late, as Ammon, Labranios (in a Carian dedication) and at last—in the Christian era—as 'Serapis the One Saviour'; Athena at Soli and Idalium; and a late pair of goddesses recall Demeter and Persephone. Citium, on the other hand, had shrines of Eshmun, of the Lord of Tyre, Resheph-Melḳart, and of the Baal of Lebanon.

(4) *Cilicia and southern Asia Minor.* Along the south coast of Asia Minor, the circumstances were different again, more complicated in themselves, and less easy, with our imperfect knowledge, to interpret. Only a few leading points are fairly certain. North of Phoenicia, the regions which the Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptians knew as Alasa, Asi and Kode had a rich and distinguished culture, as their tribute-objects show. They seem to have been a chief haunt of the Keftiu group of peoples; whose name, subsequently transferred, as in later Hebrew writers, to Cyprus (Caphtor) seems to have been continental originally (cf. above, p. 635). Of this early importance we have a faint memory in the remark of Solinus that 'before the Assyrians came, Cilicia was one of the four powers of Asia.' Farther to the west, most probably in Lycia, lay the haunts of the piratical Lukki; but whether these early Lycians were indigenous to the mainland, or as Herodotus seems to have believed, 'colonists from Crete,' of Minoan antecedents, remains uncertain. In the Levant their raids begin under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in Homeric folk-memory a Lycian hero in disgrace is found 'avoiding the path of men' on the Aleian plain in Cilicia. But they had ceased to give serious trouble, before the Ramessid Sea-raids changed the whole situation along the coast, and the great Land-raid of 1190 B.C. broke in upon what the Assyrians and Herodotus call Cilicia, as it can hardly have avoided doing, on its way south into Syria. Here, in all probability, we have the cause of the total disappearance of the old culture of Kode, Asi and Alasa; of the transference of the 'remnant of the land of Caphtor' to Cyprus; and of the frequent occurrence of 'Trojan War settlements' along this seaboard.

Three legendary names of 'wise men' are conspicuous in this connection—Amphilochus son of Amphiaraus of Argos, Calchas son of Thestor of Mycenae, and Mopsus son of Teiresias of Thebes. Amphilochus was foundation-hero of the Pamphylian settlements, of Mallus, and of Posidium on the frontier between Cilicia and Syria; he had also shrines at Oropus in Attica, and at Amphilochian Argos in the far north-west of Greece. Calchas had his cults in Pamphylia and at Selge in Pisidia; Mopsus, too, in Pamphylia, and in Cilicia at Mallus, Mopsuestia and Mopsucrene[1]. As the two last named are in the interior, it is significant that in an early legend of Mopsus' encounter with Calchas, he is described as 'leading his forces over Mt Taurus'; perhaps a reminiscence of the Land-raiders. The 'Kilikes' of Homer, we must remember, inhabited not Cilicia but the Troad, and the name 'Cilicia' (Khilakku) first appears in Assyrian records of the eighth century. Argive origin was assigned also to Aspendus in Pisidia, and to Tarsus; and Soli was colonized from Lindus, a Rhodian city which faces eastward, has a secure port, was an 'ally of Agamemnon,' and has archaeological record older than that of Camirus, though it has not yielded the Minoan material which is so copious at Ialysus. See also vol. II, pp. 545–7.

It is a further question, in what relation these traces of eastward expansion in the twelfth century stand to that westward dispersal for which the chief literary evidence is the biblical account of the 'children of Javan (Yāwān).' Of these the firstborn is Elīshah, followed by Tarshish, Kittim and Rodanim; and then 'of these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.' As all the collaterals of Yāwān who can be identified are in Asia Minor, it seems safe to see in his 'children' a group including Alasa, Tarsus, Citium and Rhodes, and to compare with their insular kindred the Greek legend of the Heliadae, who reached Rhodes from the east and had settlements up the west coast of Asia Minor as far as Lesbos. The bearing of this on the 'Carian' occupations of the islands, both before and after the Achaean hegemony, is obvious; and the recognition of this counter-current of westward migration along the south coast of Asia Minor is of fundamental importance in reconstructing the early history of the Asiatic Greeks.

Confirmatory of these folk-memories of early Aegean settle-

[1] His name is also attached to a town in the Thessalian district of Pelasgiotis, between Tempe and Larissa; but we may note that a Thessalian Mopsus, the seer of the Argonauts, had died during their voyage to Libya.

ments in the Levant is the close likeness of the Greek dialects of Pamphylia to that of Cyprus, and the later belief of the people of Side, who were still of different speech from their neighbours in the fourth century, that they were originally from Cyme in Aeolis, and were speaking Greek when they settled in Pamphylia. That the Pamphylian cities used a Greek alphabet, not a syllabary like that of Cyprus or the *semata lugra* of Homeric Lycia, indicates that eventually, if not throughout, intercourse with the Aegean was easy, and the same conclusion follows from the use of quasi-Aeginetan standard for archaic silver coins of Mallus and Celenderis and from the Greek inscriptions on these and other issues of western Cilicia. Later reinforcement of the Greek population is indicated by the foundation-legend of Phaselis, an 'Argive' colony contemporary with Gela in Sicily (690) and therefore perhaps propagated from Rhodes or other Triopian towns; and by the repeated references of Assyrian invaders of Cilicia in the next generation to 'Ionian' aggressors along their sea-flank. The cow-and-calf coin-types of Tarsus may have the same significance as those of Corcyra (see p. 672 note); but they are of Phoenician standard, and there is no tradition of any refoundation of the original 'Argive' settlement. Samos however certainly sent colonies to Celenderis and Nagidus. The 'Solonian' connections of Soli with Athens stand or fall with those of its Cypriote namesake, already noted (p. 644).

But the results of these enterprises were not large. The native population of the rich coast-plain had recovered much of its older prosperity before the Assyrian conquest of Cilicia in the eighth century; and its native dynasts, who bore the title of Syennesis, played a considerable part in the days of Alyattes and Nebuchadrezzar, and retained their kingdom as a vassal-state under Persia. That the later relations of the overlord with the coast-cities were friendly is suggested by the satrap-coins of Mallus, Soli and Tarsus.

This then is the background of those 'Ionian and Carian' enterprises and ambitions in the Levant which become traceable early in the seventh century, and culminate in the participation of Cyprus in the Ionic Revolt. Of all the Minoan heritage, which we have seen to have been considerable, and of the precarious acquisitions of the Sea-raiders, the Palestinian section had faded, in face of Israelite conquest, and the superior natural equipment of Phoenicia; the Cilician and Pamphylian coast had been re-barbarized or absorbed into a continental principality, without sufficient inducement to states such as Samos or Rhodes to press

their tentative reinforcements very far. Phoenicia, under the leadership of the new-model city of Tyre, had supplemented old local and coastwise traffic by opening a new world of Punic exploitation in the west, from Leptis to Gades, Tharros and Panormus. In Etruria, too, the Tyrrhenian Sea-raiders were good leaven gone sour. Only Cyprus remained continuously though not completely Greek; and here the very magnitude, the local wealth, and the self-sufficiency of the island, its remoteness and isolation, and the misfortunes of those coastlands, of which, with less divided interests of its own, it might have become the metropolis, prevented it from playing the part which was to be sustained by Sicily, until opportunity passed, and its neighbours fell one after another into vassalage to Persia.

III. NORTH AEGEAN COAST

From this large south-easterly field of enterprise we turn to regions more directly and easily reached from the cradle-lands within the Aegean; dealing first with those which were exploited from the older centres in the Greek Peninsula or in its island fringe, and then those which fell to the Greek cities of western Asia Minor.

Of the five principal avenues followed by the first oversea settlements, the more southerly take little or no part in this second movement. The shores of the Laconian and Argive gulfs fell so completely under Dorian domination, that further enterprises oversea could hardly be expected when the initial exodus was over. Almost all Dorian colonization from the Aegean outwards originates in Thera or in the Triopian colonies, not in Peloponnese; the only exceptions, due to belated resurgence of old internal feuds, being the Laconian enterprises in western Crete after the conquest of Amyclae about 800 B.C., and the colony sent to Tarentum about 705. But this last, though formally Laconian, falls rather into the separate category of western enterprises resulting from the ravages of the First Messenian War (see below, pp. 674, 679).

In the Saronic Gulf, Epidaurus and Attica, after exploiting the region which fell to them geographically, in the Cyclades and Ionia, took no further part in colonization until the Peisistratid venture in the sixth century (vol. IV, p. 69). Aegina, which had been itself occupied by Epidaurians, made ample use of its central position, for trade with its neighbours and their hinterlands, as the geographical distribution of its weights and measures shows.

It had a precinct at Naucratis in the Egyptian Delta (see p. 291 *sq.*), and may have had similar factories elsewhere; but it did not colonize, except late and inconspicuously at Cydonia in north-western Crete, during the tyranny of Polycrates of Samos.

In the twin gulfs however, which separate Euboea from the mainland of northern and central Greece, the course of events was very different. Orchomenus had belonged, like Athens, Epidaurus and Aegina, to the Calaurian Amphictyony (p. 610), which is shown by the list of its members to be a survival from pre-Dorian, probably even from pre-Achaean times; and the ruin which befel Orchomenus at the hands of the Boeotian group of states, under Theban leadership, in the ninth or eighth century —a northern counterpart to the destruction of Amyclae by Sparta—may be regarded as a principal factor in the fresh outward movements from among its Ionian neighbours in Euboea. This Euboic expansion followed both of its natural avenues, from Eretria southwards, and through Chalcis towards the north. Eretrian colonization is less easy to trace than Chalcidian, partly because subsequent quarrels between the two mother-cities resulted unfavourably to Eretria, and allowed Chalcidian enterprises to flourish at the expense of Eretrian; partly because the most important settlements of this south Euboic group were not founded directly from Euboea itself, but from other islands, such as Andros, which had either been colonized from Eretria at an earlier stage, or were more favourably situated for communication with the regions which remained unexploited.

For such Euboic expansion, only one area within the Aegean had remained untouched by the primary colonization. Though Late Minoan influence affected even Thessaly very late and had no firm hold there when it was cut off at the source, there is new evidence that it reached the lower valley of the Axius, and a Minoan sword has been found even farther up country. The natural attractions of the region round the Thermaic Gulf and the triple promontory between the lowlands of the Axius and Strymon—the possibility of more direct access to the nearest tin supplies, in Serbia, and to the amber-countries; perhaps also the gold-field of the Pangaean hills—are sufficient reasons for the establishment of this northward connection in the first instance, and for attempts to maintain it during the Migration-period, and to reorganize it afterwards. Even more significant is the fact that Eretria and Paros, which took important part in the colonization of the north Aegean, now to be described, had also interests on the coast of Epirus and beyond; at the westward approaches,

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that is, to the same continental interior as was accessible by way of the Haliacmon and Axius. For the Parian connection the evidence is late, but the Euboean link with Corcyra goes back to the Achaean régime. Here, as usual in Greek colonization, we can trace regions of enterprise, geographically distinct, or only partially overlapping. Farthest to the west lay enterprises of Eretria, round the Thermaic Gulf and Pallene, the westernmost of the three promontories; next, the Chalcidic area, in the strict sense, occupied the greater part of the foreland to which it gives its name; then came the Andrian group, from Sane on the isthmus of Mt Athos to the Strymon; then Parian Thasos and its offshoots on the mainland; then Chian Maronea, and eastward thence to the Hellespont, a less orderly series of rather later towns, from Aeolis and Ionia.

Differences of origin, and clash of local interests, kept these groups distinct and unfriendly to each other: conspicuous instances of this are the feuds between Chalcidian and Eretrian, Chalcidian and Andrian, Andrian and Parian colonies. Andrian and Eretrian cities on the other hand seem to have been usually friendly.

The principal Eretrian settlement was at Mende, in the Pallenian promontory. Its neighbours, Scione, and indeed the Pallenians generally, traced descent from 'Achaeans returning from Troy,' which suggests Late Minoan antecedents; and the loose settlements in this region are not quite what is usual in a Hellenic colony. Within the Thermaic Gulf lay Dicaea or Dicaeopolis, a smaller town, with Eretrian coin-types; and near it Methone, the last refuge of the former Eretrian population whom Corinth expelled from Corcyra, presumably about 734. In this district too they had predecessors, for Edessa, in the interior, had once had a settlement of 'Eretrians returning from Troy,' who had founded later a town Euboea of their own. Since another Eretrian foundation, Oricus, on the Illyrian coast not far from Corcyra, was similarly attributed to the 'dispersion' after the Trojan War, it looks as though Eretrian Corcyra also had been established as a western terminal of a cross-country route, or a westward bifurcation of a main road south from the Danube (see below). Euboic, though not specifically Eretrian, intercourse with the far north-west is apparent already in the Homeric account of Phaeacia. If Scabala, 'a place of the Eretrians,' may be identified with the later Kavalla, east of the Pangaean country, the range of Eretrian settlements would be greatly extended, and there would be reason to accept the vague statements about

similar towns in the promontory of Athos, where only Andrian colonies are recorded by name.

The relations between Eretrian Mende and Corinthian Potidaea, which was founded with characteristic vigour during the Cypselid tyranny, are easily explained. Under that tyranny Corinth seems to have deserted its habitual friendship with Chalcis, Samos and their associates; and its sea-king, Periander, is found intimately co-operating with Thrasybulus of Miletus, about 600 B.C. Such estrangement presumably excluded Corinth from Chalcidian ports, and enforced an understanding with Eretria, and the foundation of a fresh Corinthian base on the threshold of Pallene. Subsequent reconciliation between Corinth and Chalcidian states turned the tables on Eretrian projects in Pallene, and left a deep feud between Potidaea and Scione, for example, which comes to light in Herodotus' story of Timoxenus (viii, 128). It increased, however, the eventual importance of Mende and Scione to Athens, as a friendly enclave within the Chalcidic region, and helps to explain both their prosperity in the fifth century and the annoyance of the Athenians when Mende, in particular, fell into the hands of Brasidas.

It looks as though the Andrian colonies, Sane, Acanthus, Stagirus and Argilus, filled by some early agreement the gap in the Eretrian distribution between Scione and Scabala. They were never of great importance; they formed another dissident enclave in the Chalcidic area; and it was the separatist opposition of Acanthus in the fourth century which wrecked that remarkable experiment in federal administration, the Olynthian League.

Chalcis was credited, by historians from the fourth century onwards, with more than thirty settlements in the 'Chalcidic' peninsula; but very few names are preserved, and even in the fifth century few were of separate importance. The reason for this, over and above the wholesale destruction of these towns by Philip of Macedon, was the synoecism of them (by Critobulus of Torone) in Olynthus, the headquarters of the partly Hellenized Bottiaeans, after its capture by the Persians under Artabazus in 479 B.C. Torone alone, aloof on the Sithonian promontory, retained some individuality later. It was indeed this earlier synoecism which prepared the way for a greater constitutional novelty, that civil union (*sympoliteia*) of all Chalcidic towns in the early fourth century, which provoked first the suspicions of Sparta, then the resentment of Philip of Macedon, and involved all Chalcidic Greeks in dispersal, servitude, or beneficent internment in their conqueror's own experiment, Philippopolis, that inland colony,

far away in the upper valley of the Hebrus, which was the prototype of Alexander's foundations and of the continental city-states of the Hellenistic Age.

Remote from the main currents of migration and avenues of trade, secure on the land-side behind the natural fosse of Lake Bolbeis, founded 'in the time of the *Hippobotae*,' the horse-ranching squirearchy of Chalcis, and conserving in all probability a more uniformly agricultural habit than most of the Greek colonies; mixing quite as freely with their native neighbours as the early settlers in Ionia mixed with Lydians and Carians, yet never exposed to the beneficent interference, though repeatedly to the hostility, of the native dynasties in the mainland, the Chalcidian towns matured slowly enough to be still capable of synoecism in the fifth and fourth centuries. They were Greek enough to be the sources of Macedonian Hellenism; but provincial enough (perhaps even Bottiaean enough) to be indifferent allies and recalcitrant subjects of an imperial city. As in their origin they were neither refugee-settlements of Ionian type, nor yet city-state colonies, fully organized, like their eastward neighbours in Thasos, Maronea and Abdera, so in their uneasy history and untimely ruin they stand a little apart from the rest of the Greek world; most nearly perhaps akin, in their aloofness from Aegean Greece and their exceptionally intimate dealings with their barbarous landward neighbours, to their Chalcidian cousins in Campania (see p. 677) who were to suffer similar misfortunes at the hands of the Tyrrhenian and the Samnite.

East of the Andrian colonies, the Strymon outfall, and the Pangaean hills, Greek aggression took yet another course. Here the determining factor, replacing the triple promontory, was the single commodious and metalliferous island of Thasos; near enough to the mainland to control a wide range of shore-stations, without need to colonize them independently; yet far enough, like Rhodes, to be secure against surprise attack from a continental enemy. Persistent tradition made Thasos a Phoenician settlement originally; not a Tyrian or Sidonian colony, like those of the Punic west, but founded long before 'by those who came with Cadmus,' who was described as a contemporary of Hellen, as an uncle of the earlier Minos, and as the founder (perhaps even the re-organizer) of what we now know to have been a Minoan establishment in Boeotian Thebes early in the fourteenth century; though the Herodotean reckoning 'five generations before Heracles' had grown to ten by the time of the Byzantine geographer Stephanus. Greek speculation, however, assigned to the culture-

hero Thasos no less than three ancestries; he was a son, not only of Agenor of Tyre, but of Cilix (another Levantine allusion the significance of which we are now in a position to appreciate; see p. 647 above), and thirdly of Poseidon, the patron (among much else) of the Calaurian League. Archaeological commentary on all this is not available yet; nor are the pre-Hellenic metal-workings described by Herodotus distinguishable now, 'a whole mountain ransacked in the quest.'

Nor is it clear why it should have been Paros which made this its special and almost its sole enterprise. Like Eretria, Paros had factories at Anchiale and Paros away up the Illyrian coast; and it persisted long, like almost all the Cyclades, in the use of Aeginetan measures. Its Thasian adventure involved a feud with Andros, whether as cause or effect we cannot tell. The date of the colony, however, is certain, in the generation before Archilochus, who was himself concerned in an early reinforcement of it about 680 B.C. It was therefore almost a contemporary of that Chalcidian adventure in the west which borrowed its name from Naxos, the nearest neighbour of Paros in the Cyclades. As its dialect and alphabet remained Parian till writing was in fairly common use, it may be supposed to have maintained close, perhaps even rather exclusive, relations with its mother-city.

Besides its own wealth of forest, vineland, and precious metal, Thasos drew large revenues from trading stations and colonies of its own on the Thracian mainland. Most of these were small—the most easterly, on Stryme Island, led to complications with Maronea—and were directly controlled from Thasos. The most important are Datum the precursor of Philippi, and Neapolis close to the modern Kavalla. Galepsus, however, far to the west, in the Gulf of Torone, must have had to look after itself. How far the Pangaean mining-district was under direct Thasian control, how far exploited by natives, is uncertain. '*Skapte Hyle*' itself—the name 'quarry-chace' recalls many a hillside in Montana and our own 'Forest of Dean'—was Thasian at the end of the sixth century, but Thasian occupation of Myrcinus is ill-attested and hardly accords with Darius' grant of this place to Histiaeus only a few years earlier (see vol. IV, p. 214).

Outside their own district, neither Paros nor Thasos colonized much. Paros, besides its Illyrian settlements already mentioned, joined Erythrae and Miletus in founding Parium ('little Paros') in the Hellespont; and Thasos held at one time a similar port-of-call, Archium, on the Bosporus; but there were troubles here with Megarian Chalcedon, and the Thasians retired to Aenus, only to

meet with similar ill-luck and Aeolian supplanters. The reasons for these sporadic enterprises are not known; but a prosperous and not over-fertile mining-district needs to be assured of its corn, and besides its silver, Thasos, like its mother-city, had famous wines to barter for foodstuffs. Friendship of the one city with Miletus, and friction between a Megarian colony and emigrants from the other, are a warning not to press too closely those indications of hereditary feud between Greek states which are often a valuable clue to their major interests.

Before turning to Ionian and Aeolian adventures east of the Thasian domain, the general structure and ethnology of the continental background require brief mention.

Three principal drainage-systems, converging on cultivable lowlands, correspond in general with three main groups of peoples, and avenues of access for Greeks and their culture. In the centre, Strymon and Nestus, draining the south-west flank of the wild highlands of Rhodope, had been the home of the Paeonians from at least Homeric times. In those days Paeonia had extended westward as far as the Axius, but by the fifth century the frontier was in Mt Orbelus, immediately east of the Strymon, thanks to the same Macedonian pressure which had driven the Bottiaeans from their home on the lower Haliacmon across the head of the Gulf of Therma into the background of the Chalcidic promontory. Of the Macedonian kingdom the political centres were at Aegae and Pella, commanding, therefore, both the road to the west up the Haliacmon and that to the north up the Axius to the Morawa and the middle Danube. Macedon too was threatened in its turn by Lyncestae, Eordaei and other peoples of the enclosed basins between the two main streams, and in the upper valleys of them. The Paeonians, withdrawing eastwards, left in the no-man's land towards advancing Macedon fragments of earlier populations still, Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians, Phrygian 'Briges' and 'Brygi' north of Chalcidice and within its hill-country. East of the Nestus, on the other hand, the Paeonians had apparently quite overmastered the Cicones of Priam's league, around Ismarus, and could make raids as far east as Perinthus on the north shore of the Propontis. But through the defiles of the upper Strymon they were being harried by Thracian tribes from the upper Hebrus and the secluded plain of Sofia; and the principal of these, the Edones, replaced them altogether in the Pangaean hill-country at the end of the sixth century; an aftermath of that campaign of Megabazus which closed the 'Scythian' (or more truly, Thracian) expedition of Darius (see vol. IV, p. 213 *sq.*).

Very different from this patchwork of nationalities in the centre and west is the homogeneous Thracedom of the Hebrus valley and the plain of Adrianople. Here the horse-ranches of Rhesus and Priam persisted, under similar chiefs and overlords, civilized sufficiently, through land-borne intercourse with Scythia beyond Danube, to be able either to take or to refuse what Greek newcomers had to offer along their south frontage; a recurrent nightmare 'if only they were to unite' and flood over into Propontis or Macedon; rich enough to be good customers, if only they could be brought to a bargain: owners of actual forest, potential cornland, and problematical minerals like those of the Thasian domain.

Here consequently Greek colonization lagged. Immediately east of the last Thasian claims, Maronea, founded at an uncertain date by Chios, supplemented the wine-output of the mother-country with the local vintage of Ismarus, the wine with which Odysseus snared the Cyclops. But Maronea lay in a no-man's-land between Paeonia and Thrace, among the last of the Cicones. A similar venture from Clazomenae at Abdera, a little before 650 B.C., and consequently one of that group of refugee-colonies (pp. 657, 662 *sq.*) which relieved districts devastated by the Cimmerians, was planted too far into the open and was 'destroyed by the Thracians'; and it was not till the next great peril in Ionia, after the Revolt of Pactyas, that a second and greater Abdera received all that was left of the people of Teos (Herodotus, i, 168). On the very neck of the peninsula, Cardia, another colony of Clazomenae in conjunction with Miletus, held stronger ground, and prospered, in spite of troubles with the Apsinthian tribe to the north, and the Dolonci within the peninsula. Aenus, with a clean port then, though so close to the Hebrus mouth, had been Thasian once, as we have seen, but was recolonized by Aeolians of Mytilene and Cyme from their earlier settlement at the 'fox-island' Alopeconnesos, just north of Suvla, a backdoor of Aeolian Madytus and Sestos on the peninsular side of the Narrows. Limnae, named from the Suvla lagoon itself, was Milesian wholly, an obvious shelter-cove on the way up the Black Gulf to Cardia; and a 'black gulf' it can be, in a bad wind.

Thus the Thracian foreshore remained in essentials a no-man's-land of mixed and inconspicuous factories; only Cardia, Aenus, and Abdera enjoying the autonomy which even Alopeconnesos claimed.

IV. HELLESPONT AND PROPONTIS

A no less obvious field of enterprise than the sea-board of the Black Gulf and lower valley of the Hebrus was offered by the shores of the Hellespont and the sea of Marmora to which it led; and in the Hellespont itself we find the same mixture of Aeolian and Ionian settlements. Madytus and Sestos, on the European side of the Narrows, were Aeolian: and evidently also Aeolium, though it eventually became in some sense 'Chalcidic.' Aeolic, too, on the Asiatic side, were Arisbe, till Miletus refounded and annexed it; Cebren, far up the Scamander among the western spurs of Mt Ida; and Scepsis, in a secluded plain still farther east, communicating by road both with Adramyttium and with Cyzicus in Propontis. But Lampsacus and its small neighbour Abarnus were Phocaean; Abydos, with smaller ports at Paesus and Priapus, and Colonae inland overlooking the Granicus valley were Milesian; and Parium was a joint settlement from Paros (or Thasos) and Erythrae, with a Milesian element which may have been supplementary. Evidently we have here a region of general attractiveness, and as some of these towns appear in the 'Trojan Catalogue' in the *Iliad*, it may be inferred that Hellenization was here early and gradual. But with the Milesian occupation of Abydos, in the reign of Gyges and with his positive sanction, a fresh movement began, and the traditional dates for Lampsacus—in 654, shortly after the year of the sack of Sardes by the Cimmerians—and for other cities farther out into Propontis suggest that this movement was general. The remarkable sequel shows clearly enough what was afoot.

Between the Greek Archipelago and the Black Sea, and at the same time between Asia Minor and the Minor Europe which adjoins it, intervenes a region, of a build as peculiar as its fate. In its long history the Marmora region[1] has played many parts; as land-avenue from Asia into Europe, and conversely, as sea-way between Aegean and Pontus; as middle-kingdom, with favourable prospect of greater things, during the brief accord of Lysimachus with his queen Amastris of Heraclea, and under the 'Latin Empire' of the thirteenth century; as no-man's-land, between Macedon and Persia, Bithynia and Thrace; as metropolitan area of the New Rome of Constantine, and of an Ottoman empire. For the Greeks it was essentially *Propontis*, the fore-court of Pontus, the 'big-sea-water' or *lacus superior* in that Old World

[1] For a fuller description of its character see the writer's essay in the *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 1924.

lake-region, of which the Marmora shores were the Ontario. In climate and vegetation, as in position and structure, the region is transitional. Its lake-land centre mitigates the severity of Pontic winds over the low open downs on its north margin, and gives Constantinople a climate almost as equable as that of Athens, milder than Salonica, considerably less rain-swept than Trebizond, but far moister than Adrianople. Trees and plants of the Aegean, of northern Asia Minor, and of Balkan and Carpathian lands intermingle here. The Thracian 'Peninsula' has the tough evergreen scrub of a Greek island; Therapia, the remains of deciduous forest. The plain of Adrianople has ample cornland, fading to prairie and steppe; but vine, mulberry, and even olive and fig, flourish locally where there is shelter, almost to the Bosporus.

Geographically, then, Propontis was a little Aegean, temporarily disorganized by the overflow from Europe, first of Phrygians, then, in post-Homeric times, of the Thracians of Bithynia. At Placia and Scylace, near Cyzicus, there were 'Pelasgian' remnants, as there were in the rougher parts of Chalcidice. Argonauts, and 'those who went with Heracles' to the Amazon War, had passed through the region in the days of the Sea-raids, but had left little trace. A belated Thracian raid of uncertain date, the Cimmerian invasion in the seventh century, and an incursion of Scythians as far as the Peninsula, at the end of the sixth, were small incidents in a long period of recuperation, between the Phrygian and Thracian movements and the coming of the Gauls into Galatia early in the third century.

Up the long corridor of the 'Hellespont stream'—for Greek sailors insisted that this water was in some sense a river—navigation was facilitated by strong back-eddies, and diurnal change of wind; while the return journey followed the southward current. Once within Propontis, Proconnesus—whose marble quarries have given the region its modern name—and a string of smaller islands lead rather to 'Bear-island,' Arctonnesus, and the more promising southern shore, than to the steep and almost harbourless coast of Thrace: as far as Chalcedon, you might almost be still in Aeolis or Ionia; and the Mysian Olympus is worthy of its name.

Earliest of Greek settlements in Propontis is the first foundation of Cyzicus from Miletus in 757, if a tradition may be trusted which links it with Pontic Trapezus and the still earlier Sinope (p. 662), and there was a legend of a 'Carian' settlement at Cios, which may be early too. Even its second foundation in 676 leaves Cyzicus prior to all but the first Megarian colonies,

Astacus and Chalcedon (Calchādon); in any case it goes further back than the Cimmerian Raid; and, behind all, it had vivid memories of Argonaut doings. Its exceptionally favourable site, at the point where Arctonnesus was eventually connected with the mainland, gave it twin harbours, and ample and defensible home-territory in early days; later it spread southwards too. On the island lay another smaller town, Artace; Proconnesus had another early Milesian colony; westward lay Priapus, as old as Abydos, exploiting the Granicus valley; and eastward Dascylium, evidently an old Phrygian site re-occupied; with Apollonia-on-Rhyndacus inland on the north shore of its lake, and another town, Miletopolis, of which the site and period are alike uncertain. Rather farther east and rather later (628) was Cius, also essentially Milesian, at the head of its gulf, where the main eastward road passed inland by the Ascanian Lake to the later Nicaea. Myrlea, at the entrance to that gulf, was founded from Colophon, but had no great importance till it was refounded by the Bithynian kings as Apamea and became in turn the port of Brusa and the modern Mudania.

Only beyond this well-defined Milesian region, and separated from it by a rugged headland, do we come upon the nearest and probably the earliest Megarian colony, Astacus, founded about 710[1], at the head of its own deep gulf and within a few miles of the lower course of the Sangarius. Chalcedon, the next, lay on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus mouth, and dates from 685. That the founders of this 'City of the Blind' missed Byzantium (founded seventeen years later) was a good jest but bad history. That interval was none too long to make good on the Asiatic shore before venturing into what looked like mere Thrace, and on to a site over-large for a seventh-century enterprise. That its occupants were actually not Thracian, but belated Bithynians, could hardly be conjectured in advance, but may have made things easier eventually. Moreover, the northward backwash of the Bosporus carried adventurers rather up than across the strait, and the downward stream is strong enough to keep you off shore, even if you did not steer clear of Seraglio Point intentionally. Nor was Chalcedon alone in its blindness, for Selymbria, some forty miles beyond the strait, was also reputed older than Byzantium. As Heraclea Pontica and Mesambria, the remaining Megarian colonies in this direction, lie far beyond the Bosporus and were not founded till about the middle of the sixth century—and Mesambria not till near its

[1] According to another view it was later than Chalcedon (see Charon of Lampsacus, *fr.* 36 *a*).

close—we seem to have in this Megarian group another example of a well-defined region selected, for reasons no longer apparent, by a particular metropolis, and developed until obstacles were met.

In this case the western obstacle is known, for Selymbria was in frequent trouble with its neighbour Perinthus, which with Bisanthe a few miles westward again, and another neighbouring outpost, 'Fort-Hera' (*Heraion-teichos*), were an enterprise of Samos, and could count upon their mother-city to hinder Megarian reinforcements to Selymbria. We have just a hint that Samians once had holdings also in Proconnesus, an obvious stepping-stone from the Hellespont to Perinthus. But here Miletus prevailed; and the roughness, physical and political, of Apsinthian Thrace between Bisanthe and Cardia at the Isthmus accounts fully for the Samian neglect of this section. Both Perinthus and Selymbria introduce another element of Propontid life, for they command openings in the northern bluffs to the wide down-land and steppe of eastern Thrace, and beyond it to principal avenues into south-eastern Europe, up the Hebrus valley to the Margus and middle Ister: it is behind Selymbria that the Orient Railway turns finally west, towards Adrianople and Belgrade. This way came amber, for example, and perhaps other commodities from afar. Nearer at hand, too, in the neighbourhood of Hadrian's city-to-be, were usually the home-ranch and cavalry-force of the paramount chief of Thrace. But there were risks in such a situation, for the friendship of Thrace did not bind Paeonians, from whom Perinthus suffered severely in the sixth century.

Thus all coasts of Propontis, except the rugged Apsinthian country between Bisanthe and Cardia, were distributed into well-defined fields of enterprise, Milesian, Megarian, Samian, with a footing for Colophon at Myrlea, and a more important enclave around Lampsacus for Phocaea.

V. THE EUXINE

Mention has been made already of Milesian and Megarian colonies beyond the Bosporus, and it is obvious that the prosperity of the Propontid cities was very much increased, if in addition to their own local interests they became involved, as ports of call, in the through-traffic with this farther region.

The Pontic cities are sometimes discussed as if they formed a single homogeneous and wholly Milesian system, with Megarian

colonies merely guarding the passage from the south. There was, however, a clear difference of function between the cities on the Scythian coast, and those on the north coast of Asia Minor, whether of Milesian or of Megarian origin. This difference of function accords with a marked diversity of physique between the regions which they occupied. The north coast of Asia Minor is at first sight even more inhospitable than the south; it has no Pamphylia, no Cilician plain, for the folded mountain ranges which separate the plateau from the sea run parallel with the coast. There are few promontories or harbours, and the greater part of the drainage system flows east and west between them, like the original drainage of the plateau itself. But since the subsidence of the present main basin of the Black Sea, small mountain-torrents have cut back through the coast ranges and captured a large part of these older streams. We see from the map how the Sangarius has deprived the Sea of Marmora of all its eastern tributaries, and discharges their waters northward to a mouth over eighty miles east of the Bosporus. The Halys has done the same for the whole drainage of the eastern half of the plateau, and probably once did more, before the western half was annexed to the Sangarius. The Iris shows the same process in an earlier stage, and the Billaeus in Paphlagonia is still more immature. But there were compensations, in time. Larger rivers naturally brought down more considerable silt. Sangarius has wide alluvial lowlands, and both Halys and Iris have prominent deltas. But as highlands overlook the sea at all other points, there was no question of large agricultural settlements, and the mountains are for the most part so rugged and lofty that it is only at a few points that a road of any value traverses them. The climate, however, mitigates the austerity of this configuration. With so large a water-area to the north, the sea winds are moist and mild, especially farther east, and vegetation, mainly deciduous, is abundant. Most important of all, in spite of summer showers the olive flourishes here, and was a source of great wealth in antiquity, lying nearer to the oil-less Scythian cities than any Aegean supply; and their corn too lay nearer to these oil-farms than to any other customers.

This Pontic coast of Asia Minor had been subject to Aegean incursions in the thirteenth century, if we may judge from the Argonaut story and that of the Amazon War in the same generation. The reason given for the voyage of the Argo was 'to find the golden fleece,' and it was a good reason: for the practice of separating the gold dust of the coast-torrents by mooring fleeces

in them—a primitive anticipation of the 'grease-process' in modern gold-winning—prevailed here to within living memory; and as this region was repeatedly the objective of Assyrian attack, for its mineral wealth, it is probable that the custom is ancient. The Amazon-story adds verisimilitude, by its glimpses of beardless—or were they clean-shaven?—votaries of a mother-goddess; Themiscyra, the Amazon-city, dominates the Lycus-Thermodon delta already mentioned, one of the few points along the whole coast where a considerable native settlement could lie within reach of a Sea-raid. The Homeric 'birth-place of silver' at Alybe also lay somewhere east of Paphlagonia; and in later times the native Chalybes and Tibareni, east of the lower Lycus, were famous iron-workers, of the same culture probably as those whose handicraft can be studied in tombs of early date both south and north of the Caucasus.

Here then was manifold inducement to renew adventures which the Minoan collapse had interrupted; and it is not surprising to find that the first Greek settlement at Sinope was dated as early as 812. A second, coupled in date with Istrus, Abydos and Lampsacus, falls just before the sack of Sardes by the Cimmerians; but a Cimmerian raid northward occupied the site, and maintained, perhaps for some while, oversea communications with Cimmerian survivors in the Crimea. Finally, about 630, Milesian reinforcements established or confirmed the settlement, which remained essentially Greek till the Turkish massacres of 1920 A.D., and founded in its turn a number of secondary colonies, from Tieum westward at the mouth of the Billaeus river, to Trapezus, which has a foundation-date as early as 756, and achieved exceptional prosperity, thanks to the strength of its 'table-mountain' site, and its good access to the Armenian interior. It was inevitably to Trapezus that the Ten-thousand turned their faces, as the nearest Greek city to the field of Cunaxa. Cromna also had a tradition about 'Carian' settlers, which suggests an early adventure, and recalls the 'man from Cos' who was one of the refounders of Sinope in 630.

Farther west still, Heraclea-Pontica is described as a Milesian enterprise, reconstituted later by Megarians and Boeotians perhaps about 560; it had a secure port, fairly open country around it, and exceptionally favourable relations with the native Mariandyni, an easterly section of the Bithynians, who accepted its protectorate, and are described later as its serfs. Farther west, Dioscurias, at the mouth of the Phasis, and consequently in enjoyment of a wide and rich alluvial country, and of an important route east-

ward as far as the Caspian shore, seems to have been a separate Milesian foundation, and had Argonautic memories as well. The 'deep harbour' (*Bathys-limēn*), which gives its name to Batum, lies a little farther south, in the delta of the wild Boas river, an easterly replica of the Lycus.

Finally, in a central position, isolated by the lower courses and sheltered by the prominent deltas of Halys and Lycus, and well served landwards by far easier routes to Cappadocia than any other Pontic city, the Phocaean rivals of Miletus established a colony of their own at Amisus. Its foundation legend is mutilated, and it may have been a joint colony like Anthea (see below) and Heraclea; and it certainly became predominantly Milesian later, like its neighbours, and probably through influx of their folk. There was an obscure break in its history when it fell temporarily to a 'Cappadocian ruler'—whether an early dynast or a Persian satrap is unknown—and this may have been the excuse for its refoundation by Athens, under the home-name Piraeus. But the Milesian connection was cherished still, by treaties of alliance in the Hellenistic age.

Beyond Dioscurias' river the abrupt coast-line of the Caucasus and the unfriendliness of its peoples prevented even exploration, as the lacuna in geographical knowledge shows: and it was not by this route that the Milesians made their most significant discovery. The alternative was west-about, and Istrus is said to have been founded, like the second settlement at Sinope, in the time of the Cimmerian raid. Apollonia-Pontica, which under its other name, Anthea, was reckoned a joint enterprise of Miletus with Phocaea (or with Rhodes, in another version), was assigned to 609, and is shown by its remains to be at least as early as this. As often happened, refoundation (*epoikia*) introduced discordant elements here. Odessus, also Milesian, began only in the reign of Astyages, and Mesambria in that of Darius. The latter, like Heraclea, was a joint colony from Chalcedon and Byzantium; it therefore ranked as Megarian, and it was credited with at least a share in the settlement at Bizone. Tomi and the close-set group of sites in the mouth of the Tyras river were Milesian again.

None of these east-Thracian and Danubian settlements were of any great importance, except as ports of call on the way to the coast of Scythia, which was reckoned to begin at the Ister: their landward interests were small, and their tenure precarious. Apollonia and Istrus, and perhaps other towns, had colonies of their own; there was a 'Port of the Istrians,' for example, near Olbia.

Far more important than the sites on the Tyras were the other two main enterprises of Miletus, Olbia at the mouth of the Borysthenes, and Panticapaeum on the Cimmerian Bosporus. Both, like Tyras, were at least double settlements, and it is probably with daughter-colonies from them that we should supply the balance of the seventy-five or hundred Milesian cities known respectively to Seneca and Pliny. Panticapaeum, for example, is described as 'metropolis of all the Bosporan cities,' and Herodotus writes as though a district of considerable extent was peopled by 'other factories of Greeks' like that at Borysthenes.

The circumstances here were in fact without parallel in the Greek world; for Scythia, which included all the featureless flat-land from Ister to Tanais at the head of the Sea of Azov, seems to have retained, under the dominion of its Iranian conquerors, the 'royal' and 'nomad' Scythians of Herodotus, a considerable sedentary population—Alazones, Callipidae, and the like—wherever agriculture was practicable; as it was (and is) very widely, though not by any means continuously even in classical times. Especially east of the Borysthenes there were 'farming' and 'ploughing' Scythians, and of them the latter at all events grew crops 'not for sustenance but for sale.' Transport of such bulky commodities was down the great rivers, to the 'ports' (*emporia*) at their mouths, and there seem to have been other wharves in Greek hands, far into the interior, where the vessels were laden. As the foundation of Olbia was assigned to 644, it may be inferred that there had been quite a century-and-a-half of such exploitation before the destruction of Miletus by the Persians; and also that it began, like other colonial adventures of Miletus itself and its Ionian rivals, in close connection with the Cimmerian raid. Necessity at home was (as so often) the mother of discovery abroad. Confirmatory evidence for fairly early data is the retention of Aeginetan measures by Olbia, Tyras, Odessus, and some other cities, as though their intercourse with their neighbours was already established immutably in this respect before other standards were at all widely used. That such intercourse was habitual, and extended far, is shown by the frequency of objects of Greek craftsmanship in richly-furnished tombs of Scythian chiefs throughout the region east of the Borysthenes, and also beyond the Cimmerian Strait; by the description of the Geloni far to the north-east, sedentary, agricultural, speaking a hybrid dialect, and believed to be runaway Greeks from the coast factories; and by allusions to half-breeds and half-Hellenized Scythians, like Scyles in Herodotus, leading a double life 'in

town' and up-country. Regular cities, indeed, of the normal Greek type, were hardly practicable in a country without natural barriers or restricted opportunities for agriculture: and the early settlements on the 'great lakes' of the New World, in French Canada and Manitoba, afford instructive analogies, especially in their relations with cultured and organized aborigines such as the Hurons and Iroquois. The more intimate fusion of Greek and Scythian society, especially in the district round Panticapaeum, belongs however rather to the fifth and fourth centuries. See above, chap. ix.

Exploitation by Greeks, under such exceptionally favourable conditions, of a region strongly contrasted with their motherland in physique and resources, could not fail to have profound effects on the city-states of the Aegean. Within the mountain-zone, cereal agriculture was strictly limited in extent, and must be supplemented, if population outgrew the corn-lands. Here on the inexhaustible 'black-lands' there was corn 'for sale' in excess of local needs, and a population willing to cultivate it; for they were farmers by habit, and by habit also tributary to Scythian overlords. Aegean cities, on the other hand, were perforce becoming industrialized, over-population enforcing industry even more than resulting from industrial prosperity; they had metal work, furniture, textiles, 'for sale' as the Scythians had corn; Scythia had neither wood, nor metals, nor flax, so far as we know, of its own; and Scythian chiefs, to judge from their purchases, were good customers for good work. Thirdly, Greek settlers, attracted by cornland and prosperity of trade, had experiences common to most men who exchange their habitual supply of fats for another: to pass from vegetable oil to butter is quite as trying to the men of the south as the converse is to many northerners, or as it is to a European to pass from butter to blubber or ghee. With drinks it is the same; the taste for either beer or koomiss is acquired with difficulty by the wine-drinker.

Now Scythia, with the exception of a few small districts, is loess-land; intolerant therefore of tree-crops. Only in the Crimea, which was never Scythian, do vine and olive flourish in exceptional shelter. In the Aegean, however, it was an easy discovery, made already in Minoan times and verified abundantly since, that oil and wine, currants and figs, pay better than cereals; and the fact of intensive tree-crops like olive and vine cultivation, from the later seventh century onwards, is demonstrated by incidents such as Thales' 'corner' in Milesian oil-presses, the tactics of Alyattes in his Milesian war, Solon's economic re-organization of Attica,

and ubiquitous traces of actual oil-farms throughout Milesian territory and adjacent Caria. A fourth main factor in the trading prosperity of these Pontic cities was the through-trade with the fur-trappers of the forest-zone north and east of the steppe, and with the gold-fields of the Urals and western Siberia, permitted and patronized by the 'nomad' Scythians, to their own great profit, no less than that of the Greek prospectors. That 'the ends of the world have the best of good things' became proverbial, and the Pontic trade was a standing instance of this.

Of the social and political consequences of the revolution in Greek agriculture and handicrafts which resulted mainly from these Pontic ventures, it is only necessary to note here how redistribution of wealth and influence in city-states accentuated internal quarrels and pretexts for secession, and thus provided cumulatively the man-power for developing colonial resources. Examples of such *epoikia* have been already given, of reinforcement (that is) of a colony already founded, by a fresh contingent of settlers.

VI. CYRENAICA

What Miletus achieved in the Pontic area, which was so nearly its monopoly, was attempted also southward, in the Theraean colonization of north Africa. Thera, like Thasos, had 'Cadmeian' traditions and a Minoan heritage; like Melos and the southern Sporades, it had been Hellenized from the gulfs of Argolis and Laconia, but included a 'Minyan' element of north Aegean origin, temporarily received into the Spartan state but uncongenial there. These Minyans seem to have taken the lead, for which Argonautic tradition may well have designated them, in this African venture. Though it belongs to the latter part of the seventh century, when 'Ionians and Carians' had already been at home in the Levant for more than two generations, it was only under strong pressure from Delphi—by this time recognized as a well-informed agency for such ventures—and with the special guidance of men from Itanos—once a Minoan settlement, now Hellenized and Dorian, at the east end of Crete—that the 'promised land' was reached at all; and the first choice of a site was unlucky. The eventual Cyrene, however, prospered from the first, and founded several colonies in its turn, of which Barca, farther west, with a Phoenician-looking name, was the most important.

The Cyrenaean prominence lies between the harbourless and exhausted foreshore of Libya, west of the Delta, which had more

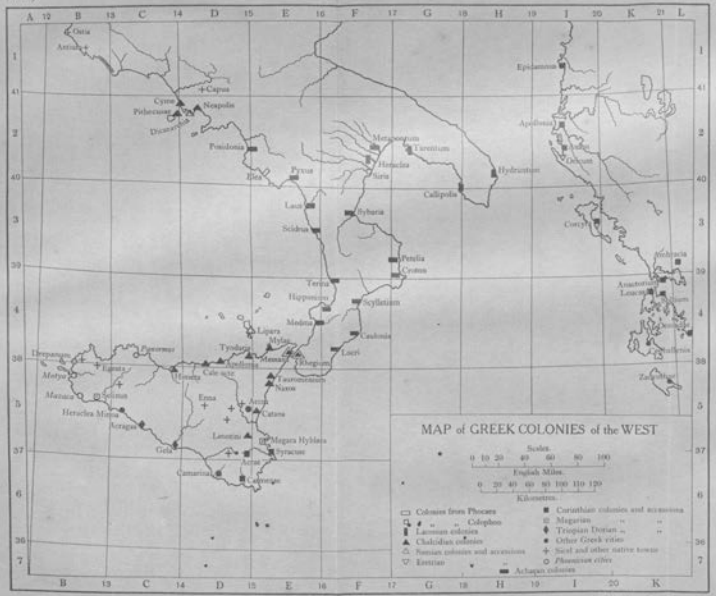
than once been a danger to Egypt before its rainfall failed, and a similar but more obstructed lowland south of the Greater Syrtis, a vast bay of dangerous shoals, lee-shore and breakers. The Cyrenaica itself, a featureless slab of tabular limestone, sloping gently southwards, and abruptly scarped along the sea-front, stands high and steep enough to catch a fair allowance of sea-borne rain and dew; it has therefore good pasture everywhere, and soil for corn-land in parts. The sea-front is abrupt enough to give shelter from the hot winds of the south, and there is even sun-shade, morning and evening, in its deep gullies. A curious feature is the collapse of the tabular surface in some places, forming quarry-like 'gardens of the Hesperides' full of moisture and rank vegetation. Best of all, at the foot of the seaward escarpment are perennial springs, of which the most copious determined the site and name of Cyrene. Since Greek times, this section of the African foreshore has subsided a little and submerged an older coast-shelf; but curtailed though it is now, the site of Cyrene and its palatial rock-hewn cemeteries is one of the most impressive in the Greek world.

From the first, the native Libyans, as closely akin by race to Greek colonists as the Scythians were distinct, maintained unusually cordial relations with them. They had culture and traditions of their own; their ancestors had joined with the Sea-raiders in a whirlwind attack on the Delta about 1221 B.C.; and Minyan families from Thera would bring traditions of the Argonaut visit, dated to the same generation. As there was 'corn for sale' in Scythia, so here there was wool from inexhaustible sheep-walks, of which there was Homeric memory. Around the springs in the coast-fringe were date-palms worthy of 'Lotus-land,' though less extensive than west of the Quicksands; and the wild silphium-plant, ubiquitous then on the plateau, though ravaged out of existence later, had only to be brought to market, to become a 'household remedy' like camomile or quinine. Beyond all, where the plateau-pastures fade gently into low-lying steppe and a line of oases, ran the great east-and-west route from Lower Egypt to Punic Africa, and at the more important oases—and chiefly at that of Ammon, with its trading priesthood playing the part of the modern Senoussi hierarchy—other old lines of traffic diverged south-westward into Fezzan, and thence away to a land of great marshes, pygmy-haunted forest, a Nile-like stream infested with crocodiles, and a juju-ridden folk, 'all sorcerers.' Intermittently along these routes came ivory, ostrich-feathers, and other products of inner Africa, as they came to Leptis and Carthage farther west.

It was perhaps not wholly accident that the first Theraean expedition was revictualled by a Samian vessel bound for Egypt. The subsequent adventures of Colaeus and his shipmates will concern us later (p. 680), but his intervention here throws a little light on the procedure of such merchant-men, as of the Sea-raiders long before; and also helps to explain the 'great friendships,' which later events attest, between Theraean enterprises and those of Samos. And there is much in the characteristic art-style of sixth century Cyrene that is not merely Ionian in quality but specifically Samian.

No less important is the close intimacy of craftsmanship between Cyrene and Laconia. The precise nature of the traffic between them is not yet known, interchange of painted pottery being only a symptom of voluminous trade in commodities such as wool and silphium which perish in the using. But it is significant, in view of this double connection with a great Dorian and a great Ionian and insular state, that, when the constitution of Cyrene was revolutionized by Demonax of Mantinea under Delphic patronage late in the sixth century, the two new 'tribes' which were established alongside of that which comprehended the old burghers of Theraean descent and those 'Libyan neighbours' who had been so closely associated with them from the first, were designed to admit to full citizenship, on the one hand, 'Peloponnesians and Cretans,' whose ancestry and manners would be Dorian, and, on the other, 'all the islanders,' of whom a large proportion must have been Ionian and no doubt many hailed from Samos itself.

Further proofs of Samian interest in this Libyan region are the use made of Samos as a place of refuge by dissident Cyrenaeans, about the time of Polycrates; and the surprising occurrence of a settlement of Samians 'of the tribe Aeschrione' in an oasis called the 'isle of the blest,' seven days' journey from Egypt along the western desert-route already mentioned, though not so far west as that of Ammon. It is in this context, too, that we see the significance, first, of the Samian colonization of the island of Amorgos, a half-way-house to Thera, which is dated by the participation of Simonides to the early part of the seventh century; and much later, of the temporary occupation of Cydonia near the west end of Crete by Samians exiled by Polycrates. Evidently Samos was developing an extensive southward connection, during the period which saw the Pontic enterprises of Miletus, its perennial rival.



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VII. THE WEST

Greek enterprises in the west followed rather different courses from those in the north and south, and the story of them has come down in more coherent though not necessarily more authentic shape, mainly owing to the thorough revision of traditional accounts by two western historians—Philistus for Sicily, and Antiochus of Syracuse, a contemporary of Herodotus, for Italy—who frankly 'selected from ancient accounts what seemed most credible and obvious'; and again later, in the days of Agathocles and Pyrrhus, by Timaeus of Tauromenium. Thucydides' brief retrospect of Sicilian colonization seems to be summarized from Antiochus.

The physical prospect westwards was fair enough. The west coast of northern Greece, indeed, becomes rapidly more austere from the Gulf of Patras to that of Ambracia, and is harbourless from the latter to the Strait of Corcyra. Only in this region—nameless 'mainland' (*ēpirus*) as it seemed to its insular visitors—was Hellenization so belated that here alone we find city-states planted colonially among tribal societies which spoke some sort of Greek. Beyond Corcyra, again, the steep Acroceraunian wall screens the 'channel' (*aulōn*) of Valona and the Albanian coast-lands from view, and points shipmen westward to the low-lying heel of Apulia, which is just visible from its high cliffs.

Here too was country of an aspect quite unfamiliar to voyagers from the Aegean, moors almost featureless and of wide extent, pasturable in great ranches everywhere and arable in parts, rising to parkland and the virgin forests of a vast interior, whose summits—the far 'Vulture's Beak' (Monte Voltore) among them—caught the winter snow, and sent broad perennial streams sprawling across the maritime plain, white bouldery avenues which lost themselves in tangled everglade and fern among the dunes and rosemary-scrub that line the beach. West of the happy valley of the Crathis, which nearly cuts this interior in two at its narrowest point, a more massive highland, densely forested, presses hard on the coast, like a gigantic Naxos: then comes less rugged and rapidly changing scenery, not unlike Cos or Rhodes, rising again austerely in the neighbourhood of the Sicilian Strait as if to enhance the marvel of that breach in a world's rim. After this, Sicily, smaller featured for the most part—except the Titans' forge of Etna—and more abruptly crushed and sculptured, might seem almost homelike, but for its milder climate and

relatively abundant moisture: though the Simaethus landscape repeats some features of the great valleys of Magna Graecia.

Here was Paradise, if you could enter and possess it; just such a 'Magna Graecia' to Aegean eyes as the Americas were a 'New Spain' and 'New England' to explorers from Genoa or Bristol, accustomed to ventures on a merely mediterranean scale, or to the 'narrow seas.'

But this was not wholly a 'new world' for the contemporaries of Archias and Theocles. Whatever memories of a Trinacrian 'vine-land' and its 'skraelings' may have inspired the tales about Laestrygonians and 'round-eyed' ogres which have been preserved in the *Odyssey*, direct Homeric references to Sicily, at all events, and to mutual traffic therewith, point rather to early than to later circumstances, even in our present knowledge of Minoan intercourse with the west. The blocks of liparite and objects fashioned therefrom in the Cnossian palace have no other source, demonstrable or even probable, than the island which gives this rare mineral its name; Syracuse, Thapsus, Megara, and other sites of eastern Sicily have early tombs of Minoan form, with Minoan pottery and rapier-blades; and farther afield still, in Sardinia and on the site of Marseilles, there are burials and imitated objects which prove occasional contact (vol. II, p. 567). And though lower Italy and even Sicily (as Thucydides knew) were not immune from the folk-movements characteristic of the close of the Minoan Age—so that the native civilization was altered profoundly, and the Minoanized sites were deserted for others—occasional Aegean imports, of 'geometric' style, in Sicilian and also in Campanian tombs, show that communications were never broken for long. At Tarentum, indeed, there is débris of a settlement which appears to have been continuous from Late-Minoan times to its Dorian refoundation at the close of the eighth century. However sudden and rapid, then, the Hellenic colonization of the west may have been, there is no longer any reason for disregarding the traditions of 'Trojan War' settlements at Siris, Metapontum, Brundusium and Hyria, more especially as some of these are not described as 'Achaean' but as 'Trojan' or 'Phrygian,' and consequently must be referred to the larger movements of which the Achaean domination was a part. Of these memories the most famous is that which not only brings Aeneas to Eryx on his way to Latium, but makes him find kinsmen settled there already. In the west, too, Heracles had had adventures, as in Pontus, and the Thespiad descendants of his settlers in Sardinia found refuge eventually at Cumae. Earlier

still went the retrospect of that 'Aeolian' settlement at Lipara which was extant in the sixth century.

Into the problems of Etruscan history this is not the place to go (see vol. IV, chap. xii). Active and ubiquitous elements among the Sea-raiders in the Levant were known to their Egyptian victims as the Tursha. They were wolves of the same pack as the Shardina, Shakalsha, and those Philistines and Teucrians whose fortunes we have followed in Palestine and Cyprus (pp. 637 *sqq.*; cf. vol. II, p. 284 *sq.*). When the first Greek navigators cruised beyond the Sicilian Strait, they found themselves in waters where 'Tyrrhenian pirates' rivalled Phoenician 'swindlers' in sea-wolf hostility. Tracked home to their lairs on the low coast between Tiber and Arno, and also between Ancona and the mouth of the Po, these western Tyrrhenians were found to hold a dozen or more of fenced cities, like those of Philistia, and to be a close ring of war-lords, ruling with more than Philistine austerity a rich, populous region, which only escaped being 'civilized' in the Greek sense, because this armed injustice turned with utter frightfulness on everything Greek that carried oars and a sail. Wealth wrung from their Italic subjects they would squander on Greek works of art, and have their own people imitate more or less ill, borrowing Chalcidian writing for their barbarous and uncouth speech, and making unholy alliance at times with opportunist upstarts like Aristodemus of Cumae. Whatever their avenue or avenues of access to Italy had been, their headquarters in the eighth century were south and west of the Apennines; they had a commercial port at Populonia and were working the iron and copper of Elba, and they had made all the sea 'Tyrrhenian' as far as the coasts of Sardinia, Liguria, and Sicily. Until the early part of the sixth century the Latin-speaking people south of the Tiber had managed to hold the river frontier against them; but the very successes of the Greek settlements and traders as far as that line were probably one of the chief inducements to the wars of aggression which established an Etruscan dynasty in Rome and a similar overlordship in Campania to the very gates of Cumae.

But between the Tyrrhenian domination northwards, and the first Punic settlements in western Sicily, there was still room enough for adventurers from east of the Strait, and it was only gradually that the jealousies between claimants of rival origin became so acute as they were at the close of the sixth century.

It might have been expected that colonization in so extensive an area, and at such distances from the mother-country, would be progressive from nearer to farther regions. This however is

not so. Cumae far away in Campania claimed to be the oldest settlement of all; but apart from Cumae and (more doubtfully) its own offshoot Zancle, in the Narrows, no Italian city—not even Tarentum—seriously contested the priority of the Sicilian Naxos; though Archias, on his own outward way to Syracuse, was said to have 'assisted' the founders of Sybaris in some fashion, as though these two ventures were simultaneous.

Corcyra, comparatively near home, was believed to be as ancient a Corinthian settlement as Syracuse (734), and to have had an Eretrian phase before that[1]; but the other Corinthian colonies in Acarnania and Epirus belong to the Cypselid tyranny (after 657). The standard chronology, summarized by Thucydides, and attributed to Antiochus, shows a manifold outburst of colonial activity between 735 and 680; then a long pause, with only secondary foundations of local origin, such as Acrae (664), Selinus (*c.* 630)[2], Himera (649), and the Cypselid colonies; and then, after a shorter interval, Camarina from Syracuse (599), Acragas from Gela (580), Lipari from Cnidus and Rhodes (also in 580) and the great series of Phocaean settlements in Liguria and Iberia (all between 600 and 550). After this, the forlorn hope of the Phocaeans at Alalia and Velia, about 540, the expedition of Dorieus in 510, and the inrush of Samian and other Ionian exiles when the Ionic Revolt failed (494), betray a new motive, intolerable Persian interference with Ionian cities in the Aegean. They also show how nearly full of Greeks, by this time, were the regions which were open to them at all.

Reasons for this piecemeal exploitation of the new countries are not hard to find; they recur in all colonizing ages. In proportion as the movement is conceived as a recovery of lands formerly visited but perforce neglected during the period of folk-movement and its immediate sequel, the impulse becomes intelligible, on the part of the reoccupation leaders, to push their outposts in the first instance as far afield as a season's voyage permitted, in face of Punic or Etruscan counter-claims, and leave nearer, easier, or less promising localities to be occupied later. The recoil of the Naxians onto Catana, after founding Leontini, and the Sybarite miscalculation of seizing Metapontum before Siris, which left the latter open to settlement by Colophon, are

[1] Its coin type is old Euboean, unlike those of other Corinthian colonies in this region which copy the mother-city.

[2] Diodorus, XIII, 59 implies the date 651 B.C. for the founding of Selinus. It is not possible to decide between 651 and *c.* 630 B.C., see *P.W.* *s.v.* 'Selinus,' and p. 682 *sq.* below.

instances of this. But allowance must also be made for the multiple origin and course of the colonization; and for the probability of early understandings as to 'spheres of influence,' such as kept Dorians of all kinds in Sicily south of the Simaethus river, and Chalcidians almost wholly north of it; Delphi playing probably much the same part here as the Vatican in the partition of the 'Indies.' Above all, the possibility cannot be excluded that other places besides Tarentum had come through the bad years, and been accepted as survivals of what had been in the days of Minos or Diomedes, until need or opportunity flooded these too with newcomers, and reconstituted a 'Trojan War' derelict as a Hellenic city-state. In his account of the founding of Metapontum, Strabo even uses the word *synoikismos*, as though earlier settlements in a whole district were to be combined into one state.

In their subsequent history, the diverse origins and early antipathies of the principal cities count for so much, that the eventual structure and balance of parts within this western world will be best exposed, not by adopting a chronological or even a strictly regional order, but by tracing separately the growth of each main factor and noting its connections with its place of origin, as a first clue to reasons for its emergence in the West.

(1) *Achaean Colonies.* Most closely connected probably with the Minoan exploitation of the West were those whose homes lay best placed for Western enterprises, and on whom the stress of the Dorian and Thessalo-Boeotian movements pressed most directly outwards in that direction; namely, the inhabitants of both shores of the Corinthian Gulf. Suggestive hints are early tales of Cretan navigators within that gulf and of derelict 'Phocians' and 'Achaeans' in the West; the solidarity of the Locrians-in-the-west with the Opuntian Locrians who find place in the Homeric Catalogue, rather than with their Ozolian kinsmen who do not, and whose position in the gulf-area seems best explained as a result of known shifting of the peoples of central Greece in post-Achaean time; the emergence of the terms *Hellas* and *Hellenes*, old by-names probably of the dynastic Achaeans, as a common designation of all Greeks who came 'homing' to Olympia, and made the later fortunes of its festival; finally, the association, by Hellanicus if not earlier, of Achaeus with Ion in the Hellenic pedigree as coheirs of Xuthus, as though wider experience was showing that the 'Ionian' exodus down the Saronic and Euboic gulfs towards Asia Minor had its western counterpart in an 'Achaean' emigration by way of the gulf of Corinth. Such Achaean emigration was not limited to Magna Graecia; Zacyn-

thus for example was 'colonized' in this way, and probably others of the western islands which had composed the barony of Odysseus[1].

On the other hand, large elements in the cities of Magna Graecia were not strictly Achaean. Besides the Locrian contingent already mentioned, there were Phocians and Aetolians at Metapontum, and men of Troezen at Sybaris who were afterwards forced on, to found Posidonia. Above all, there were eventually Messenians, Arcadians, and other men of the older population whom the Dorian Conquest had disorganized, and whose prospects became darker than ever when the Dorian Sparta began the 'First Messenian War' (*c.* 730 B.C., see p. 537).

For it is probably no accident that the main westward movement overlaps and a little outlasts that war. The connection is of course clearest at Tarentum (Taras), where Sparta is described as organizing the colony with the object of ridding Laconia of war-babies or unwanted half-breeds. Who these 'Partheniae' were, and who their leader Phalanthus was, or whom he represented, was apparently discussed in antiquity: and such episodes as his abortive settlement between Troezen and Corinth, and his shipwreck in the Crisaean Gulf, suggest that the foundation of Tarentum was only part of a larger movement, as the later expeditions of Dorieus[2] are only part of the resettlement of homeless men, after the fall of Polycrates and the Spartan crusade against 'tyrannies' in the last half of the sixth century.

This consideration explains also how so restricted an area as the 'Achaean' shore of Peloponnese suddenly provided so large a surplus of population, not of industrials or traders, but of country-bred men looking for cultivable land and a quiet life. For the fisheries, the horse-ranching, the wide inland commerce, which eventually supplemented this, at Sybaris and Tarentum, were later accidents: nothing is more striking in the later history of these 'Achaean' cities, and in Locri, Siris and Tarentum, which resembled them in origin and shared their local resources, than the persistence of agriculture as their economic basis. This made their sudden and great prosperity, in early days; when they lost control of their wide lands, and the native serfs who worked them, through the Sabellian invasions of the fourth century, they faded away, except only Tarentum, and Thurii, the second self of

[1] The obscurities of their Homeric place-names have been ingeniously linked by Dörpfeld with a jostling of their inhabitants, hardly less obscure.

[2] There is, however, another view that Dorieus was engaged in a private enterprise and not supported by the state, see vol. IV, p. 359.

Sybaris, which could subsist on one or more of those special facilities.

Within this general similarity of origin and circumstance, so strikingly symbolized by the peculiar fabric of their coins, the South Italian towns varied conspicuously in detail. Sybaris—with its self-contained paradise, its native peasantry, its unique coast-to-coast route with ports on the Tyrrhenian sea at Laus and Scidrus, and a bosom-friendship with Miletus to exploit this, in competition with the Chalcidian all-sea-route through the straits, to the common goal of an Etruscan market insatiate for Greek and Oriental wares of every kind—became a by-word for the fate of the *nouveau riche*, and tolerated an extreme democracy whose whims brought it to disaster like that of Tarentum later. Croton, with a harder task in early days, a brisker climate, a famous sanctuary of Lacinian Hera, an important position on the great western sea-route, and local resources in wine, oil, timber, and fisheries, exactly complementary to those of Sybaris, fostered schools of athletics, medicine, and exact science, and owed as much to Chalcidian and Samian friends, as Sybaris to Milesian; not least, its rôle in the most inveterate of interstate feuds. Like Sybaris, it had daughter-cities, but not in such close control: Pandosia, high in the interior, on the head waters of its rival's river; Terina on the far side; and Caulonia on its own sea towards Locri. Metapontum, founded by Sybaris to forestall Tarentum in control of the Bradanus valley, seems to have remained mainly a corn-grower. Siris, interjected by Colophon between Metapontum and its mother-city, on the site of an older town which had Rhodian (perhaps Late Minoan) associations, had a rich rolling lowland, and behind it a watershed-portage like that of Sybaris, and good friends at Pyxus to operate it. After withstanding a threefold attack from Croton, Sybaris and Metapontum, it sank later to be little more than a landing-stage for its Tarentine neighbour, Heraclea.

Locri, after a false start, made good on a site farther from Croton, and more central to its natural region; and had colonies of its own, like Sybaris, on its northern coast, at Medma and Hipponium. Its wealth from agriculture and forests was considerable, but its position between neighbours so powerful and strongly characterized as Croton and Rhegium was seldom an easy one. This probably explains its spasmodic friendship with Syracuse, and its eventual utility to Dionysius. Its *sympoliteia* or coequal citizenship with the Locrians of Opus in central Greece is an exceptional example of long intimacy between colony and metropolis.

Tarentum, which in spite of its Spartan step-mother belongs essentially to this group, substitutes for the low-lying alluvium of its westward neighbours the corn-cities, a higher, harder subsoil with scrub and open grazing, but only patches of arable. Sheltered below the bluff edge of this plateau, olives grow luxuriantly; upon it were the great horse-ranches, and 'Tarentine horsemen' were in wide demand later as mercenaries. Its remarkable lagoon-like harbour, besides naval and mercantile uses, has inexhaustible fishery; and from the fifth century onwards Tarentine purple, ingrained in wool from the local moors, had world-wide repute. After supplying the necessary vessels for its other commodities, Tarentum had pottery for export, and was the outlet for the produce of a large part of the Apulian table-land, traded for Greek manufactured goods. Its principal oversea partner seems to have been Cnidus, in Asiatic Doris, a port well situated at a junction of main routes, for distributing or collecting western cargo, and eventually a partner in independent adventures around Sicily (see p. 683 below).

Almost unbroken prosperity—apart from a disastrous quarrel about 500 with the Iapygian natives of the moorland—conserved little trace of Laconian or even Dorian institutions; aristocracy was early superseded by a liberal government representing all interests, and it is only later that we have glimpses of the mob-rule which compromised Tarentum in its final dispute with Rome. Of its colonies, Heraclea alone was of considerable importance, as adjacent and friendly corn-land.

(2) *Chalcidian Cumae.* Beyond the Strait of Messina, both to north and to south, a different situation grew out of different and rather less complicated origins. In Sicily two principal adventures, originating in Chalcis and in Corinth respectively, were supplemented or superseded locally by settlements from Megara and from the Dorian cities along the Carian coast. North of the Strait, and beyond it, Chalcis exploited the north coast of Sicily, and the Campanian shore; and Phocaea monopolized vast and remote areas between the Riviera and the mouth of the Ebro.

In both directions Chalcis was reputed to have had priority, by a few months only in Sicily, but in Campania by more; though the earliest date, in the tenth or eleventh century, to which Cumae was assigned in antiquity, is more probably that of its namesake, Cyme in Asiatic Aeolis, which was believed, without much other evidence, to have had some share in founding it. Both cities probably took their name from an older community in Euboea. Traditions connecting the Campanian Cumae with the survivors

of the Thespiad settlement 'founded by Iolaus for Hercules' in Sardinia, and attributing the first occupation of Parthenope to Rhodians 'before the first Olympiad,' may deserve greater attention than they have received hitherto, now that early tombs are being recovered at Cumae itself. Ancient as it was reputed to be, however, Cumae with its strong rock citadel and twofold frontage on the mainland was admittedly but a second stage in a venture which began as a mixed-Euboean settlement on those 'Monkey-islands,' Pithecusae, which prolong the hilly promontory north of the bay of Naples; and it was eclipsed in turn, after the conquest of Campania by the Samnites and the sack of the city in 421, by its own colony Neapolis, which held an ampler site facing south and better screened by the same high ground. With the exceptional fertility of the volcanic Phlegraean country inland, Cumae combined valuable fisheries on the coasts and in the Lucrine lake; there seems to have been gold on 'Monkey-island,' and the sanctuary of the Sibyl attracted pilgrims.

But the chief significance of Cumae was as an easy avenue for Greek wares, and Greek customs and ideas, into the richest districts of Middle Italy. That this connection was early, follows from the persistence of the Aeginetan standard for currency here until the fifth century; its extent is indicated by the prevalence of Hellenic arts and the almost complete absence of Punic imports throughout the Campanian lowlands. Before Etruscan domination of Latium and Campania in the sixth century, everything south of the Tiber lay within its influence, and the intimacy of its tyrant Aristodemus with the house of Tarquin shows this position recovered under the new régime. It was the Chalcidian alphabet, with very little change, that became the standard system of writing, not only among Oscan and Latin-speaking neighbours, but throughout Etruria, and it was probably from Cumae that the name 'Grai' or 'Graeci,' originally borne by emigrants from the neighbourhood of Boeotian Tanagra facing southern Euboea, came to be the common designation of Hellenes in the speech of Latium. So thorough, indeed, was the Hellenization of some Campanian communities, that Nola, Abella, and the Faliscan towns were considered by later antiquaries as in some sense Chalcidian: probably there was some intermarriage, as well as pacific penetration. Such an agency, however, inevitably became an object of hostility to aggressive peoples of the mainland, Etruscans in the sixth century, and Samnites at the end of the fifth, and for the same reason was a valuable strategic outpost in the defence of Greek interests by Hiero and Dionysius in turn;

perhaps also by Athens, during the vigorous exploitation which followed the foundation of Thurii in 443, and led to the adoption of Thurian coin-types by Neapolis, from which we may perhaps infer some Athenian emigration thither.

South of Campania, the more abrupt coastline, the prevalence of forests and unkindly folk, and still more the use of its few serviceable coves as posterns of Sybaris and other Achaean ports, secluded Cumae and its whole régime from the other Chalcidian cities. The fateful voyage of Theocles down the east coast of Sicily seems to presume some Chalcidian interests in the west already; but the formal colonization of the region between the Strait and the Simaethus valley, in 735, opens a new chapter of Greek enterprise. Whatever the motives which originally drew Chalcidians into the west, the successive convoys of settlers—for Theocles was not their only 'founder'—which populated at least seven cities within twenty-five years, can hardly have been recruited in Chalcis only; and Zancle at any rate had a 'piratical' contingent from Cumae, if indeed it was not already a Cumaean colony, reinforced now to fill a new rôle at this parting of the ways. They were a mixed body, including probably Naxians, as the name of the first colony shows; certainly Megarians under a leader of their own, though these were expelled from Leontini before long, and occupied a minute peninsula farther down the coast; and like Croton a very few years later, they had official sanction from Delphi, and the miscellaneous following which such publicity might attract. Though Naxos, Catana, Zancle and the rest were established on the coast, Leontini, which alone lay south of the Simaethus river, lay also some miles inland, depending, as the symbolic corn-grain on its coins suggests, on its agricultural resources, and making a new departure in its necessary relations with the Sicel natives, the full significance of which appeared when its dissident Megarian element made common cause with a local chieftain and established a new Megara in the Sicel township of Hybla.

The first two generations had enough to do in occupying the promontory behind Zancle, and the coast-region south of it, of which they had seized the most promising sites at the outset; but in 649 Zancle, with reinforcements from Mylae and (once more) from Chalcis, and Dorian adventurers too from Syracuse, seized a strongly-posted site where the 'lovely river' Himera breaks through to the steep northern coast, some sixty miles from the strait, and thus foreclosed a multitude of sheltered and fertile patches against Punic aggression from the west end of the island.

Even beyond this fortress and its river frontier, the famous hot springs in a nook of the next bay, with a defensible post on the ridge under which they rise, became a Greek health-resort of some importance. Later, like Cumae, Himera became one of the cockpits of the west; and it was here that Gelon's forces turned the fortune of war against the Carthaginians, on the same day as won freedom at Salamis.

Obviously the control of the Strait, which the natural 'sickle'-port of Zancle had given to those old 'pirates from Cumae', was not complete without a counterwork on the Italian shore, especially with the veering currents that located Homer's Scylla and Charybdis here: but the founding of Rhegium—the 'city in the breach'—was as casual and tumultuary as its later fortunes. Here too, as in the Achaean cities, refugees from Messenia played a part from the first; famine in Chalcis had compelled a fresh exodus; there was Delphic guidance, as at the first Chalcidian effort; and there was also a native element, driven coastwards by some disturbance farther north. The result was a colony mainly Chalcidian, but with a large territorial annexe like an Achaean city, guarded by frontier outposts against Locri, and cursed with inveterate jealousy of its opposite neighbour. Only under exceptional circumstances, and usually after forcible intervention of the one state in the affairs of the other, could Zancle and Rhegium make common cause. (See also p. 537 and n. 1.)

Nevertheless, this doubly Chalcidian wardenship of the Strait had profound effects on the general history of the west. On the one hand, rival traders in the lucrative Etruscan market found it prudent, if not actually cheaper or quicker, to break journey at Sybaris and re-embark their cargoes at its postern-ports, not always into Greek vessels; and the wealth of Sybaris, so lightly won, was as lightly squandered, in ways that became a by-word. As Chalcis had enduring intimacy with Samos and its friends, it is not surprising to find that the bosom-friend of Sybaris was Miletus; and also that Sybarite interest in Miletus, being essentially material, did not survive Crotoniate conquest of the portage-way. And it was no less fitting that after the heritage of Miletus had fallen into Athenian hands, and those hands were freed for a while by the Thirty Years' Truce, they should plant on the site of Sybaris their chief western agency, Periclean Thurii.

(3) *The Phocaean Colonies.* Conversely, it was Phocaea, a close ally of Samos, which alone had such freedom of the Strait as made possible its Ligurian and Celtic enterprises. These seem to have begun early, for the chance discovery of Tartessus in south-

eastern Spain by Colaeus of Samos, at the time of the founding of Cyrene (see p. 668), was exploited not by Samians, but by their Phocaean partners, and remained their monopoly for over half a century. But their greatest achievement, the creation of Massilia, with its up-river traffic as far as Arles and Nismes, and its profound influence on the Celtic peoples, falls rather later, about 600. To the numerous Phocaean colonies, among which Monaco, Nice, Antibes, and Ampurias retain their ancient names to-day, this region owes its Hellenic olive-industry, and the high degree of culture which made so easy the Romanization of Provence; it was a whole empire of the outer West, such as Miletus achieved in Pontus, and its reflection in Aegean politics is the Phocaea which 'held the seas' for forty years before the fall of Sardes, and was the champion of Ionian independence in the disastrous revolt of Pactyas against Cyrus the Persian. It was in this last crisis that Phocaea literally 'called in a new world' to maintain the balance of the old, for its city-wall, believed impregnable till Harpagus brought up the siege-engines of oriental warfare, had been expressly built with a gift from the king of Tartessus.

Inevitably, domains and traffic so enviable as those of the Phocaean west, were ill regarded by Punic, and still more by Etruscan rivals. Phocaean vessels therefore ran the gauntlet of two sea-powers, from the friendly Strait to their haven of the 'Lonely House,' and there had been an earlier attempt to establish a half-way-house at Alalia, on the east coast of Corsica, before Phocaea itself fell and the survivors forswore Ionia and joined their oversea cousins. But this desperate contingent, reinforcing a post so dangerously near Elba and Populonia, was more than Etruria could tolerate. After a drawn sea-fight, Alalia was evacuated, and all that could be done was to head for the best remaining site within reach, and establish the remnant at Elea, between southern Campania and the Sybarite remnant at Laus. Henceforward the Phocaean colonies, rallying round Massilia, maintained an independent and almost self-sufficient existence in their own region, secluded from Etruscan raiders by the rugged coastline of Apennine Liguria, and from Punic aggression by no less difficult country south of the Ebro. On their Tartessian friends a great silence falls till the days of Hannibal.

(4) *Corinthian Colonies.* While Chalcidians and their Ionian friends were exploring north-westward, a quite different régime was being created in south-eastern Sicily by men of Dorian antecedents. Thucydides puts the foundation of Syracuse by Archias of Corinth in the year following that of Naxos by Theocles, but

there was another tradition which placed it as early as 757. Though the private affairs of Archias were the occasion of his enterprise, there can be little doubt that this expedition belongs essentially to the same series of events as the Achaean and Chalcidian outflows. Archias was believed to have helped Myscellus in early troubles at Croton. There were Syracusan families which claimed origin from Tenea, Argos and Olympia; and the legend of Arethusa's fountain combines the folk-lore of Aetolia with that of Chalcis. We may infer that Corinth, like Chalcis, gave form rather than substance to the new city, and that the Messenian troubles were responsible for the supply of homeless men. Corinth usually maintained cordial relations with both Chalcis and Samos, and the situation of Syracuse, on the next important site beyond Leontini, is in accord with the view that in its origin it was no open rival. Originally confined to Ortygia, 'Quail-island', within bow-shot of the shore, it soon dominated the defensible plateau which overlooked it, and from this strong position exercised the same kind of overlordship over the neighbouring Sicels as the Dorian aristocracies of the Argolid over their serfs. In this way, Syracuse was able, like Sybaris and Heraclea Pontica, to create a territorial community round a Greek *polis* governed by a landed nobility, but sustained no less by native or half-breed peasantry than by those industrial and commercial elements which its superb facilities attracted. Usually, therefore, unlike the Chalcidian colonies, Syracuse could deal with its own increase without colonizing: and the date (664) of its earliest offshoot 'on the heights' at Acrae coincides so closely with the great quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra, that it should be regarded as a measure of emergency. The other Syracusan foundations, Casmenae in 644, and the more important Camarina in 599, resulted from political secessions, and were uneasy neighbours always; though the troubles of Camarina were not wholly of its own making, as we shall see.

But Syracusan prospects of spacious overgrowth in one of the richest regions of Sicily were marred by three circumstances, which explain much of its later fortune. Probably about the same time as the voyage of Archias, an older Eretrian settlement in Corcyra (itself the successor and perhaps in part the heir of the Phaeacian city, Scheria, see p. 651) was reinforced or superseded by a Corinthian colony, which expelled Liburnian 'pirates' who had come down from the Adriatic, and dominated, as at Syracuse, a populace which did not love the new occupants, and continued to venerate the 'sacred grove of Alcinous,' who had

entertained Odysseus and sent his ships 'as far as Euboea.' For this, and more material reasons—the value of an open door and of equal treatment for all comers, to a state which could trade on its situation as half-way-house to the new West—Corcyra repudiated from the first the rather exceptional restraints and preferential treatment which Corinth seems to have imposed on its nearer colonies; and as Corinthian operations in the west could only proceed freely with the goodwill of Corcyra, this unfilial conduct festered into grievous feud. Only under the Cypselid tyranny was there temporary and partial appeasement, and it is noteworthy that now it was rather towards the few profitable bits of the backward and difficult mainland of north-western Greece, on the hither-side of Corcyra, that Corinth turned its attention, and that the worst later embitterment of the old feud arose from the Corinthian claim to regulate the affairs of the only one of these north-westerly colonies, Epidamnus, which lay beyond Corcyra, and had in fact been established by it. Even the exceptional loyalty and close co-operation of such cities as Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium and Oeniadae with their metropolis was probably as much the fruit of local quarrels with Corcyra, as of Corinthian precautions due to earlier disappointment. In the west, meanwhile, there were no more colonies from Corinth directly; only those occasional offshoots of Syracuse which have already been named.

(5) *Megarian Colonies.* But while Corinth itself was hampered thus in its western enterprises, and cherished all the more dearly the goodwill which it invariably found in Syracuse, other peoples' projects restricted the opportunities of Syracuse itself. Northwards, Hyblaean Megara was no better neighbour than its mother-city was to Corinth, and it was only after at least three generations that the Megarians shifted their base for the fourth time, summoned a fresh 'founder' (and probably other emigrants) from their mother-city, and founded Selinus far away on the south-west coast, interrupting the line of Phoenician settlements already established there, and succeeding as ill in conciliating the native population of Segesta immediately inland, as they had fared well at the outset with the king of Hybla. It is to the late date, and systematic construction of this new city that we owe the notable temples whose ruins mark the site; and the similar temple at Segesta shows how deeply Megarian culture affected even uncongenial neighbours. If the earlier date (651) for the migration to Selinus is the true one, it would be almost contemporary with that to Himera (649), the most westerly colony of the

Chalcidians on the northern coast; each of these westward thrusts facilitating the other, in face of the common enemy.

(6) *Rhodian (Triopian-Dorian) Colonies.* Southward, too, the opportunities of Syracusan expansion were restricted at an early stage (about 690) through the foundation of Gela by Dorians from Rhodes and other Triopian towns and also (perhaps rather later) from Crete. As these insular Dorians traced their descent from Argos, their institutions and manners differed from those of Corinthian colonists; and inherited contrasts, embittered by local rivalry, were complicated by the griefs of the unfilial Camarina, hemmed in by the converging hinter-lands of its stronger neighbours and ever making mischief between them. The site of Gela was originally an inshore islet like Ortygia, but instead of prolonging a headland, as at Syracuse, it divided the mouth of the torrential river which gave the city its name. Its prosperity rested on the wide level cornfield of the Gela valley, sheltered landwards by the olive-clad escarpment of a pasturable moorland. The valley-head offers shorter access to the upper basin of the Simaethus and the leading Sicel stronghold at Enna, than was open to Syracuse or even to Catana; and as markets for its produce Carthage and Hadrumetum lay within easy sail. About a century later, and shortly after the foundation of Camarina on the eastern edge of its territory, Gela flung an offshoot westward, to the vast natural fortress-site of Acragas, a little inland between deep valleys, with fenland and open beaches where they reach the sea. Acragas, like Gela itself, was wholly agricultural, with the same African markets at its door: with fens drained and ports scoured by the engineering skill of Empedocles, it rose to great wealth and rivalled Syracuse in population and material splendour.

Nearly the whole south coast of Sicily had thus fallen easily into a few strong hands, and about the time of the founding of Acragas a concerted attempt seems to have originated, like Gela, in the Triopian cities, Cnidus and Rhodes, to challenge the Punic occupation of the western districts, and establish a colony at Lilybaeum. But one of the numerous quarrels between Selinus and Segesta squandered its forces; the colony was abandoned, and the remnant settled in Lipara, reinforcing the last survivors of an 'Aeolian' community which had preserved traditions and institutions of very archaic look. Lipara long did valuable police-work against Etruscan piracy, and was one of the cities which harboured Samian refugees after the downfall of Polycrates half a century later.

(7) *Supplementary colonial enterprises in later sixth century.* For as Phocaea risked all, when Ionian independence was threatened after the fall of Sardes, so Samos, under its great sea-lord, organized a blockade of the Great King's foreshore so effective as to exasperate all parties alike; with the result that—what with medizing aristocrats, expelled during the rule of Polycrates, and his own followers and mercenaries after his fall—'the world was too full of people' as it had been in the days of Agamemnon, and it fell to the Spartans, who had already interfered once with Polycrates, to restore order in the Aegean and dispose of the refugees. A similar problem confronts the Greek government to-day. The Spartan solution was a series of colonial enterprises, in which it is not difficult to trace both the master-mind and the headstrong temper of Cleomenes, whose accession was a little later than the death of Polycrates. First, Dorieus, the man who might have been king, the best Spartan of his day, led a large expedition to the Cinyps river, in Tripolitan Africa, with intent to repeat here the great achievements of Cyrene, in which Samos, as we have seen (p. 668), had had some recent share. But Punic prospectors had been beforehand; the Libyan natives were unfriendly; and the dunes and low moors between the two Quicksands were no site for another Cyrene. It was a later age and another economic situation which permitted the prosperity of Roman Leptis and her sisters of the Tripolis. Dorieus was beaten off, and it was one of the grievances of Gelon of Syracuse in 480 that when he too had tried to 'liberate the *emporia*'—which was long the cant-term for this section of African coast—Sparta had sent no help. (See vol. IV, pp. 358 *sqq.*, and p. 374.)

Baffled southward, Sparta had turned next to the west. In Dorian Sicily there still seemed to be scope for a colony. The raid on Lilybaeum had shown what might be done with ampler forces and better plans; there was high talk about the 'Minoan heritage' and the 'labours of Hercules,' to encourage recruits; and about 510 Dorieus set out again, this time with the Delphic authorization which had been omitted on his first adventure. But just as the Lilybaean raid had been deranged at Selinus, so Dorieus was drawn into the local quarrel which ended so disastrously for Sybaris. Some of his followers extricated themselves, and pressed on, but only to fall, like their predecessors, into the snare of Selinuntine intrigue; and though 'Heraclea-Minoa,' some way beyond the actual limits of Greek occupation, was reached and formally constituted, the great design foundered. Gelon, here too, did what he could to retrieve the fiasco, but again

without help from Sparta, and the age of Greek colonization closed in disaster and disappointment.

For in the Aegean, too, colonization was almost over, with tragic results for the Greek states there. It was a momentary weakness of Darius which conceded to Histiaeus of Miletus the last remaining region, which was unappropriated, of the north Aegean, the Paeonian district in the Strymon valley; and it was his revocation of this gift, and honorific internment of the *concessionnaire*, that brought Milesian uneasiness to a head, and let loose the Ionian Revolt. No less characteristic of the time, and of Histiaeus' full knowledge of the situation, was the pretext which he gave to Darius, that if only he might return to Ionia, he would put Sardinia, 'the greatest of the islands,' into the Great King's hands—with himself as his satrap, and a New-Miletus there to avenge old scores on Phocaea and the destroyers of Sybaris. The Sardinian project was an old one, 'good,' observes Herodotus, 'if the game was up in Ionia,' as Bias had thought it was after the revolt of Pactyas (p. 525); for the Punic occupants of Tharros had barely sampled its forests, minerals and labour-supply; it was indeed the prize best worth seizing by anyone who could hold it. But things fell otherwise, and the only swarm of Greeks that reached western waters in that generation was no Milesian armada, but draggled waifs, Phocaean, Samian, Milesian alike, fleeing from the wrath to come, while Miletus burned and Chios was depopulated. And the fate of these refugees is instructive. No new colony did they found; for there was no site within their power to occupy. At best, like Dionysius of Phocaea, they took to 'tub-sinking' in the Levant or the Tyrrhenian Sea. At Zancle some of them forcibly converted an existing city to their own uses, a new Messene with the blazon of old Samos on its coins; some went to the 'Fair Point' (Cale-acte) a little farther west, and to the pirates' nest in Lipara opposite; some to Dicaearchia near Cumae, others elsewhere, a burden and a grievance to involuntary hosts, and a cause of grave trouble later. At Syracuse Gelon had already found in an overgrown populace a 'most graceless lodger.'

The spread of the Greek city-state system had indeed very nearly reached its natural limits, and where it had failed to do so, it was because Carthaginians and Etruscans had won here and there what, for a century and more, had been a neck-and-neck race for the west. With better luck in its struggle with Cyrus, Phocaea might have made good in Corsica, and maintained its already long connection with Tartessus. With better management, and less divided forces, successive attempts might have

succeeded in disrupting the Punic occupation of western Sicily and conciliating its non-Sicel inhabitants—for with the Sicels of the eastern districts there was seldom any trouble at all, till they began to meet Greeks with their own weapons and the latter-day nationalism of Ducetius. With better courage Delphi might have justified the faith of Dorieus, as it had prevailed long before over the doubts of the Theraeans. But on the larger issues Hellenism had won. From the Tanais to the Ebro, from Massilia to the Samian Oasis, almost every stretch of coastline which could maintain a *polis* had received its *apoikia*, and become a 'home away from home' to as many Greeks as it could hold. And the reason why this great achievement had been possible, was that in the dark ages of reconstruction not only had a new people come into being, the Hellenes of the historic age, but in doing so they had created a form of society unimagined before; as its greatest interpreter described it, 'originating for the maintenance of life, but in principle, a means for living well.' Tried by the test of unfamiliar soil, austerer climate, lack of those necessaries of life as Greeks knew it, corn, wine, and oil, with fish, fruit and cheese for simple condiments, the *polis* wilted because there Greeks could not live—by the quicksands of Africa, under the sheer cliffs of Pisidia and Cilicia, in the sodden summers of the Caucasus or Illyria; but as far as the Mediterranean régime extended within which the city-state originated, it proved its fitness to survive, to spread, to practise the supreme art of 'living well'; or if here or there it failed to take root, it was because men of other breed—Philistine, Phoenician, Etruscan—had created likewise, and established there already, institutions so similar, in their working as in their antecedents, that these exceptions 'prove the rule.'

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GROWTH OF THE GREEK CITY-STATE

I. THE EARLIEST ORDER

THROUGHOUT the whole Greek world surveyed in the preceding chapters, the salient feature is the city-state. Where this characteristic institution arose, intense and continuous political and social life matured the genius of the race. To Athenians of the fifth and fourth centuries, life not in cities was half way to barbarism, and the republican city-state seemed to belong to the order of nature. Aristotle, defending the city-state as 'natural,' argued that man, being a 'political animal,' naturally formed unions, each including its predecessor—the household, the village, the city. But so many Greeks failed for so long to discover this invincible necessity of their nature and omitted to complete the Aristotelian progression, that it seems truer to say that a variety of causes, economic, geographical, military and social, brought them to dwell in cities, and that it was life in the *polis* that made of the Greek a political animal. To discover and evaluate these causes involves a somewhat hazardous process of reconstruction, for the growth of the city-state was, in the main, completed before the full light of history, and when it occurs later, as in the formation of the Arcadian Megalopolis, it is not permissible to assume that the conditions were the same as in earlier times. In the absence of record we must rely, as best we can, on the evidence of excavations, of names and language, and of the institutions of the city-states in their historical form, while some help may be gained from the analogy of primitive peoples like the Germans and of other city communities such as arose in Phoenicia and Italy.

In the period which preceded the Trojan wars, the mainland of Greece was occupied or dominated by people to whom may be applied, for convenience, the name Achaean. These were not originally dwellers in cities; they are not called after the names of cities; their names are those of peoples and of tribes[1]. The bond which unites them is the bond of tribal membership, and the stage from which they begin to develop is that of the Tribal State. They acknowledge the rule of kings or leaders and each

[1] See B. Keil in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III[2], pp. 299 *sqq.*

head of a household is the ruler of his family. Between the *pater-familias* and the head of the tribe lies one intermediate institution, the brotherhood—the phratry. This is in origin a voluntary association of comrades in war, but, as the tribes settle down, the association, from being at first fortuitous, becomes local and at the same time hereditary. The 'clan', the *genos*, which is the reflection of aristocracy, is as yet in the future. Each of the three associations of family, phratry and tribe was strengthened by the religious bond of cult. The tribe felt itself united in the worship of its god and, even in much later times when it had become only a convenient piece of mechanism in the city-state, the tribe stood before the gods, united in worship. The phratry might look up to Zeus Phratrios, and Zeus of the Hearth guarded the religious centre of the household. These three simple loyalties suffice; the tribe needs no capital city, the place where the king worships the god of the tribe is enough of a meeting-place in moments of emergency or at times of festival.

It may be assumed that the tribesmen did not live in isolated homesteads but, as by instinct, in villages which were not, in any formal sense, political units. Of the early sites excavated in Thessaly two, Sesklo and Dimini, were little towns with stone walls, the remainder were not fortified except possibly with stockades which have long since perished. In the rest of Greece, except in Phocis, the settlements lie near strongholds, which from being places of safety were to become seats of government. Wealth and labour were needed to build stone fortifications, and petty villages had no defence except flight. The security of their most valued possessions, their flocks and herds, demanded some permanent place of refuge from raids by land and sea, by kinsmen or aliens. These ancient *asyla* continued in use far into historical times, where conditions remained like those of the tribal state. When Philip V of Macedon led a foray into Elis in 218 B.C., he captured many head of cattle in such a refuge. This phenomenon, the result of recurrent needs, is not peculiar to the Greeks or to antiquity. *Refugia* existed on the west coast of Scotland and in the territory of the Saxon tribes in Germany down to the time of Charlemagne, and it is reasonable to suppose that like causes among peoples at a like stage of culture produced like results[1].

[1] See C. Schuchhardt, *Hof, Burg und Staat bei Germanen und Griechen*, N.J. Kl. Alt. XXI, 305 *sqq.* For refuges from pirates which long continued to be needed and used see H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 46 *sqq.* Schuchhardt's evidence for Mycenaean times should be corrected by reference to D. Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, p. 36 *sq.*

This common place of refuge was a natural place for the king to live, not at first within it, as the space was needed for flocks and fugitives, but near by. So at Goulas in Boeotia there has been found a fortress with walls three-quarters of a mile round, and against the north wall a palace. At Tiryns, besides the upper fortress-palace, there was a lower citadel which was left uninhabited. Many of these refuges trusted to their position alone, others were no doubt roughly fortified with palisades, so that no traces of their use remain. With the stage when the ruler lives by the place of refuge we reach the beginnings of a local centre for the tribal state. But in parts of Greece where Minoan culture sophisticated the Achaeans and the example of the East was known, what may have been a refuge with a king's dwelling by it became a fortified citadel-palace as at Mycenae or at Tiryns. Such a stronghold is what was first called a *polis*. At its foot clustered the houses of the king's dependants, the ministers of his government or his pomp, and peasants or serfs who tilled the lands that stretched around it. At Mycenae in the times of the great Tholos Dynasty there were houses within the citadel for the officers of the king, and the size of the cemeteries below suggests a considerable population at the foot of the fortress hill (see vol. II, p. 458).

This collection of dwellings below the citadel is what the Greeks called Asty (ἄστυ)[1]. In the Homeric poems conventional epithets still mark a distinction between Asty and Polis. The Asty is simply 'big' (μέγα) or 'famous' (περικλυτόν), and once (*Od.* XXIV, 468, a passage which may well be later than the rest) 'wide-spaced' (εὐρύχορον). The epithets of splendour and strength and wealth —well-built, towering, well-walled, high-gated, towered, holy, rich, full of gold, full of bronze—are reserved for the Polis. In the sixth book of the *Iliad* (286–297) Hecuba collects the old women in the Asty and thence goes up to the 'high city' (πόλις ἄκρη). Here and there, as is natural, the archaism fails and the words are used interchangeably, and in one passage (*Od.* VIII, 494 and 504) comes in the word *acropolis* meaning, it would seem, a citadel. But the old meaning of *polis* died hard. In 426 B.C. the Peloponnesian commander Eurylochus could not force the Hyaei, a branch of the western Locrians, to give him hostages until he had reduced a village which bore the name Polis. At Athens until the fourth century the word was officially used for the Acropolis, *asty* for the city in which men lived. At Ialysus

[1] ἄστυ probably means no more than a 'place inhabited,' cf. Sanskrit *vāstu*.

in Rhodes the old citadel was called *polis* as late as the third century (*I.G.* XII, 1, 677).

We may then assume that in parts of Greece, as early as the Heroic Age, there was the word *polis* and the conjunction of palace-citadel and open settlement. But such a combination—'the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate'—was far from being the city-state, the intensely alive and all-absorbing centre of political and civic life. The king counted for too much, the common people for too little. But the idea of a fixed political centre had come and come to stay.

Such was the legacy of the first stage, the time of the splendour and power of Mycenae, which ended with what has been well called the Viking Age of Greece. The overseas expeditions of the Achaean princes culminated in the great adventure of the Trojan war (vol. II, p. 486 *sq.*). And then the plundering bands became bands of refugees as successive shocks of invasion broke up the Mycenaean order. Dorians and the north-western peoples who came with them and after them destroyed the old monarchies, burned Mycenae and the other centres of Mycenaean power and civilization and proceeded to settle down. They seized on the good land, assigned demesnes (*temenē*) to their kings and their gods, and divided the rest of the soil democratically into lots (*klēroi*). Attica remained secure from the invasion and there the development from Mycenaean times was continuous, while Arcadia afforded a refuge for pre-Dorians of the Peloponnese. But elsewhere in Greece, from Thessaly southwards, the old order disappeared, and the process of political growth from the tribal state began anew.

II. THE GROWTH OF THE NEW GREEK CITIES

For a time, in most of Greece, political development towards a city-state was arrested. But if the invaders were not city-states themselves, they were the cause of city-states in others. For the successive shocks of their coming drove the pre-Dorians overseas, no longer to plunder and return in triumph, but to find new homes. The Aeolians and Ionians, to anticipate a conscious differentiation, go out in bands to settle where they have not the moral support of contiguous kinsmen. These settlers are linked together not by the easy relationship of the tribe but by the fact of a common adventure. They have to face the opposition of the peoples of the hinterland where they find their new homes, and their settlements are strung along the coast of Asia Minor or dotted in the islands, not, at first, in deserted places but where

there were already inhabited sites. At least the Greek traditions of settlement in Asia Minor at this stage are uniform in describing it as the occupation of known existing places (see vol. II, pp. 551–2). And excavations show that in the islands of the Cyclades the inhabitants had lived for centuries in little walled towns. The newcomers cannot spread out, but must concentrate generally within or within reach of walls. One settlement is called the New Fort (*Neon teichos*), the harbour town of Colophon is called the South Fort (*Notion teichos*) as the early settlements of the East India Company are called Fort St George and the like. Possibly the colonists remembered the places of refuge and now they are always refugees. Erythrae for example spread from a fortified hill, and Strabo (XIV, 634) describes how, about 700 B.C., Miletus consisted of an Acropolis and the original settlement half a mile away. The open villages in which the non-Greek peoples of Asia Minor were accustomed to live were left to the natives who were dependent, often serfs.

Besides the pressure of danger from men there was the need to exploit natural advantages or to evade problems of navigation. A good or conveniently-placed harbour, a good water-supply, a position on an isthmus which may spare traders a long or dangerous sea-voyage, the outlet of some good trade route all led to a clustering market[1]. Freed from retarding traditions these new communities had realized the idea of the city-state before the era of secondary colonization in the eighth and seventh centuries. How quickly these new conditions had their effect may be seen in Crete when Dorian invaders passed on to occupy it. The same stock, which, settled in Greece, was comparatively slow to develop cities, found in Crete an island already dotted with towns. The Minoan glory was departed; there were no centralized Minoan princedoms, but the Dorians like the earlier invaders of Crete quickly became divided into separate city-states until Crete possessed over forty cities and was credited with a hundred. The Dorian cities here clung firmly to their unity of birth as Dorians but politically they were fissiparous.

In Greece proper the process was slower, the causes more complex. By the year 600 B.C. there were city-states in Thessaly, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Euboea, the Argolid, possibly in Achaea, besides Corinth and her western neighbours and the city-state *par excellence* Athens. Sparta, which in so many respects stands outside the political development of Greece, is hardly a city-state,

[1] See Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeers*, pp. 45 *sqq.*

but rather a tribal state compacted by pride and danger. As late as the fifth century Thucydides could write of Lacedaemon 'for it was no union in a city but a life in villages in the old Greek manner.' In Arcadia it is doubtful if Tegea and Heraea were city-states before the sixth century, Mantinea before the fifth, and it was not till then that the Eleans made a city called Elis. The western Locrians and Acarnanians were in transition to the city-state at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Throughout the north-west, apart from colonies founded as cities, the Greek-speaking people are village-dwellers. The 'ancient life in villages' was the life of perhaps half the Greeks of the mainland in the early Classical period.

This is not to say that these remained untouched by political development. Where the people lived in villages there arose what may be called 'canton-units,' as the tribes split up into sub-tribes each master in its own glen. This led to varying degrees of independence. Separate action by the several communes is far from unusual. The sanction of a pact made by 'the Eleans' is directed against 'any freeman or magistrate or commune' who may deface it. Where the complex influences which produced the city-state were not active, these parts of Greece remained almost devoid of political life, rallying to make or repel raids, otherwise quiescent, while elsewhere the tiny city republics pursued high policy and produced literature and art and thought for the whole race.

The 'conquest' communities in the Peloponnese show a variation from the Eleans of the north-west who remain in villages or districts called *dāmoi* to the Dorians of the north-east who are split up into cantons each dominated by a single city-state. Between these lies the Spartan state which is concentrated into a kind of standing camp in Hollow Lacedaemon. The primary cause of concentration, whether in city or in camp, was the fact that these Dorian conquerors took the best land and planted in each area a strong point no doubt fortified by the inherited skill of the people whose forefathers had laboured on the citadels of Mycenaean kings and barons. Round these strong points stretched the land cultivated by serfs for whom the conquerors found contemptuous names, 'dusty foot,' 'sheepskin-wearers,' 'club-bearers.' In some communities at least, the hill country was left to non-Dorians who lived in political dependence and slowly acquired political privilege, possibly because they were needed for war. Thus a distinction between town and country was sharply established. It may be too that in these parts of Greece where the

Mycenaean power was most centralized the conquerors had taken example from the strongholds which they had destroyed. That they did not occupy the chief sites may be due to the fact that places like Mycenae were not near enough to the plain; perhaps, also, the newcomers felt a parvenu's uneasiness before the memory of the splendour which they had ruined.

Next to Argos, which controlled the largest plain of the north-eastern Peloponnese, the most important city was Corinth. The rise of Corinth was, most likely, due to trade; Mycenae had controlled a network of roads which now became less safe and ran through little states which might levy tolls on travellers. So it was wiser to take to the paths of the sea, and trade now ran up the Saronic gulf and gave to Corinth the double advantage of lying on routes north and south, as well as east and west. Corinthian commerce may well have been served by the jealousy which led Argos to destroy the port of Nauplia, though Epidaurus must have inherited some of the trade which Nauplia had lost. The states on the Saronic gulf, despite their concentric Amphictyony, must have been politically educated by their trade with the more advanced cities of Asia Minor.

To like economic causes may be attributed the rise of the two chief cities in Euboea, Chalcis and Eretria, aided by the fact that their prosperity depended in part on metal-working which concentrated the population. In Thessaly there had been some fortified towns, and cities like Crannon and Larissa became the centres of aristocratic dynasties. But the wide plain of Thessaly, which put the serfs at the mercy of their mounted conquerors, prevented the need and probably the desire for such a concentration as Sparta. Nor did new political ideas easily penetrate into Thessaly, which was shielded by mountains and a rock-bound coast from the invasion of political progress. In Central Greece we may attribute more importance to the existence of Mycenaean *poleis*. In Locris, Phocis and Boeotia there was no sharp division into conquerors and conquered, and such cities and communities as arose seem to have owed their existence to the occupation of earlier sites rather than to the causes which were most powerful in the Peloponnese. Locris came to be dominated by the one Locrian community which succeeded in developing a true political state, the city of Opus. Boeotia, even after the fertile plain was diminished by the disastrous extension of the Copaic Lake (see above, p. 608) was an area which seemed to invite union under a single great city. But the rising power of Thebes in the south was faced by the tenacious resistance of the declining state of Orchomenus

in the north, and for centuries the Boeotians refused to pass beyond federation to a closer unity.

The fortune of Attica was otherwise. Here the development from Mycenaean times was continuous, the population was in the main homogeneous. Athens itself was singled out for greatness both as an old Mycenaean *polis* and as lying at the base of a fan of roads near the best harbour of the Saronic gulf with a fertile plain behind it. The view that Attica was a political unity continuously from Mycenaean times is made unlikely by evidence of the fortification of separate communities, of a primitive wall which protected the plain of Athens from the plain of Eleusis, and of traditions which speak of political individualism within Attica itself. But the natural divisions of Attica are not so marked as to make separatism permanent, or to counteract the centripetal influence of Athens reinforced perhaps by a precocious political instinct. The unification of Attica did not however take the form of the concentration in Athens itself of the bulk of the population, though no doubt the nobles would come to have their town houses at the place of central government. The union of Attica was rather the extension of an idea than the concentration of a people, and is more strictly described by the Greek word *sympoliteia*, the sharing of citizenship (see above, p. 579 *sq.*).

Here and there village communities by a deliberate act abandoned their villages and set up house together. This process is *synoikismos* in the narrower sense. It is seen at work in the plain of eastern Arcadia which was occupied by two groups of rural communities (*συστήματα δήμων*) each possessing its place of refuge, called in the northern group Polis, in the southern group 'the fort' (*ἔρυμα*). The southern group, probably through fear of Spartan aggression, joined together and made the city-state of Tegea, and, later on, the northern made the city-state of Mantinea. The reason for the synoikismos of Mantinea may have been fear of the military power of her southern neighbour reinforced by the desire to control the water-supply of the northern plain. In the same way the Heraeans were impelled by the growing aggressiveness of the Eleans to form the city-state of Heraea. The mere proximity of city-states no doubt inspired village communities to imitation, and the impulse to the formation of city-states in north-west Greece seems to have proceeded from the presence of a fringe of Corinthian city-state colonies.

Besides the attractions of trade and the fears of conquerors, social causes helped to advance and to mould the growing polis. The development of justice is the shadow of the development

of the city-state. On the Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* is depicted in a famous scene the lawsuit in the market-place, where justice is not administered by the king, but by a group of elders. In fact justice had ceased to be the divine prerogative of the sceptred king. It was no longer a revelation or interpretation of the will of Heaven to which the king alone had access. It was something more mundane—arbitration. When two peasants could not agree they appealed, not to Heaven, but to the judgment of a Solomon, and the Solomon might be some old noble whose shrewdness could detect the surest way of justice just as well as some warlike king. But not all judges were just and not all suitors were satisfied: Hesiod's 'gift-devouring' kings, who give crooked judgments, are the nobles of Boeotia.

With the economic elevation of the nobles and the economic depression of the commons, which marked the eighth and seventh centuries, justice became more the exhibition of power than the guarantee of fair dealing. Thereupon arose the demand for the formulation of justice in a code of laws, and the second half of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth was the age of lawgivers. This is not only so in states where we know the name of some great lawgiver. At Chios about the year 600 are found institutions which presuppose a code of laws, though there is no record of any great Chian lawgiver. The administration of justice now becomes much more a state matter, and it is concentrated where the government of the state resides. The desire for stabilization, reflected in the agreements between states limiting the practice of reprisals, helps to promote the city-state. It may, indeed, be said that the sovereign idea of the city-state is the idea of law, something permanent which transcends the will of the people or the governors at any given moment. Even under tyrants the law persists, and the earlier tyrants are usurpers of executive government, but respecters of civil law. The lawlessness which Greek theorists attributed to all tyrants is a reflection rather of the later military tyranny than of the earlier usurpations.

A second cause which promoted the growth of city-states was a change of military methods. Warfare had been the fighting of chiefs in which the common people counted for little, till the seventh century when the aristocratic cavalry had been supplanted by the citizen phalanx of hoplites. The Euboeans at the time of the Lelantine war fight in this way, and later, in the closing decades of the seventh century, the Spartans become *virtuosi* in the new art of war and develop the tactical flexibility which was to make them invincible for so long. The old kind of

fighting was well enough managed where the country was inhabited in villages. The noblemen came from their castles and constituted the real fighting force. But first chariots and then cavalry went out of fashion and the knights became mounted infantry. The new method of fighting, the fighting of the middle classes, spearmen acting together, made for unity if only because of the importance of practising together. Uniformity in arms and uniformity in tactics assisted the movement towards the centralized city-state.

III. THE CHARACTER OF THE CITY-STATE

Thus in Greece proper there grew up many cities and, in the days before the growth of democracy, indeed in the days before tyranny, the city-state had already become a conscious social unity. That this was so is suggested by the character of Greek codes of law, which seek to regulate so much in the private life of the citizens. For the Greek codes not only mark the supplanting of self-help by the authority of the state, and the triumph of state interests over the instinctive rights of family and clan units, but also impose on citizens all manner of rules of conduct. The laws were meticulous in prescribing for the citizens, regulating, for example, expense at funerals and the dress of women; not because an obvious interest of the state was endangered, but because the state was the people and crystallized public sentiment.

A result of this social consciousness was to prevent the state from remaining inclusive. When once a state reached a certain size, its tendency was to become, like a club, unwilling to admit new members, until birth in the city-state became as exclusive as birth in the tribe had been, or more exclusive. In the heroic age strangers moved about freely, and later the mixture of peoples in overseas settlements destroyed the sense of tribal exclusiveness. In some Peloponnesian cities, besides the three purely Dorian tribes, we find non-Dorians grouped in a tribe of their own. But presently arose a movement towards exclusiveness, except where enlightened lawgivers, such as Solon, realized its economic disadvantages. Equally within the state the idea of caste was strengthened by the defining of political privilege where before there had been only superior influence.

Such civic exclusiveness was not inconsistent with practices of hospitality to non-citizens, especially to the helpless who might invoke the powerful aid of Zeus Xenios the patron god of strangers. In the Milesian colonies on the Black Sea the shipwrecked alien was received by the state and dismissed, like

Odysseus, with gifts to help him on his way. Social exclusiveness admitted temporary exceptions. In Crete at the public meals two tables were set for foreigners who were served before the magistrates themselves. At the very time when the Athenian democracy had hedged its citizenship about by barriers of birth, Sophocles and Euripides glorified the ancient hospitality of Athens which sheltered against powerful neighbours the suppliant who sought her protection. But city-states as a rule refused to non-citizens the rights to hold land, to marry into the citizen body or to join such religious unions as sanctified membership of the state.

This last restriction follows naturally upon the conception of the city as a social unity. For perhaps the most vivid social sense of the Greeks was religion. 'Greek religion permeated every action or relation of the individual towards other members of society.' In the tribal state the common cults of tribe, phratry or family had bound men together. And a like bond came to link together the members of the city-state. It was not for nothing that Athens was the city of Athena and Apollonia the city of Apollo. While one tendency in Greek religion was Pan-Hellenic, another was towards the separate highly self-conscious city-state. The older Amphictyonies, with their religious centre at a shrine, are an anticipation of the narrower union under the protection of the chief god or goddess of a city. All Greeks might meet at Olympia or at Delphi, but, besides that bond, there was the closer feeling for Athena at Athens, and Hera at Argos. The Greeks conceived of their gods politically. Olympus itself was no anarchy but a society, and Zeus is the king of gods. And the city as well as the tribe and phratry might be under his care. There is not only Zeus Phratrios but Zeus Polieus, and in the market at Athens stood Zeus Agoraios the god of the meeting-place. A city might gather at some notable cult-centre and, once the city began to form, its growth was under the care of the god or hero of the place. The colonies often set up the worship of their oecist (the leader of their first settlement) so as to have a cult which was peculiarly theirs. See above vol. II, pp. 640 *sqq.*

This social and religious sense of union had a reaction which goes far to explain why there were so many city-states in Greece proper and the islands. States took on a kind of personality, and the more highly developed and the more self-conscious they became, the less they were willing to make even the partial sacrifice of this personality implied in federalism. It is significant that in later times federalism was mainly the achievement of the intellectually more backward communities, like the Achaeans and

Aetolians. Each city-state claimed from its neighbours the full recognition of its freedom and autonomy, its right to manage its own affairs as it would. And this claim was not only fiercely held but in point of fact readily admitted. For the city-state, while intolerant of any division of authority within its borders, was tolerant of its neighbour's independence. The will to defend exceeded the will to attack. In fact the instinct of territorial expansion, the imperialism which dominated the Empires of the East, was singularly weak among the Greek city-states. The Greeks lacked the sense of the political significance of territorial extent[1]. The more conscious they became of the social unity of their state and religion the less they desired expansion, for expansion meant relaxing the intensity of their common life. They were prepared to dominate their neighbours but not to absorb them, still less to surrender their individuality in a larger union.

The demands of a system, the need for land, turned Lacedaemon into a territorial state but, outside Sparta, Attica is the only part of Greece where any considerable territory was guided constantly by a single will. Compared with the thousand square miles of Attica, the territory controlled by any other Greek city-state was very small. The Boeotian cities apart from Thebes govern on an average about 70 square miles, Sicyon 140, Phlius 70, Corinth 350, the eight cities of Euboea on an average 180, even islands with a single city like Chios little more than 300, and this island is the greatest[2]. In Ceos, which is less than half the size of the county of Rutland, there were, in the sixth century, four independent cities and three independent currencies. The stage on which the drama of Greek high politics was played was small indeed. Servius Sulpicius writes to Cicero 'As I returned from Asia and sailed from Aegina to Megara, I began to view the lands which lay around me. Behind me I could see Aegina, before me Megara, on my right the Piraeus, on my left, Corinth.' By this limitation of the area which each controlled, the Greek cities escaped many of the problems which perplex the territorial state, and political life, concentrated within these bounds, quickly matured and quickly exhausted the political capacity of the race.

[1] See Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, 3rd ed. p. 291 *sq.*

[2] With these may be set for comparison the territory of the Swiss Cantons. Zürich 666 sq. miles, Lucerne 579, Geneva 107, and of the free cities of Germany: Hamburg *c.* 160 sq. miles, Lübeck *c.* 120, Bremen *c.* 100. See Kornemann, *Stadtstaat und Flächenstaat*, etc., N.J. Kl. Alt. XXI, pp. 233 *sqq.*

IV. ARISTOCRACY

The period which witnessed the growth of the city-state witnessed too the decline of kingship. The Homeric poems were written for nobles; the Heroic age was seen across an interspace of adventure in which the nobles had played the leading part, and what is presented to us is a dissolving view of monarchy. The archaism of the Epic is not everywhere complete, and in the Sixth Book of the *Odyssey* the curtain seems to be lifted and to disclose the new settlement where the king has at his side a formal established aristocratic government. Nausithous had led his people harried by the Cyclopes

> And moved and settled them in Scheria's isle
> Aloof from all oppressors; round their town
> He raised a wall and built their homes, and reared
> Shrines to their gods and meted out the fields.
>
> (VI, 7 *sqq.* tr. Cordery).

And there side by side with the material splendour of the old order is found the social structure of the new. There is a council of twelve nobles to advise the King Alcinous, Nausithous' son. There is the public place of assembly where the Phaeacians gather, but not to vote; they gather to see the stranger Odysseus.

In Ithaca we have monarchy without the king; the royal birth of Telemachus, Odysseus' son, is a claim to rule but a claim which may be set aside. Laertes the father of Odysseus has long become a country gentleman powerless and hardly respected. When Odysseus himself returns he must prove his kingship by deeds, not merely proclaim it. But in Scheria is order; it is the foreshadowing of the aristocratic state, and the king, as at Ephesus or Erythrae, belongs to the line of the oecist or creator of the settlement. The nobles are not the king's deputies any more than are the nobles who judge the suit in the scene on the Shield of Achilles. The king was not the fountain of honour, nor were the cause of monarchy and that of aristocracy necessarily one. The king was no more than an eminent noble among nobles equally well born, nor did the early kings detect the secret of empire and base their power on the goodwill of the commons. That secret was reserved for some of the tyrants after the power of the commons had shown itself. The ancient Greek monarchy had no depth of earth, and the nobles sprang up and choked it. The aristocracy, while it pulled down the king, did not raise up the commons but took into its strong hands the government of the city-state and devoted to the task the ordering genius of its race.

Thus the constitutional frame in which the city-state was built was aristocracy. With settled life personal leadership had given place to the steady influence of a class. Overseas this class was sometimes the original settlers who kept political power in their own hands. In Greece proper long-established wealth or pride of birth, displayed in the keeping of horses or the membership of aristocratic clans, had shown itself too in the service of the state. As the king had dwindled, so the old assembly of freemen disappeared or counted for little. The state was the possession of those who had the freedom to serve it. The chief organ of government was the Council, which was either an inner ring of nobles or the whole body of privileged citizens. This body which had succeeded to monarchy is imposing in its unity. Those whose ambition made them unwilling to fit into the ordered scheme of city life might go out and make new cities.

The nobles did not live in parochial leisure but learned to be colleagues in the Council chamber. The magistrates were usually subordinate to them, for membership of the Council was generally for life and its steady influence controlled the state, while within its ranks was gathered experience in an age which lived by inherited wisdom. There are few outstanding figures in early Greek history. This is not only because of the lack of record. It was because the city-state, so long as no new forces rose to disturb it, could dispense with great men who did not fit its ordered scheme of things. The state was greater than its rulers. Kingship either became a magistracy among others or remained, in the shadow of this imposing aristocracy, an embarrassed phantom haunting the altars of the gods, reduced, in the phrase of Aristotle, 'to the conduct of the traditional sacrifices.' At Miletus, in a copy of an inscription first set up not later than in the sixth century, appears the clause 'At these sacrifices the King is present but receives no more than the other Singers of the Guild' (*S.G.D.I.* III, 5495).

The essence of the Greek state is that it is the state of a class; 'the constitution is the governing class,' and the state is within a ring-fence. That is the legacy of aristocracy. Oligarchy extended membership of the class to wealth as well as to good birth, democracy to race, but even the extremest democracy excluded aliens and women and was jealous of granting citizenship. Where the defence of the city was, above all, the work of the hoplites, political privilege could hardly be denied to those who were the state in arms. Thus beside the Council there might arise, in larger states, an assembly of the hoplite class, and the franchise

might be wide enough to give stability and the possibility of political development. But in many states, as new economic stresses broke down the easy order of more primitive times, the governing class was tempted to use its political and legal power to exploit the rest of the community. And where this happened Nemesis followed, and aristocracy yielded or was broken. Tyrants arose, sometimes suspicious of concentrated urban life (p. 554), and the shocks of revolution from time to time shifted the balance of political power, but the city-state outlasted change. Its main lines had been drawn too firmly and clearly to be erased, and the history of Greece in the classical period will show how new needs and new ideas were adapted and limited within the frame in which Greek political life had been set in the age of aristocracies.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.	Abhandlungen.
Abh. K.M.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
Ἀρχ. Δ.	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
A.S.A.E.	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
Ath. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
B. z. Ass.	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
B.I.C.	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire.
Bay. Abh.	Abhandlungen d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
Bay. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
Berl. Abh.	Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Berl. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
B.P.W.	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.
B.S.A.	Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.	Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.	Bullettino dell' Istituto.
Burs.	Bursian's Jahresberichte.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
C.I.S.	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
C.J.	Classical Journal.
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly.
C.R.	Classical Review.
C.R. Ac. Inscr.	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
D.B.	Dictionary of the Bible (J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1898).
E. Bi.	Encyclopaedia Biblica.
E. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ed. XI.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
E.R.E.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.	Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
F.H.G.	C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
Geogr. Z.	Geographische Zeitschrift.
G.G.A.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Gött. Nach.	Nachrichten von d. Königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse.
Head H.N.	Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd Ed. 1912.
Herm.	Hermes.
H.Z.	Historische Zeitschrift.
I.G.	Inscriptiones Graecae.
I.G.F.	Indogermanische Forschungen.
I. v. O.	Inschriften von Olympia.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Jahreshefte.	Jahreshefte d. österr. archäol. Instituts in Wien.
J.D.A.I.	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.

J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies.
K.A.H.	Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts.
Klio.	Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Liv. A.A.	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.
M.B.B.A.	Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie.
M.D.O.G.	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
M.D.P.V.	Mitteilungen des deutschen Palästinavereins.
M.V.A.G.	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
Mon. d. I.	Monumenti Antichi dell' Istituto.
N.J. Kl. Alt.	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
N.J.P.	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
N.S.A.	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (Atti d. r. Accad. dei Lincei).
Num. Chr.	Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Z.	Numismatische Zeitschrift.
O.L.Z.	Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund.
Phil.	Philologus.
Πρ.	Πρακτικά.
P.S.B.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
P.W.	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Q.S.	Quarterly Statement(s).
Rec. Trav.	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne.
Rev. A.	Revue archéologique.
Rev. Ass.	Revue d'Assyriologie.
Rev. Bib.	Revue biblique internationale.
Rev. Eg.	Revue égyptologique.
Rev. E.G.	Revue des études grecques.
Rev. H.	Revue historique.
Rev. N.	Revue numismatique.
Rh. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Riv. Fil.	Rivista di Filologia.
Riv. N.O.	Rivista nuova orientale.
Röm. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Römische Abteilung.
R.V.	Revised Version.
R.V. mg.	Revised Version margin.
S.B.	Sitzungsberichte.
S.E.G.	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum.
S.G.D.I.	Sammlung griechischer Dialektinschriften.
Syria.	Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.
Wien S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien.
Wien. St.	Wiener Studien.
Z.A.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. n.f. 1 = vol. 35.
Z. Aeg.	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
Z.A.T.W.	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Z.D.P.V.	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
Z.E.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Z.G. f. E.	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde.
Z.N.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

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N.B. Books in English and French are, unless otherwise specified, published at London and at Paris respectively.

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CHAPTERS XII—XIV

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CHAPTER XV

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CHAPTER XVI

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM

The literature relating to Jerusalem is immense, but much of it is of little or no permanent value, and of the remainder a very large proportion would here be irrelevant. We are not concerned with any part of the history subsequent to the siege of Titus; the Holy Places, therefore, and the economic and other aspects of life in the modern city, are outside our scope.

The description of the city contained in Baedeker's Guide to Palestine and Syria, though necessarily condensed, is the best and most convenient account of what *is* actually to be seen there. The works which would be of special assistance to the reader are as follows:

1. The Earlier Topographers

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2. Periodicals

Numerous articles on topographical detail will be found in:

Das Heilige Land (topographical contributions by Gatt and others).
Q.S. of the P.E.F. (see especially many contributions by Rev. W. F. Birch on the site of Ophel); Rev. Bib.; Z.D.P.V.

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CHAPTERS XVII—XX

ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBOURS

The literature, dealing as it does with the O.T., the external evidence and different methods of study, is so extensive and written from such various standpoints, that only the most general guide to the more recent works can here be given. See already the literature on the Semites (vol. I, pp. 630–5) and on early Syria and Palestine (II, 664–70); for post-exilic Judaism in particular see vol. V[1].

1. 'Criticism'

On the history of the literal, allegorical and other types of interpretation of the O.T. see especially Ludwig Diestel (Jena, 1869), the popular and valuable Study of Holy Scripture by C. A. Briggs (Edinburgh, 1899); cf. also M.-J. Lagrange, Hist. Crit. and the O.T. (1905; R.C.), H. P. Smith, Essays in Biblical Interpretation (Boston, 1921), and the passages illustrating the rise and progress of criticism collected by E. McQueen Gray (N.Y. 1923).

The present stage of O.T. study dates from the 'seventies, when the literary analysis of the composite Hexateuch (*i.e.* Pentateuch and Joshua), compared with the Prophets and the Post-exilic history, culminated in the hypothesis (commonly associated with the name of Wellhausen) that in their present form Deuteronomy is not earlier than the seventh century B.C. and the Priestly portions of the Hexateuch not earlier than the fifth (the eighth–fifth centuries being the really creative periods), and that large portions of the 'Prophets' are of the sixth and later centuries[2]. The effect has been to fill the later centuries at the expense of the earlier, and to demand a reconstruction of early Israel and a new view of the significance of the later period. Herein the 'critical' position in all its ramifications is distinguished from the preceding stages and, in particular, from the 'traditional' position. For some of the great 'classics,' and for quite general introductory works leading up to and justifying the 'critical' position, see II, 667 (1 and 2); Robertson Smith's O.T. in the Jewish Church (2nd ed. 1892), in spite of its date, still stands in a class by itself.

Since 1900 fuller knowledge of external circumstances in history and religion has led to greater variety of views, both 'critical' and 'traditional.' But while among scholars there has been no return to any 'traditional' or 'pre-critical' position —as apart from particular isolated conclusions—on the one hand, the most 'anti-critical' scholars make most important concessions (analogous to those that mark the first steps in the early period of O.T. criticism), on the other, 'critical' views range between the more 'conservative' which, on the strength of the external evidence, are inclined to attribute a greater antiquity and authority to O.T. sources, and the more 'advanced' which, as in this volume, ascribe later dates to the O.T. (notably in the case of Deuteronomy) and, also on account of the external evidence, set a lower value on the description of the earlier periods. Hence it is very difficult to classify the literature according to standpoint (conservative, moderate, advanced), particularly as modern critics often tend to pay too little attention to the historical problems, especially in the light of external evidence. Besides the works on O.T.

[1] Owing to the perspicuous nature of most of the titles (History [or Religion or Literature] of Israel [or the Hebrews, or the Jews, or the O.T., etc.]), the method of classification and reference in this bibliography renders it unnecessary to cite each in full. Among the special abbreviations employed here are R.C. (Roman Catholic, in certain cases), N.Y. (New York); Ber., Gött., Leip., Tüb. for Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig and Tübingen (German books where not otherwise indicated are published at Leipzig). Cf. also p. 730 (2) below (on the periodicals).

[2] See ii. 356, iii. 355, 416, 472.

criticism in general (and archaeology and criticism in particular, II, 668 [3]), cf. articles Bible, Biblical Criticism (Chambers' Ency., and E. Brit.), Hexateuch (E. Bi.). The 'founders' of criticism have been treated by T. K. Cheyne (1893) and in A. Duff's more popular 'history' (1910). A fine essay on critical methods by Kuenen in the old Modern Review (1880, pp. 461–88, 685–703) is preserved among his Gesammelte Abhandlungen (ed. by Budde, Freiburg, 1894); a no less characteristic criticism of modern methods by E. König (Hermeneutik d. A.T., Bonn, 1916), more comprehensive, though distinctly conservative (but not 'traditionalist'), fills a gap. König also has defended 'criticism' against some recent attacks (Z.D.M.G. LXXII, 87, and elsewhere); and among other discussions of current methods, standpoints, and prospects, may be mentioned, H. P. Smith (A.J.T. XII [1908], 444), Marti (Berne, 1912), Barton (J.B.L. XXXIII, 56), Jastrow (*ib.* XXXVI [1917] 1–30), Fullerton (p. 737 [1] below), and especially Gressmann (Z.A.T.W. XLII [1924] 1), cf. also Cook (Camb. Bibl. Essays, 1909, p. 55) and Peake's Essays (2 below).

2. Bibliography, Encyclopaedias, Series

To the Bibliographies (I, 630 [1]) add Preface to E. Bi. IV (1903), J. M. P. Smith, Books for O.T. Study (Chicago, 1908), surveys by Ackerman (Anglican Theolog. Rev., N.Y. I, 214, 314, II, 43), S. A. B. Mercer, J.S.O.R. III, 19 (for the years 1914–7) and J. A. Maynard, *ib.* VIII, 182, IX, 32, 131. Bibliographies are also given in many of the special journals, notably the Theolog. Lit. Zeit., Z.A.T.W. and O.L.Z. To the list (I, 630) add: A.J.T. (American Journal of Theology, 24 vols. 1897–1920); Bibelforskaren (Sweden); Biblica (R.C.); Biblica Sacra (traditionalist); Biblical World (Boston, 1893–1921); Exp. (Expositor); Exp. T. (Expository Times); J.B.L. (Journal of Biblical Literature); J.S.O.R. (Journal of the Society of Oriental Research); J.T.S. (Journal of Theolog. Studies); Le Muséon, Rev. d'Et. Orient.; Nieuwe Theol. Stud. (Groningen; contin. of Theolog. Studiën, Utrecht); Palestine Oriental Journal; Princeton Theolog. Rev. (tradit.); Revue Biblique (R.C.); Review of Theology and Philosophy (10 vols. 1905–15); Studien und Kritiken; Theologische Literatur-zeitung (with Bibliogr. Beiblatt); Theolog. Rundschau; Theolog. Tijdschrift (53 vols. 1867–1919); Zeit. f. Semitistik u. verwandte Gebiete.

To the Encyclopaedias add the New Schaff-Herzog, based on Realencyk. f. Rel. (Herzog-Hauck, 12 vols. N.Y.); the (Roman) Catholic Encyc. (16 vols. N.Y.); Vigouroux, Dict. de la Bible (5 vols. illustr. 1895–1912); and the new ed. of Chambers' Ency.

To the Series add the Beihefte to the Z.A.T.W.; Beiträge z. Wissenschaft v. A. T. (ed. Kittel, Leip. 1908); Sammlung Theolog. Lehrbücher; Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge u. Schriften; Religionsgesch. Volksbücher (Tüb.); Forschungen z. Rel. u. Lit. (Gött.); Biblische Studien (R.C., Freib. i. B.); Bibl. Zeitfragen (R.C., Münster i. W.). Among collections of essays by faculties at Universities are Yale (N.Y. 1901), Manchester (1905), Cambridge (1909), Mansfield College, Oxford (1909), London (1911), New York (1911), and Beirut; see also People and Book (ed. Peake, Oxford, 1925). To the 'Presentation Volumes' add Gunkel, Marti, Sachau, Stade, and the late James Robertson (Glasgow, 1920). Among General Handbooks see Dummelow (1909) and especially the one-volume commentary ed. Peake (1919).

3. Text and Canon, etc.

Not only are the Hebrew MSS of the O.T. late, but the 'Massoretic' text had a very remarkable history both before it was fixed (in the 2nd cent. A.D.) and after; see especially the brilliant, though long neglected study by Abraham Geiger (Urschrift

u. Uebersetzungen, Breslau, 1857). Besides the Encyclopaedia articles by Budde (Canon, E. Bi.), Burkitt (Text, *ib.*), N. Schmidt (Canon, Jew. Enc.), Strack (Text, D.B.) and F. H. Woods (Canon, *ib.*), are special studies of text and canon by Buhl (Edinb. 1892), Ryle (2nd ed. 1895), Wildeboer (1895), T. H. Weir (1899), Budde (Giessen, 1900), and A. S. Geden (1909); also, in Spanish, by A. F. Truyolo (Rome, 1917). C. D. Ginsburg's Introduction (1897) and his Massoretico-Critical Text with various readings from MSS and ancient versions (1894), as also the editions of the separate books by Baer and Delitzsch, seek to obtain the best Massoretic text; whereas the S.B.O.T. (see p. 732) and Kittel's edition (with Driver, Nowack, etc., Leip. 1905) endeavour to go behind and recover the original text. Notes on the Massoretic text are contributed by Nestle (Marginalien u. Materialien, Tüb. 1893; Z.A.T.W. and elsewhere) and emendations by Graetz (1893), Perles (1895, 1922), Duhm, and many others, notably Ehrlich (Randglossen, 6 vols. Leip. 1908–18). A good summary of textual material is given by Fr. Delitzsch (Lese- u. Schreibfehler i. A.T., Ber. 1920), and Driver's Introduction to and Commentary on the text of Samuel is a classic (2nd ed., Oxford, 1913). A handy conspectus of preferable renderings and readings is given in the old Variorum Teacher's Edition.

To the Hebrew concordances of Mandelkern (Leip. 1896, with corrections in Z.A.T.W. XXII *sqq.*), the Hebrew grammar of Gesenius (Eng., Oxf. 1910), and others, and the Hebrew Lexicon of Brown, Driver and Briggs (Oxf. 1906; cf. also Buhl's ed. of Gesenius, 1916), add studies in Hebrew semantics by König (Heb. Lex., Leip. 1910) and Haupt (J.B.L. *passim*, and elsewhere).

4. Literary Criticism

1. The analysis of the Hexateuch is fundamental. See II, 667 (1), especially Chapman and Simpson (*ib.*). H. Holzinger (Freiburg i. B. 1896) gives a good technical discussion to his date. Other special studies are by W. E. Addis (documents translated, arranged and annotated, 2 vols. 1892, 1898), B. J. Bacon (Hartford, U.S.A., 2 vols. 1893 *sq.*), and especially J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, vol. I (introd. and tables, 2nd ed. 1902), vol. II (text arranged and fully annotated, 1900). The handy introd. by A. Merx (Tüb. 1907) is conservative. Of later developments (on which see II, 668 top) Smend's is an advance; Erdman's is, on the whole, against the 'critical' position (but see *e.g.* Holzinger, Z.A.T.W. XXXI, 44, Staerk, *ib.* XLII [1924] 34). E. Meyer and B. Luther (Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme, Halle, 1906) make important contributions to the subject-matter.

2. On the O.T. as a whole, there are admirable introductions by the Dutch scholar Kuenen (Germ. trans. Leip. 1887–94), Driver (9th ed. 1913, representative of the 'moderate' critical position), also by L. Gautier (2 vols., Paris, 1914). Strack's (5th ed. Munich, 1898) was concise and full. Apart from Baudissin (Leip. 1901) and E. König (Bonn, 1913), the 'moderate' position, with varying nuances, is reflected by Cornill (Eng. 1907), G. B. Gray (1913), G. F. Moore (Home Univ. Series; and especially E. Bi. 'Genesis'–'Judges,' 'Hist. Lit.'). Most recent is E. Sellin (Eng. 1923) with good bibliog. (by Peake). Briefer surveys by G. H. Box (1924) and M. Löhr (Leip. 1913).

3. Besides Outlines for the study of O.T. Lit. by F. K. Sanders and H. T. Fowler (1907), and the latter's Hist. of Lit. of Ancient Israel (N.Y. 1912), see also J. A. Bewer (N.Y. 1922). H. Creelman's Introd. to O.T., chronolog. arranged, has full bibliog. to date (N.Y. 1917).

4. Besides surveys of the O.T. as literature, by Budde and Gunkel (vol. I, 631 [5]), the last mentioned, also Gressmann, and others, have made special study of different types of literature and their chronolog. order. See *e.g.* Gunkel, Comment. on Genesis (Eng. trans. of the introd. by Carruth [Chicago, 1907] 'the legends of

Genesis'), and cf. *inter alia* Baumgartner (Hebr. Erzählungsstil) and Mowinckel (Vorderasiat. Königs- u. Fürsteninschriften) in the Gunkel Festschrift, Part I, also Lindblom, Lit. Gattung d. proph. Literatur (Upsala, 1924). Among other introductory books on the literary style of the O.T. may be noted R. G. Moulton (Lit. Study of the Bible, 1899), and P. C. Sands (Lit. Genius of the O.T., Oxf. 1924). On the poetry in particular see esp. W. R. Smith (Lectures and Essays, 400–451), and Sir G. A. Smith (Schweich Lectures, 1912).

5. Commentaries

The O.T. commentaries, formerly chiefly religious and expository, became analytical and philological, devoted mainly to the accuracy of text and history, illustrative matter, etc.; later came the more popular and synthetic works, and, more recently, greater attention has been paid to the psychological and 'literary' points of view. Of the various series, the volumes of which differ markedly in value, several volumes of the old Expositors' Bible have become classical (*e.g.* by Bennett, Skinner and G. A. Smith), so also the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (with E.V., by Driver, Ryle, Skinner, etc.), and the Century Bible (concise, with R.V., by Driver, Skinner, Whitehouse, Peake, etc.), the Westminster Commentaries (with R.V., Driver, McNeile, etc.), and the International Critical Commentary Series (the fullest and most critical, Driver, Harper, Skinner, Gray, Paton, Moore, J. M. P. Smith, etc.). C. F. Kent, The Student's O.T. (1904–14), provides a new translation classified, annotated; and in the S.B.O.T. (Sacred Books of the O.T., the Polychrome Bible ['Rainbow Bible'], ed. Haupt), the different sources are indicated by colours, and the emended Hebrew text and translation (issued separately) are briefly annotated. The Clarendon Bible: O.T. Series (Oxford) is in preparation.

The German series include the Handkommentar (with transl., ed. Nowack, Gött.), Kurzer Handcommentar (comm. only, more critical, ed. Marti, Tüb.), Kommentar z. A.T. (transl. etc., ed. Sellin, Leip.); and Kautzsch, Heilige Schrift (1894, 4th ed. by Bertholet, 2 vols., Tüb. 1922–3). In the Schriften d. A.T. im Auswahl (2nd ed. Gött. 1921), selected passages are translated, classified, and annotated with special reference to their 'literary' character. The Dutch Tekst en Uitleg (ed. Böhl, etc., The Hague, 1923) has a new transl., and an introd. to the subject-matter.

For special comm. see below 8 (2).

6. Geography, Maps

See I, 630, and add, for the geography of Palestine, F. Buhl (Freib. 1896), and the Bulletins of the Schools at Jerusalem (British, American, etc.). To the maps add, besides Baedeker, Meistermann's Guide, Bartholomew's World Survey Series (the Middle East), the maps of the Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office (1/1M and 1/4M); also Schumacher's map of Palestine, and the Atlas Scripturae Sacrae (Heidelberg).

7. External Evidence

(*a*) *General, Historical, etc.*

For the Assyrian material, see p. 705 *sqq.* above; for the Egyptian, p. 723 *sqq.*, for the North Semitic inscriptions, p. 739 below, and for the excavations, I, 626 *sq.*, 632, II, 664 *sq.*

R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T. (text and transl., Oxf. 1912) now replaces E. Schrader's great pioneering, technical and philological Keilinschriften u. d. A.T. (2nd ed., transl. by Whitehouse, 1885–8). The third 'edition' of the latter by Winckler and Zimmern (Berlin, 1903) was a brilliant though speculative introduction to a broader study of the entire biblical field. Besides Driver and

others in Hogarth's Authority and Archaeology (2nd ed. 1899), and Pinches on Assyriology and the O.T. (3rd ed. 1903), good popular collections of illustrative material by C. J. Ball (Light from the East, 1899), and Gressmann (Altorient. Texte u. Bilder, Tüb. 1909); miscellaneous material by the brothers Jeremias (see 1, 633), a brief summary of extra-biblical sources by S. A. B. Mercer (1913), a valuable collection of external material by A. Jirku (Leip. 1923), and a fresh useful discussion by Wardle (1925). Winckler, Auszug aus der Vorderasiatischen Geschichte (1905), provides a handy conspectus of the history of the different countries of the Near East.

For Egypt and the O.T. in particular, see W. M. Müller (vol. II, 666), G. A. F. Knight (*not* King, *ib.* p. 668), 'Randglossen' by Spiegelberg (Strassburg, 1904), also Peet (1922), A. Alt (Israel u. Aegypten 1909), and various works by D. Völter (Leiden, 1904, 1909, etc.).

On Phoenicia in general see articles by E. Meyer (E. Bi.), G. A. Cooke (E. Brit.), L. B. Paton (E.R.E.), also Chambers' Encyc.; monographs by Dahl, Eiselen, Fleming and M. Meyer (II, 665 *sq.*), and notes on Javan by E. Robertson, Jew. Qy. Rev. 1908.

On Syria, Aram, etc. see A. Šanda (Leip. 1902), and the monographs by Kraeling, Schiffer and Streck (II, 666).

On the Old South Arabian civilisation, see Landersdorfer and Nielsen (I, 633), D. H. Müller ('Sabaeans,' E. Brit.), Tritton ('Sabaeans,' E.R.E.), D. S. Margoliouth (Schweich Lectures, 1921), O. Weber, also H. Grimme (Südarab. Levitismus, Le Muséon, XXXVII, 1924, p. 169).

(*b*) *Religious Antiquities*

See, generally, Barton, Benzinger, Gressmann (I, 632 *sq.*), also Driver and Vincent (II, 665 *sq.*); G. Contenau, La Glyptique Syro-Hittite (1922), H. Lamer, Altorient. Kultur u. Bilder (2nd ed. 1923); H. Haas, Bilderatlas z. Religionsgesch. (1924–). Of the rich miscellaneous literature mention may be made of Budde on the Ephod and Ark (Z.A.T.W. XXIX), Gressmann on the same (Berlin, 1920) and on allied archaeological topics; H. Schmidt, on the Cherubim and the Ark (Gunkel Festschrift, I, 120), Kittel (miscellaneous studies, Leip. 1908), Dalman, on an alleged representation of Yahweh (Palästina-Jahrbuch, 1906, p. 44), M. v. Oppenheim, Tell Halaf u. d. verschleierte Göttin (1908), J. de Groot, Die Altäre d. Salomon. Tempelhofes (Stuttg. 1924); Pilz, Weibliche gottheiten Kanaans, Z.D.P.V. XLVII, 129; Wood, Rel. of Canaan, J.B.L. XXXV.

(*c*) *Comparative Religion in general*

See especially Robertson Smith's epoch-making work on the Religion of the Semites (2nd ed. 1894; 3rd ed. in preparation), and Lagrange's valuable Études sur les religions sémitiques (R.C., 2nd ed. 1905). Much material will be found in the works of Barton and Baudissin (I, 632 [7]), Frazer, Jeremias, and Wellhausen (I, 633). There is much scattered literature (cf. the summary by Schwally, Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft, XIX, 347), see especially E. Sellin, A.T. Rel. im Rahmen d. andern Altorientalischen (1908), G. F. Moore (E. Bi., 'High Place,' 'Idolatry,' 'Molech,' 'Nature Worship'), Nöldeke ('Arabs' in E.R.E.), L. B. Paton ('Canaanites,' 'Phoenicia,' *ib.*), Ed. Meyer (Gesch. d. Altertums, I, Index *s.v.* Religion, and I, ii *passim*), E. Mader (Menschenopfer, Freib. 1909); J. A. Montgomery (the Holy City and Gehenna, JBL. XXVII, 1908, p. 24), Saintyves, Essais de folklore biblique (1923); also Cook (Israel and Totemism, Jew. Qy. Rev. 1902, p. 413). There is much miscellaneous literature on traces of myths in the O.T. (*e.g.* Hoonacker, J.T.S. XVI, 250); see the commentaries and 9 below.

(*d*) For comparative custom see below, p. 738 (12).

8. History of Israel

1. *General*

In the place of synopses of the biblical history itself, 'critical' histories offer reconstructions, of which the characteristic features are the relatively less attention to the pre-Mosaic (in more 'advanced' works, to the pre-Davidic) periods, and an emphasis upon the significance of the prophets and on the reorganisation of Judaism in or about the fifth century (Ezra and Nehemiah). Modern tendencies place the O.T., treated on the lines of a 'conservative' or an 'advanced' criticism, in the newer knowledge of the ancient east and of the history of religion; for a conservative estimate, see E. König in Le Muséon, xxxvii (1924), 87. Of the older works, that of Graetz covered the entire history of the Jews in 11 vols. (Eng. abbrev. ed. 1891–2), and that of Ewald (Eng. 1869–80, 4th ed. 1883) was the finest and fullest treatment, summing up the pre-Wellhausen criticism of his age. Wellhausen's own full sketch is admirable (an amplification of the epoch-making art. 'Israel' in E. Brit. 9th ed., reprinted in his Prolegomena, 1885). Other full histories by Stade (2 vols. Berlin, 1887–89), H. P. Smith (1903), also 'moderate' by Piepenbring (Paris, 1898), Sellin (Leip. 1924–), and especially Kittel (very complete and well-annotated, ceasing however with the Exile, 2 vols. Gotha, 3rd ed. 1917). Guthes' original art. 'Israel' in E. Bi., since elaborated, covers a large field (Tüb. 1914). There are sketches by Cornill (Chicago, 1898), Mercer (Milwaukee, 1921), Kent, Noyes, and others. Sir G. A. Smith, Jerusalem (2 vols. 1907), includes external history and economic conditions; and special attention is paid to cultural factors by M. Löhr (Strassb. 1911) and A. Bertholet (Gött. 1920), cf. also below, p. 738 (12). Winckler's works, *e.g.* Gesch. Isr. 1895 (vol. II, 1900 deals with his own system of mythological interpretation) are supplemented by his share in the Keilinschr. u. d. A.T. (above, p. 732). Israelite history from the external point of view is also handled by Lehmann-Haupt (Tüb. 1911; also Gotha, 1925), and L. B. Paton (to the sixth century, 1902). See also the histories of Hall, McCurdy, Maspero (I, 635), and the work of Rostovtsef (forthcoming).

2. *Special Periods*

(*a*) *Pre-prophetic period.* Saul-David-Solomon; see II, 668 *sq.* See comment. on Kings and Amos, including Burney (Heb. text of Kings, Oxf. 1903), Harper (Amos and Hosea, Intern. Crit. Comm. 1905, pp. xxxi–clxxxi), also Hölscher (Gunkel Festschrift), Gunkel (Elias, Jahve u. Baal; Tüb. 1906), also O. Procksch (Geschichtsbetrachtung u. geschichtl. Ueberlieferung i. d. vorexil. Propheten, 1902), and, for the views on p. 365 *sq.*, Cook, Dynasties of Omri and Jehu (Jew. Qy. Rev. 1908, pp. 597–630).

(*b*) *Isaianic period.* See comment. on Isaiah, including Cheyne (1895), Marti (1900), Whitehouse (1905), Condamin, Box (1908), Wade (1911), G. B. Gray (1912, on chaps. I–xxvii), and Skinner (2nd ed. 1917, 3rd ed. forthcoming), also Kennett (Schweich Lectures, 1910), and W. B. Stevenson's concise Guild Textbook, Isaiah, Jer., Ezek. (1920). Among special studies on Isaiah and Assyria see W. Wilke (Leip. 1905) and Küchler (Tüb. 1906); on Sennacherib's invasion see art. 'Hezekiah' E. Brit., and Sidney Smith, Bab. Hist. Texts (1924); cf. above, pp. 73 *sq.*, 85. Also T. H. Robinson, The Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C. (1925).

(*c*) *Samaria.* On its fall, see L. Gry, Rev. Bib. 1913, p. 191. Histories of Samaria (and Samaritans) by J. L. Montgomery (Philad. 1907), J. E. H. Thomson (Edinb. 1919), L. Haefeli (Münster i. A. 1922). Cf. also S. Schiffer, Keilinschr. Spuren d....deportierten Samarier, O.L.Z. Beiheft 1, 1907 (see Johns, Proc. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch. xxx [1908], 107, 137; Gry, Le Muséon, xxxv, 153).

(*d*) *Deuteronomic period.* The age of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the sixth century B.C. is of central importance. See the commentaries on Jer., Ezek., Zephaniah

and Habakkuk; also Skinner, Prophecy and Religion (on Jer., Camb. 1922), Sir G. A. Smith (Jeremiah, 1924), Lofthouse, Prophet of Reconstruction (on Ezekiel, 1920), J. Lippl (Zeph., Freib. i. B. 1910), Cheminant and Plessis (Ez. 26–28 [Tyre], 29–32 [Egypt], Paris, 1912), Erbt (Gött. 1902), Cornill (Leip. 1905).

On the history, see (of earlier studies) L. E. Binns, Syrian Campaign of Necho II (J.T.S. XVIII, 36), and Dhorme, Les Aryens avant Cyrus (Confer. d. St Étienne, 1910), A. Alt, Psammet. II in Palestine (Z.A.T.W. XXX, 288). For the fall of Nineveh, see now Gadd, p. 706 above (cf. Lofthouse, Exp. T. XXXV, 454, Dhorme, Rev. Bib. 1924, p. 218) and Sidney Smith, p. 720 above.

The critical view of Deuteronomy is defended by A. H. McNeile (1912); special studies by Puukko (Leip. 1910) and Hempel (*ib.* 1914). Sternberg discusses its ethics (conservative, Ber. 1908). W. F. Badè places it in the history of Israelite moral development (O.T. in the Light of To-day, N.Y. 1916; critical). A. C. Welch (Rel. of Israel under the Kingdom, Edinb. 1912, pp. 192–241) treats of the Deut. age and its character, but in The Code of Deut. (1924) goes back to a conservative position. Hölscher (Z.A.T.W. 1922, 161–255) urges a sixth century date, with which view cf. especially R. H. Kennett, Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood (J.T.S. 1905, pp. 161–186), Date of Deut. (1906, pp. 481–500), From Nebuchadrezzar to Alexander (Camb. Bibl. Essays, 93–135), Deut. and the Decalogue (Camb. 1920), also his sketch of the history of Israel in E.R.E. On recent criticism of 'Josiah and Deut.' see Gressmann, Z.A.T.W. XLII, 313; and on a tendency to bring down the date of portions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, see in particular the work of Duhm, Hölscher (esp. monograph on Ezek., Giessen, 1924).

For the transition from the 'prophet' (Jer.) to the 'priest' (Ezek.), see the various studies of the two figures. On the general transition to the 'priestly' spirit, see especially C. G. Montefiore's valuable Hibbert Lectures, 1892 (3rd ed. 1897), also H. P. Smith (O.T. Ideals, J.B.L. XXIX, 1–20). That 'P' contains much that is pre-exilic has always been recognised by O.T. critics (see especially Burney, Expos. 1912, III, p. 102). On the change of tone (p. 469 and note 2), cf. *inter alia* Gray, on the changing ideas of 'jealousy' (comment. on Isaiah, p. 174 *sq.*), also Cook, J.T.S. XIII (1919), 87, 146. Wellhausen (De Gentibus et Familiis Judaeorum, Göttingen, 1870), first established the half Edomite or half Arabian origin of the population of Judah (p. 478 above). On the southern origin of some biblical material, see especially Meyer and Luther (Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme, *passim*), and Gressmann (Z.A.T.W. XXX, 1–34). For its suggested late date (p. 479 *sq.* above), see Cook (E. Brit. 'Palestine,' p. 615, col. 1; also 'Genesis,' 'Samuel'), and, for the archaeological and external evidence for the changes in the seventh–fifth centuries B.C., Expositor, Aug. 1909, pp. 97–114. On the widespread significance of the whole period from the religious point of view, see G. F. Moore, Hist. of Rel. I (Edinb. 1914), viii *sq.*, and cf. A. P. Stanley, Jewish Church (1876), III, pp. xvii, 181, 187*sqq.*

(*e*) *Zerubbabel and after.* See, on the Jewish exiles in Babylon, Klamroth (Leip. 1912), also the commentaries on Daniel (to which add Bevan's, Camb. 1892), and against the traditionalist view (most recently maintained by Boutflower), see H. Rowley, Expos. 1924, pp. 182, 255.

The criticism of the books Ezra-Nehemiah and of the return of the Jews begins with Kosters (see E.Bi. col. 1473 and note). A 'conservative' position has been maintained, above all, by Ed. Meyer (especially Entstehung d. Judenthums, Halle, 1896), an 'advanced' one, especially by C. C. Torrey, Ezra Studies (Chicago, 1910), and A.J.S.L. XXXVII, 81–100, with some of whose most important conclusions Nöldeke now agrees (Deut. Lit.-zeitung, 1924, 4 Oct. col. 1849 *sqq.*). See also Cook, Introd. to I Esdras (Charles, Apoc. and Pseudepig., I, Oxf. 1913). For the Elephantine papyri, see below, p. 739; and for other literature on the rise of post-exilic Judaism, see L. E. Browne, Early Judaism (Camb. 1920, with bibliog.) and vol. V.

9. Religion of Israel

In contrast to the older treatment of O.T. religion as part of Christian theology, the newer, arising out of the difficulties in the sequence Law-Prophets, endeavoured to trace the development of the religion and history from the O.T. alone (especially Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, Stade, etc.), while the most recent pays more attention to external evidence for ancient history and religion (especially Winckler, Gunkel, Gressmann, etc.). Since the older works of Schultz (Edinb. 1892) and Smend (Freiburg i. B. 1893), and also A. B. Davidson (posthumous, Edinb. 1904), the most comprehensive and analytical and concise is Stade's Bibl. Theol. d. A.T. (Tüb. 1905). Kautzsch (D.B. vol. v, 1904) is in many respects invaluable for its fulness (German, with addit. lit., Tüb. 1911). James Robertson's Early Rel. of Israel (1892) is still a good exposition of counter-criticism, and E. König (Theol. des A.T., Stuttg. 1922; also Exp. xxi, 80, xxiii, 383, 401, and elsewhere), while conservative, contributes to the methodology of the subject.

Among the many writers on the history of the religion are: Addis (1906); Barton (N.Y. 1918); Budde (Rel. of I. to the Exile, 1899); Dufourcq (Les rel. païennes et la rel. juive comparées, 6th ed. 1923); H. T. Fowler (Chic. 1916); Kennett (above); Kreglinger (Brussels, 1922; see Lods, Rev. Hist. Rel. lxxxviii, 115); Loisy (Eng. 1910); Marti (Eng. 1907); Montefiore (above, p. 735; also O.T. and After, 1923); G. F. Moore (Hist. of Rel. vol. ii, Edinb. 1920); L. B. Paton (1918); Peake (1908); J. P. Peters (1914, full bibliog.); H. P. Smith (N.Y. 1914); Valeton (in Chantepie de la Saussaye, 3rd ed. 1905); A. C. Welch (Rel. of I. under the Kingdom, Edinb. 1912); Westphal (The Law and the Prophets, 1910). Reference may also be made to Burney's theory of the early religion of Israel (J.T.S. 1908, pp. 321–52), the short popular sketch of Israel by A. W. Blunt (Oxf. 1924), and especially G. Hölscher's full treatment, with the latest German bibliog. (Giessen, 1922).

10. The Prophets

1. *General*

Besides the commentaries, see general articles by G. H. Box (Exp. 1924, p. 167) and T. H. Robinson (Church Quart. Rev., Jan. 1923), with references. Of the older works see especially Ewald (5 vols. 1875–81), and the more polemical Kuenen (Eng. 1877). More theological is A. B. Davidson (1903, also his art. in D.B.). W. R. Smith, Prophets of Israel (up to and including Isaiah, 1st ed. 1882, 2nd ed. with introd. by Cheyne, 1895) is still a great classic; Duhm's work (2nd ed. Tüb. 1922, advanced), is invaluable. Among other general works on the prophets are those of L. W. Batten (1905), Edghill (1906), Kent (1909–10), J. M. P. Smith (N.Y. 1925), M. Buttenwieser (N.Y. 1914), Fullerton (N.Y. 1919), T. H. Robinson (1923, also Exp. xxi, 217), J. G. McIvor (1925). F. Wilke (Leip. 1913) deals with the political activities of the prophets. W. H. Bennett (Edinb. 1907) is confined to the post-exilic period. G. Hölscher (Leip. 1914) includes a good introd. on the psychological aspect, for which see also Kaplan (1908), G. C. Joyce (Inspiration of Prophecy, Oxf. 1910), Hines (A.J.S.L. xl, 37), Lofthouse (*ib.* 231), J. Hänel (Erkennen Gottes bei d. Schriftpropheten; Stuttgart, 1923); H. W. Robinson (Z.A.T.W. xli, 1–15); Skinner (Prophecy and Religion, 1922), Povah (on the new psychology and the Prophets, &c., 1924–5).

With Gunkel (notably his Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit, Gott. 1895) and Gressmann (notably his Ursprung d. israel.-jüd. Eschatol., Gött. 1905) attention was directed to the neighbouring religions, and the antiquity and persistence of special religious and other *motifs*. On this much has been written (cf. *e.g.* Gressmann, Sources of Israel's Messianic Hope, Amer. J. Theol. xvii [1917], 173); see also

discussions by Sellin (A.T. Prophetismus, Leip. 1912), K. Fullerton (Journ. Bib. Lit. 1922, pp. 1–101), also Peake (Roots of Hebrew Prophecy; Manchester, 1923). A. Causse compares the prophets with the surrounding religions (Paris, 1913).

2. *The Messianic Idea*

Besides the lit. just cited and the Encyc. articles, see N. Schmidt, 'Son of God,' and 'Son of Man' in E. Bi., H. P. Smith, Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel (A.J.T. XIV, 337), L. P. Smith, Mess. Ideal of Isaiah (J.B.L. XXXVI, 158), Aytoun, Rise and Fall of Messianic Hope in sixth cent. (*ib.* XXXIX, 24), also Oesterley, Evolution of the Mess. Idea (1908), and Dornseiff on the martyr-idea (Archiv f. Relig.-wissenschaft, XXII, 133). On the idea of divine kings, cf. Sir J. G. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris (3rd ed. 1919), chap. II, C. Jeremias (see I, 633), J. M. P. Smith (King-worship in O.T., A.J.S.L. XXXIX, 32). Also on Yahweh as king, see v. Gall, Wellhausen Festschrift, 145.

3. *The Servant of the Lord*

This subject, the literature of which is voluminous, is of course dealt with in the preceding; reference may be made in particular to A. B. Davidson and to Gressmann (Ursprung), see above, and to Duhm's commentary on Isaiah. Among special studies are those of Budde (A.J.T. 1899, p. 499), Giesebrecht (1902), Volck (Theol. Lit.bl., Jan. 1902), Peake (Problem of Suffering, 1904), Workman (1907), Kennett (1911), Hoonacker (Expos. 1916, p. 183), Hitchcock (*ib.* 1917, p. 309); Skinner (Is. XL–LXVI, Camb. Bible, 1917), Staerk (Beitr. z. Wissens. d. A.T., Leip. 1918), H. G. Mitchell (J.B.L. XXXVIII, 113), L. E. Browne, Early Judaism (Camb. 1920, bibliog.), Volz (Budde Festschrift, 1920), Baudissin (*ib.*, on the meaning of 'servant'), J. Fischer (Münster, 1922). Of Sellin's studies on the subject the latest is Mose u. seine Bedeutung f. d. isr.-jüd. Relig.-gesch. (Leip. 1922), on which see J. E. McFadyen, Exp. T. XXXVI (1925), 175 *sq.* and Caspari, Z.A.T.W. XLII, 306. For a Babylonian parallel, see Böhl, De 'Knecht des Heeren' (Haarlem, 1923). Among subsidiary studies are Driver and Neubauer, Is. LIII according to the Jewish Interpreters (texts and translation, 1876), and Dalman (on later Jewish literature, 2nd ed. Leip. 1914), R. A. Aytoun, the Targum on Is. LIII (J.T.S. XXIII, 172). For the seal of the 'servant of Jeroboam' (p. 490 above), see Kautzsch, Mittheil. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins, 1904, pp. 1, 81 (on the title). On the view taken pp. 494 *sqq.*, see Cook, Exp. T. XXXIV, 440; and cf. Rudolph, Der exilische Messias (Z.A.T.W. 1925, p. 90).

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12. Sociology, Ethics

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13. Epigraphy, Alphabet

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2. *The Alphabet*

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CHAPTER XXI

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CHAPTER XXII

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CHAPTER XXIII

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CHAPTER XXIV

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CHAPTER XXVI

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I. CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES

1. EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

Twenty-first Dynasty. The regnal years of Smendes (see p. 253) are given by Manetho as 26, which can only be possible if the years of his viceroyalty under Ramses XI are included, as the known or probable years of the other kings between the death of Ramses XI, about 1100 B.C., and the accession of Shishak about 947 B.C., do not allow of his being assigned more than ten years as king, if that. We already find him viceroy in the fifth year of Ramses XI (*c.* 1125 B.C.), when he may just have been appointed. Maspero and Gauthier (*Livre des Rois*, III, 255 *sqq.*) regard Henttoui as a queen of Painozem I, but since she was the daughter of Tentamon she was more probably his mother.

Painozem's successor Menkheperrē' records his 48th year as high-priest. As his elder brother, Masaherti, was still high-priest in the sixteenth year of Painozem, Menkheperrē' probably became high-priest, as a young man, about his father's 20th year (*c.* 1050 B.C.), so that his 48th year will fall about 1002 B.C. We have no proof that Amenemopet succeeded Psibkhenno as king immediately in the north, and, as the second son of Menkheperrē', Painozem II, the high-priest (who never was king), records the 22nd year of Amenemopet, apparently, when Menkheperrē' was dead, and Thebes had reverted to Tanite allegiance, he cannot have so succeeded, since, if he had, the 48th year of Menkheperrē' would be his 28th, and we know that Menkheperrē' was dead before the 22nd year of Amenemopet. It seems probable, therefore, that Menkheperrē' died at about the age of 70, about his 50th year as high-priest (*c.* 1000 B.C.); which will roughly correspond to the 20th year of Amenemopet, who therefore began his reign about 1020 B.C., leaving a period of ten years for the real undisputed kingship of Menkheperrē' (*c.* 1030–1020 B.C.).

The present writer has adopted a reconstruction of the reigns of the kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty which differs from that of M. Gauthier (*Livre des Rois*, III, 25), in some important respects, especially in regard to the reign of Amenemopet. He cannot, for instance, yet accept M. Gauthier's attractive theory that the "twenty-fifth year" (the year of the revolt at Thebes against Menkheperrē') is that of Amenemopet rather than that of Painozem I, and that most of the 40-year dates of unnamed kings at this time belong to Amenemopet, on the ground that it is not likely that more than one king at this time reigned so long as nearly fifty years. Also, he does not consider himself justified in accepting the consequent emendation of the twenty-second year of Amenemopet recorded by Painozem II into the fifty-second. This being so, Amenemopet must have been much junior to Menkheperrē', not his exact contemporary. And if M. Gauthier's view is correct, at all events, two kings, Amenemopet and Menkheperrē', must have died within two or three years of one another after reigns, or so-called reigns, of 50 years each, which is less probable than that one was a generation senior to the other.

Twenty-second Dynasty (see p. 265). The present writer is entirely in agreement with MM. Gauthier and Daressy as to the non-existence of the traditional Sheshonk II of the histories, who died as crown-prince and was never even associated with his father. He finds himself obliged to accept M. Daressy's Sheshonk II, and not, with M. Gauthier, turn Sheshonk III into Sheshonk II on account of the demands of the genealogy of Pediesi (see p. 264) who, a contemporary of Sheshonk III (M. Gauthier's Sheshonk II), was the grandson of the crown-prince Sheshonk. M. Gauthier does not feel this difficulty, because he accepts the position of Takeloti II as son of Osorkon II, which, on the evidence of MM. Legrain and Daressy, the present writer is unable to do. Sheshonk II may have been a grandson of Osorkon II (son of the crown-prince?). He would have been crowned as a child at his grandfather's death, and naturally was never co-regent. The present writer does not accept, however, the Theban Sheshonk IV, whom M. Daressy places between Pedubaste and Takeloti II, since he regards the record of the fifth year of a Sheshonk, when Takeloti was still high-priest, as referring to Sheshonk III (816 B.C.), while other supposed mentions of him may belong to Sheshonk II. Accordingly, the writer acknowledges only four Sheshonks, not five. The dates suggested in the text are of course merely *probable* dates; they serve only to indicate the probable arrangement of the reigns during this dark period, between 850 and 725 B.C. Of course fresh discovery may invalidate this scheme at any time, but it shews how considerably ideas of the royal history of the time have been modified by the discoveries at Karnak, and how one is now inclined to interpret the evidence. See the writer's *Anc. Hist. of the Near East* (6th ed.), p. 468.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Piankhi (p. 279), is probably the king named in the Brit. Mus. Statue, No. 24,429, Piankhi I Meriamon. He possibly survived the reign of Shabataka, and was co-regent with Taharka, probably at Napata, at the beginning of the latter's reign, in which case he would have been at least seventy years of age. Otherwise the king is Piankhi II Sneferefrē', who is known to have lived either now or somewhat later.

Twenty-sixth Dynasty. A recent attempt to shew that Hophra (p. 301, n. 3) was not of royal blood but identical with a general of Psamatik II named Uaḥibrē'-'o-ḳen, "Uaphris-is-great-and-victorious" (named after Psamatik I), who became the adopted son of Psammis, does not seem to have much probability in its favour. If Psamatik I was born about 685 B.C., Psammis will in all probability have been born not later than 635, probably before. He will then have been about 47 at his death, and Apries, if he was born about 610, will have been 22 at his accession, just the age one would expect from his proceedings. And his sister the "adoratrix" 'Ankhnes-neferibrē', will have been 17, if, as seems probable, she was about 80 at her death after 525 (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, p. 479). The only circumstance in favour of the view is the unusual one of the identity of the king's personal name with the throne-name of Psamatik I. But the king Menkheperrē' bore as his personal name the throne-name of Thutmose III, as Mr Griffith points out (*Rylands Papyri*, III, p. 98, n. 3); and Apries may have been so named to honour the memory of Psamatik I, if he was born about the time of the death of the founder of his dynasty. The monumental evidence that Apries was the son of Psammis and the corresponding statement of Herodotus need not be questioned. H. H.

2. KING PHEIDON (*see* p. 539)

The ancient writers grossly disagree concerning Pheidon's date. Herodotus makes him live about the time of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (for the son of Pheidon woos the daughter of Cleisthenes), that is, in the early part of the sixth century. But the later writers put him very much earlier: Ephorus in the eighth century ('tenth in descent from Temenus'), Theopompus and the *Marmor Parium* in the ninth ('eleventh in descent from Heracles')[1]. The very early dates given by these later writers are hard to square with the facts which are most certain in Pheidon's history. His most notorious act was that he violently seized from the Eleans the presidency of the Olympic Festival. It was not until the very end of the eighth century that this Festival assumed more than a strictly local importance: it was in the seventh century that it attained sufficient brilliance for Pheidon to have cared to interfere, or the world to have paid such heed to his doing so.

Our text of Pausanias, indeed, names for this interference the 8th Olympiad, 748 B.C., though for another dozen years no victor comes from further afield than Messenia. It has been emended by some scholars into 28th *vice* 8th, *i.e.* 668 B.C., plausibly enough, for such corruption is common in Pausanias (*e.g.* IV, 24, 5 where the Olympic victor and Attic archon named, compel the emendation 79th for 29th; V, 9, 5 MSS give 25th for ?95th): it is quite likely that the source here is the same as fixed the Battle of Hysiae to 669 B.C. (Pausan. II, 24, 7) and that the two events were deliberately connected. This corrected date is accepted p. 545 *supra*. But all such 'harmonistic' emendations are open to very grave objection: it may be wiser to leave in Pausanias an error which Ephorus had made before him. One version of the 'Rending of Actaeon' (vid. Malten, *Kyrene*, pp. 17 *sqq.*) connects the boy with the founder of Syracuse, and his father (or grandfather) with Pheidon: Plutarch, *Tales of Love*, 2; *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* IV, 1212. This rationalized myth will hardly commend to us the eighth century date, perhaps it may suggest a little how that date arose.

Herodotus' date is hardly more acceptable. After his impiety at Olympia, Pheidon's best-attested act is the introduction of standard measures into Peloponnese. The earliest coins of Aegina, which certainly presuppose this system, can hardly be later than the middle of the seventh century. Ephorus indeed says that Pheidon issued these coins, and if we could accept this statement, Pheidon's reign could be dated beyond question to the early seventh century. And there is, in fact, no definite reason to question it: not only is Ephorus' statement fully compatible with the account in Herodotus, but he could probably draw, like Herodotus, on the evidence of inscribed offerings in the Argive Heraeum, and thus speak with independent authority.

The early seventh century date has been argued in full by Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, Chap. VI and Appendices B, C, D. See also C. T. Seltman,

[1] Herodotus, VI, 127, 3. Ephorus frag. 15 M. Theopompus frag. 29 Hunt (= 30 M) is uncertain, cf. the context in Syncellus and C. Trieber, *Pheidon von Argos*, p. 8. In *Marmor Parium*, ep. 30, Jacoby proposes to invert epochs 30 and 31: but in Strabo, VI, 2, 2 on which he builds, 10 generations from the Trojan War cannot really mean 11 generations from Heracles. Easier to assume than this inversion is an early corruption in Ephorus of ιγ γενεαι into ι γενεαι: cf. Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXXIII, 1918, p. 25.

Athens, its History and Coinage, pp. 116 *sqq.*, who examines in detail the nature of Pheidon's currency reform, and ascribes it to this date. There will still be found scholars to deny that this reform is Pheidon's work. We must indeed beware of giving a romantic importance to Pheidon's personality, a man of whom we know little and can guess much. It is more certain, and more important, that the events of Section IV of Chapter XXII belong to the early seventh century, than that they are the work of a King Pheidon.

H. T. W-G.

3. OLYMPIC VICTOR LISTS

(The writer desires to acknowledge his debt to the learning of Dr J. K. Fotheringham to whom much in the following note is due, and especially the account of the two 59-year cycles and of the 160-year cycle.)

Plutarch's protests against this list (*Vit. Numae*, 1) have been taken too seriously. He had no use for chronology and protested equally against those who 'spoilt the tale of Solon and Croesus' by talking about the dates. Unlike the Pisatis legend, this list passed through the hands of learned men such as Hippias and Aristotle. See Jüthner, *Philostratos über Gymnastik*, pp. 60 *sqq.*, 109 *sqq.* The doubts of Mahaffy, Beloch, and Körte, have been sufficiently met by Brinkmann, *Rh. Mus.* LXX, 1915, pp. 622 *sqq.*; cf. also Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 481 *sqq.*

A more recent attack on the chronology of Hippias has been made by Cavaignac, *Hist. de l'Antiquité*, I, 2 (1919), chap. XII. His view, based largely on a hypothesis of A. Mommsen (*Ueber die Zeit der Olympien*, 1891, p. 85) is briefly this. In 456 B.C. Oenopides of Chios (Plato, *Amatores*, 132 A; Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, Bd I, Kap. 29) took in hand to correct the error in the Olympic calendar which a century or so of *octaeterides* (8-year cycles) had produced: to do this, he intercalated, every 20th octaeteris, only *two* months instead of *three*: in other words, he instituted a cycle of 160 years with intercalation of 59 months. He then satisfied himself that the error he found would have taken just 320 years (2 cycles) to accumulate, and therefore fixed the 1st Olympiad at 776 B.C. Cavaignac concludes that this date, 776, has no historical value.

This view rests on almost no evidence at all, but a gigantic series of hypotheses: the first of which is to reject our unanimous (threefold) tradition that the Great Year of Oenopides contained 59 (and *not* 160) years. This 59-year cycle 'owes its existence to the unintelligence of a copyist.'

Fortunately, the fact that the number of years in the Pythagorean Great Year was 59—a prime number, beautiful in itself, and also the number of days and nights in a lunar month—is susceptible of proof. The precise data of Censorinus (*de die natali* XVIII, 8; XIX, 2) as to the Great Year of Philolaus can be tabulated as follows:

43011 days and nights: that is

either 729 months of 59 days and nights apiece ($729 \times 59 = 43011$)

or 59 years of 729 days and nights apiece ($59 \times 729 = 43011$).

When we compare Plato's remarks on the number 729 ($9 \times 9 \times 9$, a number concerned with 'days and nights and months and years' Rep. 588 A) we may be sure that this was the real Pythagorean cycle. It was of course

too good to be true: and the cycle of Oenopides is a slight concession from mathematical beauty to astronomical truth. Censorinus' precise figures (*ib.* XIX, 2) effectively define this cycle also:

43114 days and nights: that is

either 730 months of $59\frac{44}{730}$ days and nights apiece ($730 \times 59 + 44 = 43114$)

or 59 years of $730\frac{44}{59}$ days and nights apiece ($59 \times 730 + 44 = 43114$).

Here was a gallant attempt to rescue the 59-year cycle. The mean duration of a month is very nearly indeed correct (within one minute). The fact of a 59-year cycle as major premiss, and this mean duration of a month as minor premiss, produced as conclusion a mean duration of a year which was about three hours too long. But the year was far harder to measure than the month: the devout Pythagorean could only trust that his *a priori* conclusion would prove right.

This fortunate precision in Censorinus and his copyists makes it impossible to discount the statement of 'Aëtius,' II, 32, 2, that 'Pythagoras and Oenopides fixed the Great Year at 59 years.' So Oenopides' cycle is of 59, *not* 160, years: and the very slender link whereby Cavaignac would bind the latter to Olympia (Aelian V.H. X, 7) is broken. As for this 160-year cycle, it is called by Geminus (*Eisagoge*, VIII, 40–41) 'the most perfect form of the octaeteris,' and is almost certainly the work of Eudoxus, who had the credit of perfecting that cycle (see P.W. *s.v.* 'Eudoxos,' also Lucan, X, 187). It belongs therefore to the *fourth* century.

And so Cavaignac's hypothesis, that Oenopides introduced the 160-year cycle at Olympia in 456 B.C., may with fair certainty be dismissed: and it is hardly worth while to examine closely the argument which he bases on it. It is not cogent. Oenopides is made (*a*) to find a 'two months' error,' (*b*) to infer that precisely 320 years had elapsed since the first festival. *Non sequitur.* Supposing we could grant Cavaignac's staggering accumulation of hypotheses, yet a 'two months' error' in a moveable feast (the Olympia were tied to the full moon) could not be held by Oenopides (a reputed mathematician) to fix the lapse of time within one year, but only within 160 years.

Cavaignac's constructive views do not, of course, depend wholly on the destructive hypothesis examined above. He holds that, while Hippias' list of names is fairly correct, the earlier Olympiads were not 4-yearly but yearly: and suggests, *exempli gratia*, that the 1st Olympiad was in 653 B.C., the 42nd in 612 B.C. and thenceforward as tradition reports. He accepts an eighth century date for the Conquest of Messenia, and refers the early Messenian victors to the period of the Revolt. The chief use he makes of his revised Olympic Register is to lower those dates of Tyrants and others (*e.g.* Phrynon at Sigeum) which are fixed by Olympic victories[1].

Wilamowitz likewise is unwilling to believe that the early Olympiads were 4-yearly (*Pindaros*, p. 484). He would bring them down in date, and with them (unlike Cavaignac) the Conquest of Messenia. But how will he reconcile this view with Herodotus, VIII, 131, 2 which will hardly allow King Theopompus to be later than the eighth century?

This reluctance to accept a 4-yearly festival in the eighth century is due perhaps to the idea (such as we find in Mommsen's hypothesis, *supra*) that

[1] Some of these dates are considered in the next note.

a 4-yearly festival is regulated by an *octaeteris*. On the evidence alleged for an octaeteris of 99 months at Olympia, see J. K. Fotheringham, 'Cleostratus,' *J.H.S.* XXIX, 1919, pp. 176 *sqq*. The following conclusions are there established: (*a*) there is no sufficient evidence at any period for an octaeteris at Olympia; (*b*) the octaeterides of Cleostratus and his successors were the speculations of scientists, *not* the basis of civil or religious calendars[1]; (*c*) the calendar at Olympia was not regulated by a fixed system, except that the Games always fell in the eighth month after 'Thosythias,' the month of the winter solstice: they fell, that is, in the month Apollonios, if there was an intercalation between 'Thosythias' and them, and if not, in Parthenios (or *vice versa*). Thus the date of the festival was automatically fixed eight months in advance; quite irrespective of intercalation, which could be done as need arose. In practice, such need would usually impose an alternation of 49 and 50 month intervals: in popular conception, a 50-month interval, liable to correction (cf. Paus. V, 1, 4, fifty daughters of Endymion and Selene, and Porphyry on *Iliad*, X, 252).

A 4-yearly festival, therefore, does not presuppose any advanced astronomical knowledge.

H. T. W-G.

4. THE CYPSELIDS

The traditional date for the Cypselids (*c.* 655–*c.* 582) will not fit with a number of passages in Herodotus, which make Periander active *c.* 560 B.C., just before the accession of Croesus (III, 48) and, on one interpretation, even *c.* 535 B.C. (V, 95). Similarly Sappho appears as a contemporary of Amasis (*c.* 569–526: II, 134). The attempt of Beloch (*G.G.*[2], I, 2, pp. 274 *sqq.*) to treat these passages as authoritative involves an almost universal lowering of the dates around 600 B.C. from which he has not shrunk. His chronology is not here accepted, though unhappily proof either way is impossible.

Herodotus puts Periander's accession well before the sixth year of Alyattes (I, 18–20, cf. V, 92, ζ); which falls 611 B.C. (I, 25), or if we correct his Lydian dates, a few years later. He also makes Croesus already king before *c.* 580 B.C. (VI, 125, Alcmaeon is enriched by Croesus *before* his son Megacles marries Agariste: cf. I, 29, Solon). We see that his synchronisms between Greece and Asia Minor must not be pressed, for he did not think them out: the later chronographers did, and it is well known how much more exact is the Lydian chronology of Eusebius (see *e.g.* art. Gyges in P.W.). Herodotus' authority cannot therefore be decisive. Here follow two arguments taken from the pedigree printed on p. 570. Singularly enough, Beloch appeals to the same two sets of facts (*G.G.*[2], I, 2, 280 *sq.*, 277 *sq.*): readers must judge for themselves the candour of the two presentments.

The passage of Pherecydes on Miltiades' ancestry, quoted by Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* 3, is corrupt: the pedigree on p. 570 retains all the names in the MSS. Pherecydes calls the father of the Miltiades who went to the Cher-

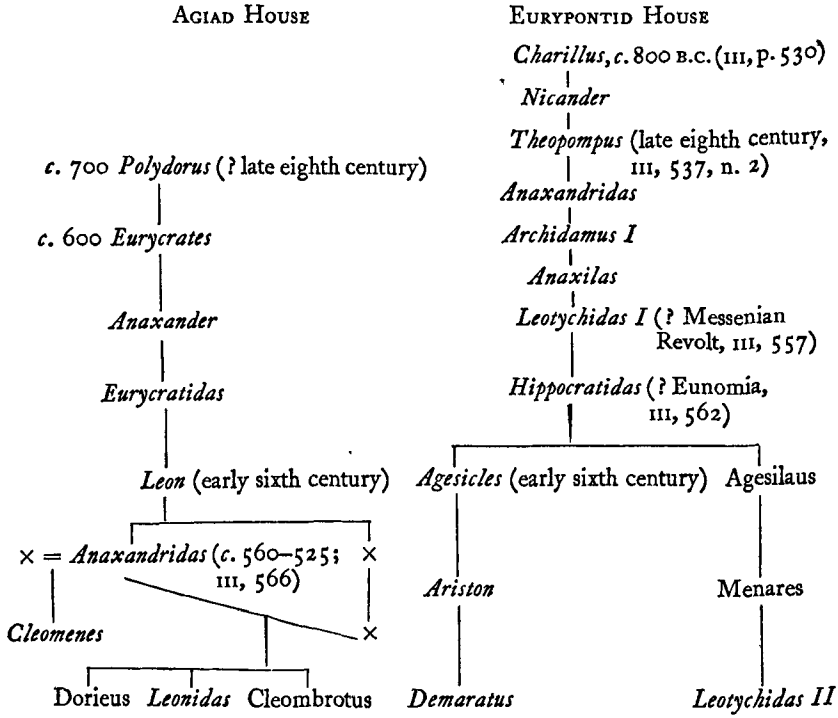
[1] It is most improbable that the Pythiads from 582 onwards were regulated by an octaeteris. Even in Babylon, intercalation is irregular till 528 B.C. (Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II Teil, 2 Heft (1924), pp. 422 *sqq.*), from which date an octaeteris is used for the civil calendar till 504 B.C.

sonese, *Hippocleides*, Herodotus calls him *Cypselus*: the pedigree makes one man of them (cf. his cousins Gorgus and Psammetichus, and perhaps Hegesistratus-Thessalus) and assumes that he took the name Cypselus because he was the Tyrant's grandson (so Toepffer, *Att. Gen.* 277, and many scholars since). He was archon 566 B.C. But he cannot well be Agariste's suitor of *c.* 570. By cutting out the first Miltiades, we might make him son of Teisander: but his son Miltiades the Oecist was a grown man *c.* 560, so that the lively suitor of *c.* 570 becomes a middle-aged widower. Yet, though not the father of Miltiades, this suitor is 'Hippocleides son of Teisander,' and related to Cypselus (Hdt. VI, 128), and so is surely one of the family. The pedigree on p. 570 meets all the requirements, though of course it lays no claim to certainty. This much, however, is legitimate argument, viz. Cypselus, the father of Miltiades, is very likely a grandson of the Tyrant (Beloch agrees, *op. cit.* p. 281); thus Miltiades, who flourished *c.* 560–540 (a contemporary of Croesus) is three generations younger than Cypselus, who flourished *c.* 655 to 625.

We reach much the same result through Hegesistratus, the son of Peisistratus by his second wife Timonassa, whose first husband had been Archinus, the grandson of Cypselus. The three generations in this case are, for obvious reasons, longer: the generations are all male, Gorgus and Archinus are younger sons, Hegesistratus' birth is considerably later than Archinus' marriage, etc. (30 years is a minimum for a male generation, Solon frag. 27, 9). Hegesistratus was grown up at the battle of Pallene, *c.* 546 B.C., and viceroy of Sigeum before Peisistratus' death in 528–7. Hegesistratus' Sigeum war cannot possibly be that in which Periander arbitrated. It is probable, indeed, that Archinus' death occurred at the overthrow of the Cypselids in Ambracia; at which moment Periander would be already dead, and Hegesistratus not yet born.

H. T. W-G.

II. KINGS OF SPARTA FROM *c.* 800 B.C.[1]



[1] See P. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier* (Breslau, 1913), pp. 137–172. The names of reigning kings are in italics.

B.C.	Greek Colonies: Foundation Dates[1], etc.		Political and Military history of Greece Proper	Literature and Art
	In the West: Italy, Sicily and the North-West of Greece. See Map 15	In the North-East: (Propontis and Euxine) the Aegean and South-East: (Egypt and Cyrene). See Maps 13, 14		
800		Sinope (see p. 662)	? Wars between Sparta and Tegea	Epic Poetry
	Cyme (Cumae), Parthenope		776 Traditional date of First Olympiad (p. 762)	
		757 Cyzicus (p. 658)		Development of Music in Greek Asia
		756 Trapezus		
750			Decline of Argive power (p. 529)	Age of Hesiod
	735 Naxos		First Messenian War (*c.* 736–716)	Dipylon ware at Athens
	734 Corcyra			Decline of geometric style
	Syracuse			
	730 Zancle, Rhegium (see p. 537)			Oriental influences on Greek Art
	729 Leontini, Catana			Proto-Corinthian and Sicyonian ware
	728 Megara Hyblaea			Phaleric ware at Athens
	721 Sybaris			Beginnings of coined money in Lydia and Ionia
	c. 717 Mylae			
		712 Astacus		
	710 Croton	710 Parium		
	705 Tarentum	Thasos, Torone		
		'Fort of the Milesians' (p. 291)	704 Ameinocles of Corinth builds warships for Samians	
700	Metapontum, Siris		Union of Attica completed	
	Locri, Caulonia	Mende		Spread of Corinthian Pottery
	Poseidonia	Scione		
		Amorgos		
	689 Gela	689 Phaselis	Pheidon, King of Argos	
		685 Chalcedon (p. 659, 536 n. 1)	683 Annual archons at Athens	
			? Lelantine War (pp. 622, 535)	
		676 Second founding of Cyzicus		
		675 Abydos		
		Selymbria		670 Rise of Elegiac Poetry (Archilochus)
			669 Argives defeat Spartans at Hysiae	Terpander of Lesbos: innovations in music
		668 Byzantium		
	664 Acrae		664 First sea battle between Corinth and Corcyra	

[1] Such exact Foundation dates as are given rest on ancient tradition or calculation and may claim approximate trustworthiness.

	Greek Colonies: Foundation Dates, etc.			
	In the West: Italy, Sicily and the North-West of Greece. See Map 15	In the North-East: (Propontis and Euxine) the Aegean and South-East: (Egypt and Cyrene). See Maps 13, 14	Political and Military history of Greece Proper	Literature and Art
		656 Istrus, Tyras	Orthagoras tyrant at Sicyon	
	(Zaleucus lawgiver at Locri. ? First written code of laws)	655 Acanthus, Stagirus 654 Lampsacus Second settlement at Sinope Abdera Argilus Sane	Cypselid tyranny at Corinth	
650		Galepsus Oesyme		
	649 Himera 648 Selinus			
	644 Casmenae (Etruscan predominance in Italy *c.* 650–500 B.C.)	644 Olbia	Great Messenian Revolt (p. 557)	Rise of Lyric Poetry
		630 Tieum and other Milesian settlements (p. 662)	Tyranny at Megara	
		Third settlement at Sinope Cyrene Selinus (see p. 672 n.)	Cylon's attempted tyranny at Athens	
		628 Cius		Alcman at Sparta (p. 558)
	625–585 Ambracia, Epidamnus, Anactorium, Sollium Apollonia		*c.* 625 Accession of Periander Thrasybulus tyrant at Miletus Draco lawgiver at Athens	
		609 Apollonia-Pontica Potidaea	The Spartan Eunomia (pp. 560 *sqq.*)	
		601 Perinthus	Athens and Mitylene at war about Sigeum	
600	600 Massilia	Panticapaeum, Theodosia	Democracy at Chios	flor. Alcaeus and Sappho
			Economic crisis in Attica	Rise of free Statuary
	599 Camarina		? Philolaus lawgiver at Thebes ? Tyranny at Chalcis (p. 621)	Stesichorus perfects Choral poetry
			Cleisthenes tyrant at Sicyon	Rise of temple architecture, Doric and Ionic
			Solon's reforms at Athens	Rise of Attic black-figured pottery
				Spread of coined money in Greece proper

Greek Colonies: Foundation Dates, etc.		Political and Military history of Greece Proper	Literature and Art
In the West: Italy, Sicily and the North-West of Greece. See Map 15	In the North-East: (Propontis and Euxine) the Aegean and South-East: (Egypt and Cyrene). See Maps 13, 14		
		Military predominance of Thessaly	Metopes of Selinus
		Ascendancy of Amphictyonic League (p. 604)	Apollo of Tenea Acropolis statues
		c. 590 Sacred war of Crisa	
	(Graffiti of Greek mercenaries at Abu Simbel in Nubia, p. 301)	Fall of Dynasty of Pantaleon in Elis (p. 546)	
	Tomi, Odessus, Apollonia in the Euxine	*c.* 585 Death of Periander	
		Pittacus, aesymnetes in Mitylene (p. 516)	Pythian Games instituted or refounded
580 Acragas, Lipari			Isthmian Games instituted or refounded
(First conflict of Phoenicians and Greeks in Sicily)	*c.* 570 (Greeks in Egypt concentrated at Naucratis)	561 First tyranny of Peisistratus at Athens	floruit Thales Rise of Ionian Philosophy
		Development of Boeotian League (p. 609)	Nemean Games instituted
(Phalaris tyrant at Acragas)	560 Amisus Heraclea Pontica	Beginnings of Peloponnesian League (pp. 565 *sqq.*)	
		Chilon ephor at Sparta	
		End of tyranny at Sicyon	
550	Barca (founded from Cyrene)	*c.* 546 Fall of Sardes	
	Phanagoreia	Spartans defeat Argives	Theognis of Megara
		Final tyranny of Peisistratus	
	(Persian conquest of Asia Minor)		
(Phocaeans at Alalia, defeated by Carthaginians, found Velia [Elea])	Mesambria	Polycrates tyrant of Samos 527 Death of Peisistratus	Rise of Attic red-figured pottery floruit Anacreon

GENERAL INDEX

In this index the more correct transliteration of names has often been indicated. Attention is drawn to the remarks in the Preface of vol. I, p. ix *sq.*, and below, on the letters *A*, *D*, etc., where also reference is made to systems of transliteration other than that adopted here. The forms in brackets include technical transliterations, alternative spellings, other forms, and identifications.

The alphabetical arrangement ignores such prefixes as Gulf, Mt, Tell ('mound'), Wādi ('torrent,' 'valley'), and the Arabic article (el-). For references to the maps see the index below, pp. 806 *sqq.*

The biblical references are collected separately, see pp. 815 *sqq.*

A. In transliterations the *spiritus lenis* is generally omitted; but ' (which in Greek we transliterate by *h*) represents the characteristic and important Semitic (and Egyptian) guttural *'ain* (ȳ). *A* is used in Egyptian by some writers for ', ', and even *i* (the latter seems to have covered both ' and the consonantal *y*). The Arabic vowel *ă* (*fatḥa*) is frequently pronounced *e*, as in the article *el-* for *al-*. (Before dentals, sibilants and *l*, *n*, *r*, this *l* is assimilated to the following consonant.) *ei* is used for the Arabic diphthong *ai*.

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C. In proper names *c* has generally been used here to represent the Greek κ. In Hebrew names it represents *kaph* (כ), and is retained in familiar spellings (*e.g.* Cush, contrast Kassite). *Ch* (which is used in French for *sh*) is soft in Persian (*ch* in *church*), but hard in Semitic names (*e.g.* Cherethites). In the O.T. it represents both *ḵ* (כ) and *ḥ* (ח).

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D. The emphatic *ḍ* is often used to represent the Arabic *ḍād* (ض); *dh* (rarely in use for the soft Hebrew ד) represents the Arabic *dhāl* (ذ). The Egyptian *ḏ* is in varying systems represented by *dz*, *z*, or *dj*.

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G occurs in Egyptian-Arabic for the *j* (ج) used elsewhere (*e.g.* Gebel=Jebel); *gh* represents the hard Arabic *ghain* (غ, resembling the French *r grasseyé*), for which *ġ* is used in some systems.

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H. As distinct from the ordinary hard breathing (ה), Hebrew has a guttural represented by *kh* or, in familiar names, by *ḥ* (hence more correctly distinguished as *ḥ*); Arabic has a softer and a harder variety, represented by *ḥ* (ح) and *ḫ* or *kh* (خ). There is no hard breathing in Assyrian-Babylonian, and *ḥ* (*e.g.* Habiru, Hammurabi) represents *ḥ* (strictly the harder *ḥ* or *kh*); in this work *kh* is used, but *ḥ* (*ḥ*) for familiar names. To avoid complicated transliterations *ḥ* has been added to *k*, *s*, and *t* (which see) to express the soft consonants *kh*, *sh* and *th*; although these spellings might stand for the two consonants *k* (*s*, *t*) and the hard breathing *ḥ*, and the doubled forms (*e.g.* Ashshur) are ungraceful. In transliterating Egyptian, *ḥ* is used for the hard breathing and the guttural (*viz.* *ḥ*), and *kh* or *ch* commonly for the harder guttural (Arab. ح, or *ḫ*) and another variety (*ḫ*, probably resembling the German *ch* and modern Greek χ).

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I. In the spelling of Arabic words *i* is often represented by *e* (*e.g.* Hejāz, Hijāz). In Egyptian *i* is often represented by *a* (*cf.* Amasis).

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J. In biblical names and German transliterations *j* corresponds to English *y*. There is no *j* in Hebrew. In Egyptian-Arabic *j* (ج) is a hard *g*.

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K. For Greek names with κ see *C*. For the emphatic *ḳ* (צ, ק), as distinct from the ordinary *k* (or *c*, ל, כ), some systems prefer *q*. In cuneiform *ḳ* is often written *g*. *kh* is often used in this volume to avoid the alternative transliteration *ḫ* (strictly *ḫ*); see under *H*.

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L. There is no sign for *l* in Egyptian; it appears as *r* or as *n*.

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Q. *q* is employed in some systems to represent the emphatic *ḳ* (ق, ק), the Phoenician (or North Semitic) form of which is its ancestor.

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S. ṣ represents the hard Semitic sibilant (ص, צ; for the sonant stop ض see *D*). For š (ش, שׁ) is here used *sh* although this could also represent *s* + *h*. The clumsy doubling of *sh* (*e.g.* Kashshites) is sometimes ignored, or is replaced by *ssh*. In Egyptian *s* tends to be confused with *z*; and in Bab. and Ass. the interchanges of *s*, *sh* and also *z* are exceedingly confusing.

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T. The hard Semitic *ṭ* is represented by *ṭ* (ט, ט). *th* represents the ordinary aspirated ת (in some systems *t̲h̲*), although this might also stand for *t* + *h*.

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U. In Arabic names the vowel (*ḍamma*) is commonly represented by *o*, *e.g.* Koran (Ḳur'ān, Quran), Mohammed (Muḥammad). The Latin *-us* has generally been used in this work for the Greek *-os*, and *-u* for the Greek *-ou*. *u* is often used in transliterating Egyptian *w* even when probably consonantal.

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W. For the Semitic *w* the English Bible uses *v* (*e.g.* Jehovah).

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Z. ẓ is used to represent the emphatic Arabic *ẓā* (ظ), for which other systems have *tz* or ẕ, or even z (the last being otherwise used for *ṣād* [ض] for which ṣ is employed here). In Egyptian transliterations use is made of *s* and *ḏ*, and also *d̲*. In the O.T. *z* often represents *ṣ* (*e.g.* Zadok).

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[1] On the spelling Jehovah, see vol. I, p. 185 *n.*, II, p. 353 *n.*

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Each map has its own index and reference is made here only to its number. The alphabetical arrangement ignores the usual prefixes (lake, etc.), and such Arabic terms as Jebel (mountain), Kefr (village), Khirbet (ruin), Nahr (river), Tell (mound), Umm (mother), Wādi (valley). As the maps are from different sources and different spellings and identifications are current, cross-references have been made; in certain cases attention is called to the fact that a particular form is the Assyrian or cuneiform (*a*), biblical (*b*), classical (*c*), Egyptian (*e*), Hebrew (*h*) or modern native form (*m*)[1].

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[1] The Assyrian and Egyptian forms of biblical place-names, so far as they are at present known, may be found in A. Jirku, *Altoriental. Kommentar zum Alt. Test.* (Leipzig, 1923).

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B.C.	EGYPT	ASSYRIA	BABYLONIA	ELAM, URARTU, ETC., ASIA MINOR	NORTH SYRIA, PHOENICIA, ETC.	JUDAH AND ISRAEL, ETC.	THE MEDITERRANEAN, GREECE, ETC.	B.C.
		Decline of earlier great powers, period of weakness in Egypt, Asia Minor and south-west Asia; predominance of new peoples, rise of Phrygia; neo-Hittite culture established at Carchemish. Iron Age. Cuneiform being employed for alphabetic script					Dorian invasions inaugurate a 'Dark Age' Mycenaean art disappears	
XIth cent.	*Twenty-first Dynasty.* (Smendes I, 1100). Independence and greater importance of Delta. Increase of Libyan influence. Dark period in Eg. history	TIGLATH-PILESER I (c. 1080?), campaigns to Phoenicia, receives gifts from Egypt. Period of relapse. Rise of semi-nomad states interrupts Assyrian trade with Carchemish and the west			Growth of Phoenicia and Tyre	'Philistine' invasion (1194 B.C.) and domination	Phoenician colonies (trading-posts) as far as Tarshish and Gades	XIth cent.
						Israel under 'judges'		
XIth cent.	Egypt, protector of Philistine coast (p. 237); refuge of enemies of Israel	ASHUR-RABI II (c. 1060), founder of new dynasty, reaches Amanus 1m			Aramaean origin of Pether, Beth'El, etc.	Rise of monarchy under Saul (? 1055), David (c. 1010) and Solomon (c. 970)		XIth cent.
					Hiram of Tyre	Temple (at Jerusalem built. Height of Solomon's power. Relations with Tyre (and Tarshish), Gulf of Akabah, Asia Minor and Egypt		
	SIAMUN (970), father-in-law of Solomon; brother-in-law of Hadad of Edom					Disintegration and schism (c. 937): Israel (Northern) Jehoboam Rehoboam (Ephraim) Abijah (Judah)	Geometric art (c. 1000–700)	
	SHISHAK, Libyan, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, invades Palestine →	ADAD-NIRARI II (911) resumes and restores campaigns of Assyria (to, 77 911) reaches Gargamish, treaty with Babylonia			New dynasty at Damascus	Zerah the Ethiopian (Nubian) invades Judah		
					← Shishak's invasion (c. 930), Philistine disturbances Asa (c. 914)	Asa (c. 914)		
XIth cent.	OSORKON I (925). (? Palestine invaded, c. 925)	TUKULTI-NINURTA II (889), father conquests		Rise of Urartu (Armenia) as rival of Assyria		Victory over Zerah (? Osorkon)		IXth cent.
					Ben-Hadad (Damascus), belief by Asa, ravages northern districts of Ephraim	Jerusalem threatened by Baasha of Ephraim		
		ASHUR-NASIR-PAL (884); the capital moved from Nineveh to Kalah (869)				Omri (c. 887), founder of Samaria. Close relations with Tyre		
					Jezebel, daughter of Ithobaal (Ethbaal) of Sidon, marries Ahab, son of Omri	Judah loses independence Conquest of Moab		
876		Busy march to the Mediterranean (876), through Carchemish, Lebanon and Phoenicia. Commencement of periodical struggle between Urartu and Assyria			Strong pro-Assyrian tendencies	Period of Ephraimite supremacy. Ascendancy (c. 874) Ahab (c. 874) Athaliah (Jehoram) Jehoram (Judah)		876
						Ahaziah (Judah) Jehoram (Ephraim) murders Athaliah, daughter of Ahab and Jezebel		
		SHALMANESER III (859), repeated attacks on N. Syria, Damascus, and general subjugation under Adad-idri (Ben-Hadad, Benhadar) to Karkar (853). Further campaigns to the west (853–47)			Hamath and Damascus centres of extensive anti-Assyrian alliance			
	OSORKON II (880–50) (? Egyptians at Karkar, p. 260)				Capture of Carchemish (877)			
853					Battle of the anti-Ass. league at Karkar	Israelite contingent with Ahab at Karkar		853
					Carchemish subjugated (849); battles in Ajab (Ashtaroth) and 845	Period of Elijah		
					Collapse of the league	Rebellion, Jehoram and Moabite revolts		
					Ben-Hadad succeeded by Hazael. Activity of	Jehu	Invasions of Medes and Moab	
841	Gifts sent to Shalmaneser (? p. 24)	Defeat of Hazael, Tribute from Phoenicia, etc. →		Foundation of Urartian kingdom by Sarduris I	← Hazael defeated. Tyre and Sidon pay tribute. Hazael again attacked. Phoenicia pays tribute	Jehu's dynasty. Jehoahaz (Ephraim) Jehoash (Judah) Jehu, tribute to Assyria		841
		Expansion in N.W. to Tarsu, etc.; road to Cappadocia gained				Syrians and Aramaeans attacks on Israel and Judah		
				Assyrian campaigns in Urartu, influence on native art, writing, etc.	Hazael and Ben-Hadad, fierce attacks on Israel. Syria, Phoenicia, etc., from Byblus to Tarsus, under Assyrian control. Internal strife in Phoenicia →		Epic poetry	
		SHAMSHI-ADAD V, (824) war (824), campaigns to Media, etc., reaches Mediterranean. War with Babylon (818–12)		Fierce struggles between Urartu (under Ishpuinis) and Assyria (810–785)	Assyria again in the west-lands	Joash buys tribute-gift from Syria	← Elissa (Dido), founder of Carthage (? 820, ? 810)	
800		ADAD-NIRARI III (811), campaigns in the west (805–) and to Cilician valley (796)			Mari besieged at Damascus. 'Hatti and Amor' pay tribute (805): Tyre and Sidon, Edom, Philistia	Obed, Edom and Philistia	c. 850–700, Etruscan settlements in Italy	800
		Treaty with Babylon: On 'Synchronous History,' Assyria influenced by Babylonian religion, etc.			Zakir of Hamath, defeats anti-Assyrian league under Bar-Ikrub (Ben-Hadad) (p. 371 n.)	Amaziah (Judah) Jeroboam II (Ephraim) defeats Edom, Defeat of Judah and Israel by Joash of Israel		
				Increase of Urartian power under Argishti I (785); repeated victories over Assyria; influence over Syria		Uzziah (Azariah) Jeroboam II Period of Judaean and Israelite prosperity		
760		SHALMANESER IV (784). Period of Assyrian weakness. Attacks in the west →			← Hatarika and Damascus attacked (773–)	Uzziah recovers Edom and port of Akabah	Beginning of Roman era (see Map 142) c. 750–680, Greek expansion in the W. (see Maps 13, 15)	760
		ASHUR-DAN III (772), civil disorders, loss of trade-routes, internal revolt →				Period of Judaean and Israelite prosperity		
		ASHUR-NIRARI V (754), continued weakness; revolt of the capital (Kalah) against the last of dynasty			← Hatarika (765, 755) and Arpad (754) attacked	Zechariah (Israel) murdered. Shallum (Israel) reigns from Beer-sheba to the Approach to Hamath		
750	*Twenty-fifth Dynasty.* Ethiopian Growth of wealth; prominence of Melukkhâ (vol. i, index); anarchy among independent Delta princes	TIGLATH-PILESER III (745), restores of Assyria, pacifies Babylon (745–40); assigns victories in S., E., N. and W. (744–36) → Policy of deportation		Urartu attacked (744)	Siege of Arpad (742), submission of Tyre, Syria, Palestine and Arvâd. Anti-Assyrian league under Azrias of Yaudi (c. 739). Hamathites deported	Prophecies of Amos (p. 379) Jonah's dealings with Assyria, p. 378 n.) Jeroboam's death followed by internal troubles. Menahem pays tribute to Ass. (738)	Dipylon vases at Athens; age of Aristocleides; age of Hesiod	750
				U. loses control of Syria, etc. (736)				
					Panammu of Sam'al (c. 738)			
					Anti-Ass. league of Damascus (Rezon) and Pekah	Samaria (Pekah), with Philistia and Edom, against Ahaz of Judah.		
						Jerusalem threatened, appeals to Assyria Activity of Isaiah		
					Defeat of Damascus and	Samaria by Ass. (734)	Minoan trade with Egypt	
732		Submission of the west-ads (including Samaria)			Siege and fall of Damascus, deportation to Kir Arêlû, Hatti, Subarum, Musû, Ammon	Tyre, Ashdûn, Gaza, Edom, N. and E. Palestine ravaged → Ahaz vassal of Ass. Hostile c. Ass. succession, intrigue with Egypt. Siege of Samaria (724). Fall of Samaria (721): *O.T. history of Northern Kingdom* ceases		732
		Tiglath-pileser at Damascus visited by Ahaz (Judah), Panammu (Sam'al), etc.						
		Submission of Merodach-baladan of Babylon (729–8)			Unsuccessful revolts; Ass. attacks Sibraim (?), besieges Tyre (?) and Samaria			
		SHALMANESER V (727), subsides in the west →						

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE (*continued*)

B.C.	EGYPT	ASSYRIA	BABYLONIA	ELAM, URARTU, ETC., ASIA MINOR	NORTH SYRIA, PHOENICIA, ETC.	JUDAH AND ISRAEL, ETC.	THE MEDITERRANEAN, GREECE, ETC.	B.C.
	About middle of eighth century a revival in Egypt, fresh contact with the Levant. Keen Phoenician trade (copying and spreading Oriental art types, etc.); but Phoenician supremacy gradually lessened by Greek colonizing activity (p. 353). Rise of New Greece. New stage in history of Assyria (p. 43 sq.); growth of Chaldaean tribes and of Elam (p. 48); prominence of Aramaean and Arab tribes. Gradual disappearance of Urartian language; etc. (p. 274), and old Hittite culture (p. 157). Threat of nomad hordes (Scythic and Cimmerian, p. 158). Rise of Media. Processes at Pteria, etc., in Asia Minor. Beginning of colonial history. Changes in population (war, deportation, migration), rise of a new Israel (pp. 365, 397). New stage in historical tradition (p. 367 n.).							
750	Increasing importance of Sais (under Tefnakhte). Piankhy (c. 720) subdues Usilla, leaves Shabaka (? Sabi, 80) in command	Sargon II (722), builder of Khorsabad	Assyria raises upon the throne Merodach-baladan	Activity of Medians and of Urartu. Urartu joins with Mita (Midas), Dalukhos (? Dolonos), etc., against Assyria	Anti-Ass. league (720): Hamath and Damascus defeated at Karkar; and Hanno of Gaza and Sibe of Musri at Raphia	HEZEKIAH: anti-Ass. reaction	Sparta conquers Messenia (c. 720)	750
	Bocchoris (718), active commercial navigator		Merodach-baladan retires. Chaldaean-Aramaean tribes, allies with Elam, in king of Babylon (721)	Persistent anti-Assyrian wrestle in N.W.; Babylon and Elam separated by Sargon	Fall of Carchemish	Disorderly years: tribes [? supervising trade-routes] deported to Samaria (715). Tribute from Musri (Piankhi?), Arabi, Sabaeans. Revolt of Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab and Musri. Siege of Ashdod (714). Hit Ouni escaped by Sargon		
	Shabaka (with Tirhakah and [? Piankhi] gains all Egypt (712)	Sargon becomes king of Babylon (710). Politic peace with Merodach-baladan	Merodach-baladan with Chaldaean-Aramaean tribes and Elam. Inserts anti-Ass. intrigues	Cimmerians defeat Urartu (709). Overthrow of Midas (705)		Age of Isaiah Merodach-baladan's embassy to Hezekiah		
	Egypt (Delta) joins anti-Ass. revolt			Anti-Ass. movement shared by Phoenicia (with Cyprus), Philistia, Edom, Moab, Ammon and Judah			Beginnings of Greek architecture in stone. Completion of union of Attica	
700	Closer relations between Egypt (Naucratis) and Greece (Ionia, Caria, etc.) ➡	Sennacherib marches West. With Phoenician ships (694) sent at middle of August to spoils Bab.-Elamite revolt; sack of Babylon (689); conciliatory policy, rebuilding of the city, etc.	Anti-Ass. revolts in Cilicia and Tabal aided by Ionia, etc. (696–)	Kings of Musri and Melukhkha defeated at Eltekeh (700), siege of Lachish and Jerusalem	Greek settlements in Egypt	700
	Growth of Egypt as a rival to Assyria			Activity of Scyths and Cimmerians in Armenia and Asia Minor. Growth of Lydia ➡	Ass. exped. through Arabi and Ashkelon; defeat of Hezkiel (c. 690)	Judah suffers loss of territory and deportation of inhabitants MANASSEH (c. 692–). Increase of Ass. influence in the west	Rise of Cypro (c. 685). Lydia heir to power of Phrygia pushes westwards etc.	
680	TAHARAKA, anti-Ass. intrigue with Phoenicia (Baal of Tyre)	ESARHADDON (681–)					Phethon of Argos (c. 684)	680
675	Assyrian defeat (674), Arab invasion (673). Tirhakah defeated, Memphis sacked (671)	Esarhaddon claims tributaries, as kings of land of Hatti (Cyprus, Phoenicia and Philistine cities, Edom, Moab, Beth-Ammon and Judah)				Manasseh, vassal of Assyria		675
670	Assyria organizes Egypt, Necho of Sais in command	➡ Assyrian campaigns in Egypt	Revival of Urartu (under Rusas II)		Arabian campaign of Ass.; Hazael (of Arabi) tributary Siege of Tyre (673)	Jerusalem threatened by Arabia (? (673, p. 85)		670
670	Tirhakah recovers Egypt. Defeat of T.; fall of Memphis (667). Necho (with Psammetichos) recognized at Sais (664). Revolt of Tanoutamon; fall of Thebes (663)	Death of E. (669); his two sons, after strife, divide the rule. Assurbanipal, Assurira (669). SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN, Babylon (668)	Disruption in Elam	Increasing power of Medians, attacks of Scythians and Treres. Embassy of Gyges (Lydia) to Assyria. Defeat of Cimmerians (c. 663). Gyges supports Egypt	Eserhaddon at Zenjirli	(? Manasseh's captivity and release, p. 399)		670
		(Assurbanipal's interest in Bab. lore, collection of tablets, etc.)				Ass. treaty with Tyre (669)	Argives defeat Spartans at Hysiae (c. 669)	
660	PSAMMETICHOS founds Twenty-sixth Dynasty; capital at Memphis. Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik (655)						(Rec. Tarkhish-Tartessos, c. 700–550; vol. IV, p. 351.) Phoenician trade in W. felt by Greek colonists. Coinage and trade: athen. Greek society. Paleocia, lawgiver (acc. p. 708)	660
653			Increased activity of Chaldaean tribes Revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin (654–) ➡	Decline of Elam			Rise of tyrannies in Isthmian states	653
		Ash. quells his brother's revolt (652)		Cimmerians under Tugdamme attack Lydia; Sardis taken; fall of Gyges (652). Recovery of Lydia under Ardys, raids in W. Defeat of Cimmerians east of Unmast-tantia by Assurbanipal			West-lands join Bab. revolt (652–); Ass. campaigns E. Jordan and against Arabi (Gindibuna, etc.)	
650	Ass. evacuates Egypt (651). Growth of Egypt independence; closer relations with Greece; revival of political interest in S.W. Asia		Siege of Babylon (650–48); failure of Arabi allies; subjugation of Babylonia				(Ass. garrison at Gezer)	650
				Last "Cimmerian" chief killed [before 630] by the Scythian Madyes s. of Protothyes			Surround unrest in deserts bordering on Syria and Palestine	
			Civil war in Elam: sack of Susa. Fall of Elam (645–39)					
640		(After 639 nothing known of reign of Ashurkaripal)		Median independence under CYAXARES	Continued Ass. fighting against Arbi; punitive raid on Pedaeans and Arabs (641–38)			640
630	Egypt in Philistia ➡	Ass. power in W. weakened by invasions ➡		Scythian invasion of Syria (c. 630–25), capture of Ashdod; ➡ Ekron, Ashdod; traces of Scyths in Beth-shean		JOSIAH (c. 637) (? references in Zephaniah and Jeremiah)	Messenian revolt (c. 630). Foundation of Cyrene	630
625		Gradual decay of empire, internal strife. Ashur-etil-ilani (626). Sin-shar-ishkun (623)	Chald. Nabopolassar (626)	Median revolt				625
		Ass.-Bab. hostilities (625)			Plague, and Pal. revolt against Ass. (c. 625)			
		Sin-shar-ishkun (623): gradual investment of Ass.	Nabopolassar and Cyaxares unite against Ass. (626)			Josiah's reforms (c. 621)	Draconian lawgiver at Athens (c. 620). Tyrannies in Ionia	
615	Egypt an ally of Ass. (616) [Jewish military colony already at Elephantine, ? p. 294]	Ass. defeat: Nab. (615)	Cyaxares attacks Arrapkha (615)					615
c.		Ashur sacked by Medes (614). Ass. enlists help of Sukhi [and Scythe, ? p. 126]; some successes (613); Nab., Medes and Scyths unite. Fall of Nineveh (612, Aug.)						c.
610	Eg. under NECHO (609); hopes of inheriting Ass. empire till W.		Nab. occupies Nineb. Ass. gov. (under Ashur-uballit) removed to Harran in N. Syria (612–10)					610
			Nab. destroys Harran (610); Medes turn upon Scythe (p. 190), and with Bab. effect Cyaxa (p. 189). Unsuccessful attempt of Ashur-uballit and Necho to recover Harran (609); forced back on Carchemish (?)		Troops of Egypt and of N.'s Greek troops at Carchemish; C. destroyed; N.'s camp at Riblah	Josiah (pro-Babylonian) defeated at Megiddo by Necho; ➡ slain by JEHOAHAZ	Spartan Eunomia (pp. 360 sqq.)	
				C. returns to Media				
605	Battle revived; acclamation Necho's phil-hellenism ➡	Collapse of Ass.; Medes carry off craftsmen; Egypt and Babylon the protagonists; a decisive battle at Carchemish Nebo's claims upon S.W. Asia defended by Nabopolassar's son Nebuchadrezzar (605). Syria and Pal. part of Chaldaean or New Babylonian empire					➡ Phil-hellenism in Egypt	605

B.C.	EGYPT	ASSYRIA	BABYLONIA	ELAM, URARTU, ETC., ASIA MINOR	NORTH SYRIA, PHOENICIA, ETC.	JUDAH AND ISRAEL, ETC.	THE MEDITERRANEAN, GREECE, ETC.	B.C.
600			Nebuchadrezzar, king (605), rebuilder of Babylon, surveyed fame of Babylon; monarch of its priesthood	Medes (under Cyaxares), consolidating power, moving westwards to the Halys; Lydia (Sardes, centre of culture) extending influence over Ionia, etc., and eastwards over Phrygia		Judaean intrigues with Egypt. Jeremiah (under Josiah-Zedekiah) captured by Nebuchadrezzar; the first exile (597)	Athenian war with Mitylene; foundation of Massilia by Phocaeans (c. 600). Rise of Attic black-figured pottery; Solon's reforms at Athens. Military professionalism of Thessaly	600
590	Pharaonic Phoenician (593, p. 301 n.); expedition to Nubia (Thucy., and Greek graffiti at Abu Simbel). Anti-Bab. intrigues. Hophra-Apries(588), unsuccessful campaigns in Phoenicia, supports W. league					Jeremiah (Judaean and Ezekiel)		590
580	Disastrous expedition to Cyrene. Jews at Tahpanhes (Daphnae). Anti-Greek reaction				Nebuchadrezzar in the Lebanon, and at Riblah (587). Siege of Tyre begins (586)	Tyre and Sidon, Edom, Moab, Ammon and Judah (under Zedekiah) with Egypt: anti-Bab., Jewish, Neb. besieges Jerusalem; Hophra's brief diversion. Fall of Jerusalem (end of) and of Judah (586). Murder of Bab. governor Gedaliah at Mizpah. Flight of Jews to Egypt with Jeremiah to Greek colony at Daphnae.	Age of the Seven Sages; Pittacus lawgiver at Mitylene; rise of Ionic philosophy	580
570	Amasis (570).				Fall of Tyre under Ithobaal (572) and Baal	← with Jeremiah to Greek colony at Daphnae. *Cave in Judaean history.* The new Israel (p. 434). Exposure to hazards (p. 403)		570
560	Invasion of Nebuchadrezzar (568–7, p. 213). Nominally a vassal-state. Relations with Cyrenae; prosperity of Egypt (pp. 307–8)	Neb. rules as far as Egypt. Unrest on E. frontier		Cambyses of Anshan (Susa, Elam), m. d. of Astyages, birth of Cyrus		Neb. passes through Palestine to Egypt		560
550	Despotic chauvinism; Greek troops removed to Memphis; Cyrene tributary (also Cyprus, p. 308)	Evil-merodach (Amel-Marduk, 562), non-military policy ←		Aggression of Croesus in the west; growth of Median power	Phoen. kings replaced by judges	Favour shown to Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach (562–1)	Pentecletid: first tyranny at Athens (561)	550
545	Anti-Persian tendencies	Revolt of Nergilesar (559)						545
540	Egypt, Babylonia, Lydia, Sparta, etc.,	Nabonidus (556), antiquarian, interest in Haran, animosity of Bab. priests; dwells at Teima. Decline of Bab. supremacy		Cyrus revolts against Astyages; battle of Pasargadae; Median power passes to Persia	← Nabonidus at Harran, campaigns against Hamath, Amor and Ashdoun (554–3, p. 214); dwells at Tema in N. Arabia			540
530				Echatana spoiled; victorious campaigns of Cyrus; crosses Tigris, marches against the Halys; defeat of Croesus to Pactolus. Fall of Sardes (c. 546). Revolt of Sardes (under Pactyas); Asia Minor conquered by Harpagus. Greek invasion; Persian aggression leads to mass migration		(Period of Deutero-Isaiah, p. 400; Jewish hopes aroused by advent of Cyrus)	Beginnings of Peloponnesian League under Spartan leadership	530
525	Amasis unable to assist Croesus	Gobryas appointed governor of Gutium (543)		*Persia succeeds to the Babylonian Empire, including Phoenicia, Palestine, etc.*			Growth of Carthaginian sea-power; activity in Sicily; rise to power of Etruscans. Gradual decline of Tartessus	525
520	Amasis, with Greeks, Cyprus, etc., head of anti-Persian activity	Usurp of Bab. by Cyrus (540); battle of Opis	Cyrus enters Babylon (Oct.-Nov. 539); conciliatory policy				Pisistratus tyrant of Samos; ally of Amasis of Egypt; abandons alliance; attacked by Sparta	520
515					Supremacy of Carthaginian and Phoenician fleets		Rise of Attic red-figured pottery (Pythagoras and Xenophanes). Schools of philosophy in South Italy. Rise of Orphism	515
510	Psammetichus III (526). Egypt part of Persian empire (525). Naucratis-Ionian Bich brothers. Candyces at Elephantine spares temple of the Jewish colonists	Cambyses (529) weakens Eg. league; with Phoen. fleet, etc., defeats Eg. at Pelusium (525)		Persian designs upon Carthage frustrated by Phoenician naval power				510
505		Suicide of Cambyses at Hamat (522); rising of Gaumata; revolts in Susa, Babylon, etc. Darius (522) to Media and Armenia			Western limit (Phoen., Eg., etc.) apparently fixed to Persis	Activity of prophets Haggai and Zechariah; encyclical and Messianic hopes; Zerubbabel rebuilds temple (520–16)	Spartan designs in W. Libya frustrated by Carthage; Persian control of E. Libya (c. 524); Cy., Cn., etc.	505
500	Aryandes extends Persian power to Cyrene; revolts; revolt quelled (517). Datiut as a lawgiver; introduction of the daric	Final revolts in Susa (516) and in Egypt (517). Expedition with Scythians, Ethiopians, etc., against the Scyths (516)				*Gap in Judaean history (c. c. 450 (p. 213)* (? The 'Suffering Servant,' Isaiah or 2nd Zerubbabel, p. 407)	Fall of tyranny in Athens (510); establishment of Cleisthenean democracy (508 ...)	500
490		Ionian revolt against Persia (499–493)			Prominence of Phoenician fleet in Darius' wars; naval victories of Greeks (with capture of Cyprus); Phoen. fleet crippled (c. 497). Persia recaptures Cyprus. Phoenician fleet defeats Greeks at Lade (494)		Herodotus of Miletus, traveller and geographer. Military tyrannies at Sicyon (600–576). Athens revolt, supported by Athens and Eretria (499–3)	490
	Revolt of Khababasha (487), crushed by Xerxes (484). Achaemenes, brother of X., satrap. Egyptian share in Persian war with Greece						Battle of Marathon	
480		Persian war with Greece		Battle of Salamis. Persians lose command of sea (1st Sept. 480)	Carthaginians invade Sicily			480

NOTES

The relation of a king to his immediate predecessor is indicated where known (*b*(other), *s*(on), *m*(other), *ss*(-in-law), *n*(ephew), *u*(ncle), *br*(other), *sis*(ter), *w*(ife), *d*(aughter), *gs*(-in-law), *gd*(aughter), *gn*(ephew), *gu*(ncle), *gb*(rother), *gsis*(ter), *gw*(ife

NOTES (*continued*)

Uzziah (see ch. xiii). The dates adopted by Prof. Sayce in the list of the kings are those of Lehmann-Haupt: cf. the Bibliography, p. 7*7.

Pekahiah. Unlike other texts he indicates the reign of Tyre. The main source is Menander (ap. Josephus), as emended; see H. Winckler, *Keilinschr. u. d. AT.*, Tyre, 119, and *Altorient. u. altestament. Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1897), 2. Pekahiah did not influence Phoenicia: he fell. Meyer (*E.B.*), 12. *A. Cooke* (*E.B.*) 2016 (and especially L. B. Paton, *J.B.L.*, xx, 168 *sq.*).

Sidon. Unless otherwise indicated the kings are of Dynasties.

Jotham and Ahaz. The only certain dates are those based directly upon Assyrian sources. The "synchronisms" (see p. 5*7) belong to a later stage in the history of the compilation of the Book of Kings, and the Septuagint (esp. Lucian's recension) has some striking divergences. The length of the reign of Jotham may origin either arbitrarily, but since the last year of a thirteen) king and the first year of his successor were both reckoned—see in Egypt—as one year, the total would be 16 years. But it is not certain that this practice always obtained; and similarly, although the year was reckoned from the autumn (and so in Babylonia), the Hebrew and Phoenician calendars differed so much that it has never been thought that different usages prevailed in the northern and southern kingdoms, nor the contemporaneous reigns (see Lucian's Septuagint, and vol. 1, 137 *sq.* (with the Bibliography). As regards details, the scheme is extremely detailed (see Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, 2 (Gotha, 1892), 2). According to the LXX. Pekahiah and Jehoahaz reigned 12 and 14 years respectively, and Ahaz's accession is either 1 year or Jeroboam (see Schrader, *op. cit.*, 371). For the period Uzziah–Ahaz the texts there are 103, basis of Kuchler (see Abbreviations, p. 3*2), 2 years, Ahaz 16 (or 15), which Hosea was present, and Ahaz 16 (or 15), which Hosea was present, and Ahaz's reign of 15 years (from Ahaz's 12th year to his 26th) will include the date assigned after the accession of Hoshea, according to the LXX., Ahaz's death occurs in a full years from the 20th year of Jehoahaz (see Schrader, 272, 283). Again, in 2 Kg. x. 17 and Isa. xl. 2 (cf. 1 Kg. xvi. 2), the date-expression of passage of Ephraim is not Jehoahaz but Jotham of Judah: see Skinner, 271, 276.

For the accession of Jeroboam II and Uzziah (Azariah) there are very different computations, e.g. for Jeroboam II, 782 (Skinner, Whitehouse), 783 (Prince), Pekah, 760 (Kittel), and for Uzziah 790 (Sk., Wh.), 785 (Gray), 780 (Kl.), 779 (Dr., Peake). According to 2 Kg. xv. 1 Uzziah succeeded in the 27th year of Jeroboam, being 16 at the time. Jeroboam's reign of 41 years (stated in the 15th of Uzziah, Uzziah's predecessor Amaziah succeeded in the 2nd year of Jehoash (xiv. 17) and lived 15 years after the crushing defeat by the king. Since Jehoash reigned only 16 years, the catastrophe must have been before the 14th year of Amaziah, and in fact he is ascribed a reign of 29 years. According to 2 Kings xiv. 23 it was in Amaziah's 15th year that Jeroboam began to reign, and from xiv. 19–21 it would seem that the death of Amaziah was at once followed by the accession of Uzziah. In any case there is no possibility of a joint-reign of the two kings.

The co-regencies of Jotham with Uzziah and of Hezekiah with Ahaz are unsupported, and originate only to simplify the chronology (cf. Whitehouse, 1*3, 1*4). See further, v. 180 *sq.* For Hezekiah see v. 116 (with Cheyne, 1749). Manasseh's accession is accordingly uncertain (but Delitzsch, 688, Kittel,

Egypt	Assyria	Babylonia	Elam	Carite	Phoenicia	Syria	Israel	Judah	Lydia, etc.
Twenty-Fourth Dynasty: Bocchoris Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: Shabaka Kashta (c. 760–740, in Egypt) Piankhi (c. 740–710?)		Kinzêrshupê I (716)					Jeroboam II (782–753, 783–743) Azariah (Uzziah) (c. 740–690)	Amaziah Azariah (Uzziah) (c. 740–690)	
		Nabu-nadin-zer (713) Nabu-shum-ishkun (711) Nerva Dynasty			Hiram II (c. 756)	Rezon (c.) Azariah (of Yaudi) Panammu (of Sam'al) (c. 750)	(756) Ahaz (c. 16 v. 715)	Pekahiah (c. ?) Pekah (c. 740–)	
		Ukin-zer (721) + Pûlu (729) + Ukînzêr (721)	Undasi-Rusâ I (c. ?)		Menas (Menander, c. 728)	Rezin (Rasunnu) (c. 738–732) Last Kingdom of Damascus (732)	(756) Hezekiah (c. 740–686)	Pekah (c. 752) Jotham (c. 750–)	
Tefnakhte (716)	Shalmaneser V (727) Sargon II (722)	Marduk-apal-iddin II (Merodach-baladan) (721)	Shutruk-Nahhûnte	Sagarti II (c. 734), Nibi, of Mashti-(c. Media?)	Last Kingdom of Sidon (c. 730)	Rezin and Kadytis of Philistia (Gaza)	Pekah (Usurpation, 740)	Jotham (c. 750–)	Fall of Samaria (722)
Bokenranef (Bocchoris, 718–?)	Shalmaneser (727)							Ahaz (c. 735–)	
	Sargon (722–)								
	Sennacherib (705–)	+ Sennacherib (705–) Marduk-zakir-shumi (703) Marduk-apal-iddin (703) Bêl-ibni (703)							Lydia Candaules Fall of Mermnadæ
Shabataka (Sebichos, c. 710–?)		Shabataka (Sebichos, c. 710–?)							
Shabitku (Tehrkah, Taharka, c.690–664)			Kindattu (699) Kutir-Nahhûnte (695) Umman-Menan (695) Khumma-Khaldash I (681) Khumma-Khaldash II (c. 670) (etc.: Ištarmi-e-Pyrrhyan the Kyrtian)		Tabu'al (Ethbaal II) of Sidon (c. 700); End of Tyre (679)	(For other contemporary kings, see pp. 11, 12)	(Chronol. margin of Micah, c. 700)		Tyre
Tanutamun (Tanutamani, c. of Shabaka, 671–664)	Esarhaddon (c. 681–)	Esarhaddon (c. 681–)			Abdi-milkut (Sidon, c. 679)	Sanda The Cilician Dynasty	Manasseh (c. 715–c. 640)		
Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Psammetik I (Psammetichus, c. of Tu, 663)	Ashurbanipal (c. 669–626)	Shamash-shum-ukîn (c. 668)			Eli-milki (679)	Hazael (c. 676)		Hezekiah Gog, Magog (c. 665)	
				Tuntamar (664)		Ir'ia (c.)			Ardys (c. 652)
			Mitea Phraortes (c. 665) Khumbaghabish II (Umman-igash, 652) Umman-ya (652) Khumbaghabish III (Umman-menanu, 650)				(Chronol. schools of Micah, c. 650)		
		Kandalanu (647–26) Shamash-shum-ukîn (Ššmyn, 668–48) Chaldæans Nabu-apal-uşur (Nabopolassar, 625)	Cyaxares Kyaxares (625)				Uzzi' II (c. of Shallum)		
	Ashur-etil-ilani (c.) and Sin-shum-lishir (c. ?) Sin-shar-ishkun (c. ?) Assur-uballit (626–612)							Amon (c. c. 638)	Sadyattes
								Josiah (c. 639–608)	
Nikô II (Necho, Necho, c. 609)				Ermesen (609)					
	+ Sîn-shar-ishkun II (c. of N., 615)							Jehoahaz (c. ?) Jehoiakim (c. 608–597)	Alyattes
Psammetik II (Psammetichus, c. 595)									
Uaphrê (Hophra, Apries, Hophra, c. 588–66)				Fall of Uxarte (c. 585)				Zedekiah (c. 597–586)	
Ahmose II (Amasis, 569)				Assagarte (c. c. 585–?)					
			Cyrus I (c.)						
		Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach, c. 561)		End of the Medic Empire		Ithobal III (c. 574)			
		Nergal-shar-uşur (Neriglissar, c. 560–556)				Baal III (c. 574)			
		Labashi-Marduk (556)		Cyaxares I (c.)		Judges: Eleimelus, Kalba, Abbaum (Abi-baal?), Mazitanus, Gar-Baal			
		Nabu-na'id (Nabonidus, 556)		Age & of Astyages		Baal-ezer (c.), Mechon (c.), Hiram III (1551–532)			
		Belshazzar (c.)		Cyrus the Great (c. 558), King of the Persian Empire		Persian governors over Phoenicia, Syria and Palestine			
Psammetik III (Psammetichus, c. 526–?)				Cambyses II (c. 529)					
Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses				Darius (c. 521)					Fall of Media (c. 549)

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